

An Impartial *Ed H Fe*
EXAMINATION
OF THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF
Mr. DANIEL NEAL'S
HISTORY of the PURITANS.

IN WHICH

The Reflections of that Author, upon the Blessed Martyr King *CHARLES* the First, are proved to be groundless : His Misrepresentation of the Conduct of the *Prelates* of those Times fully detected, and his numerous Mistakes in History, and unfair way of quoting, exposed to publick View.

By *ZACHARY GREY*, LL. D. Rector
of *Houghton-Conquest*, in *Bedfordshire*.

With a large *Appendix* of Letters and Papers, copied from the original Manuscripts of the late Rev. *JOHN NALSON*, LL.D. now in the Custody of the Rev. *PHILIP WILLIAMS*, D. D. President of *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*.

Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriarum, magistra vitæ, nuntia vetustatis.

Cic. de Oratore. Lib. 2. Sect. 20. p. 158. Edit. Ro. Stephan.

Qui—ut crimina in silentium mitterent sua, vitam infamare conati sunt alienam. Et cum possent ipsi ab innocentibus argui; innocentes arguere studuerunt, mitentes ubique litteras livore dictante conscriptas.

Optat. Advers. Pärmenian. Donatist. Lib. 1. p. 22. Edit. Gabr. Albaspinæi. Parisijs, 1679.

L O N D O N :

Printed by J. BETTENHAM :

And Sold by A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH, at the *Red-Lion*
in *Pater-noster Row*. MDCCXXXVII.

EXAMINATION
OF THE
THEORY OF
OF
M. D. A. M. M. M. M.
HISTORY OF



Impartial Examination

O F T H E

Third Volume of Mr. *DANIEL NEAL*'s History of the *Puritans*.

I Was in hopes (as I observed in my Examination of his second Volume) that when Mr. *Neal* had carefully perused the excellent Answer to his first Volume of the History of the *Puritans*, by the present Right Rev^d. Lord Bishop of St. *Asaph*, That Impartiality, of which he makes such frequent Professions, would either have prevented him from pursuing his Design, or at least induced him to have examined his Authorities with more Care and Candour, than I can find he has hitherto done; or to have retracted many of his egregious Mistakes, scarce consistent with the Exactness of an Historian. But instead of this, he has replied to the *Bishop*'s Examination, and has indeed corrected some few trifling Mistakes, which were obvious enough to almost every common Reader, yet at the same time has persisted in the Defence of some of the most material ones, which every one, who is conversant with the History of those Times, upon the slightest Observation will be able to discover.

Nay, he is so far from being discouraged, that he has pursued his Work through the latter part of King *Charles*'s Reign, and has spun out the last six or seven Years of it, to the uncommon Size of above six hundred Pages, and how well he has succeeded in this last Attempt, I come now to examine.

He complains indeed in his Preface (*p. 1.*) of the Difficulty of discovering the Motives of Action on either side, and yet he seems to think himself capable of accounting for them; in a variety of Places in this Book:

Nay in the subsequent Words (notwithstanding the great Difficulty complained of) he observes, *That the King seems to have been directed by secret Springs from the Queen, and her Council of Papists, who were for advancing the Prerogative above the Laws, and vesting his Majesty with such an absolute Sovereignty, as might rival his Brother of France, and enable him to establish the Roman Catholick Religion in England, or some how or other blend it with the Protestant.*

What little Truth is contain'd in this Paragraph, the Reader, I hope, may be easily convinced from my Examination of his former Volume.

His strong Biass and Prejudice to the *Royal Martyr*, and his Cause, (notwithstanding he professes himself, *Pref. p. 16. to have no private, or party Views*) appears in almost every Page. And tho' he faintly blames some of the most *unparallel'd* Actions of the *Rebels*, yet in order to palliate them in some Measure, he has spoke the most dishonourable Things of the *Blessed Martyr*, and what (if true) in the Esteem of every *Old Whig*, or *consistent Protestant* (the *cant Words* of these Times for *downright Republican*) would have justified every Thing that was acted against him, his *execrable Murder* not excepted.

Indeed he informs us (*Pref. p. 4.*) *That all Men had a Veneration for his Person.*

How could this be? *Could all Men have a Veneration for a Tyrant?* As he has but too frequently represented him. *Could all Men have a Veneration for a Person, who was endeavouring (if we may take his Word for it) to destroy the Constitution both in Church and State, and to establish the Roman Catholick Religion in England, or some how or other, to blend it with the Protestant?* *Could all those Men have a Veneration for his Person, who were endeavouring either to blast his Reputation from the Pulpit and Prefs, or to take away his Life in the Field of Battle?*

Or can he pretend to the least Veneration for him, after endeavouring so often (in his former, and in this Volume) to take away his good Name, and to rob

him of that *Honour and Conscience*, which supported him under all his Misfortunes, and for which he fell a Sacrifice, by the Hands of *inhuman and perfidious Mischreants*? Can he pretend a *Veneration for him*, after he has taken the Freedom of insinuating (*Pref. p. 5.*) that *in drawing his learned Pen in Defence of the Prerogative, and the Church of England, his Arguments were no more successful than his Sword?*

An Assertion as groundless, as 'tis insidious; as I shall have an Opportunity of proving hereafter. Hard is the Fate of that admirable Monarch, to be robbed by Mr. Neal of those Excellencies and Perfections, which even some of his bitterest Enemies, in those Times of Iniquity and Confusion, were not unwilling to allow him.

I must own my self to be one of those *unfashionable Persons*, who (in this Age of more than common Light) am neither ashamed nor afraid, to bear my Testimony in Behalf of the Royal House of *Stuart*, and to profess a more than ordinary Regard and Veneration for the Memory of the *Royal Martyr*, and the late Queen *Ann*, of glorious and ever blessed Memory, tho' I may probably rouse some sleeping *Republican Bear*, or (what is worse) some *Critical Historian*, to fall foul upon me. But I forbear, for fear of provoking even the *Impartial and Dispassionate Mr. Neal*, to say (*Pref. p. 16.*) that I am a *passionate and angry Writer*. I assure him, I have no Prejudice to his Person, *no private or party Views, no Prospect of Preferment, or other Reward for my Labours, than the Satisfaction of doing Service to Truth*. And I give him my Word that I would not designedly keep one Tittle of it from the Reader's View, tho' I was assured, it would deserve the Cause of Loyalty ever so much. But to proceed, (*p. ib.*) Mr. Neal gives us to understand. *That the Episcopal Character was grown into Contempt, not from any Defect of Learning in the Bishops, but from their close Attachment to the Perogative, &c.* Remarkable this—— That what in most other Reigns, contributed to *beighthen the Episcopal Character*, should tend to its Diminution in this. How parallel this

to our own Times, I leave it to Mr. Neal himself to judge.

He has indeed exerted against the Leaders of the *Presbyterians*, for acting, when uppermost, inconsistently with (what they falsely called) their old Principles, and with that *Moderation* which they themselves had preached up, when under (what they as falsely called) a *State of Persecution*. And Mr. Neal cannot with any tolerable Grace deny, that both *They*, and the *Independents* in their *respective Turns*, too plainly discovered a *persecuting Spirit*, and that the Cry of *Moderation* with them, was meer Pretence. For when they had a proper Opportunity of practising it, they proved themselves to be as *arrant Tyrants*, as were ever invested with Power. A seasonable *Memento* (I should think) to the Members of the Establishment to be always upon their Guard, and never to trust them too far, notwithstanding their *idle Pretences* (*Pref. p. 10.*) *That the Body of Protestant Dissenters in this Age have a just Abhorrence of the persecuting Spirit of their Predecessors, and are content that their Actions be set in a fair Light, as a Warning to Posterity (Credat Judæus Apella.)* The pretended Mercies of their *Predecessors* have always appeared to be the height of Cruelty; and what Proof have they given of a contrary Disposition but in bare Assertions, which every Day's Experience may convince us to be groundless and false? What else can we call it but a *Spirit of Persecution*, which daily produces such bitter *Invectives* and *scurrilous Libels* from them and their *Abettors* against our *Bishops*, and the most eminent of the inferior *Clergy*; and for no other reason than this, that they will not tamely give up the Constitution to them, nor allow them without Opposition to hoist their *Toleration* into an Establishment? I have always been of Opinion, that the more *Vouchers* are produced in Support of any *Historical Fact* (provided they are unexceptionable) the better that *Fact* is attested, the more it is to be depended upon. But 'tis my Unhappiness (I fear) in this respect to differ from our learned *Historian* (and
others

† others there are probably in the same way of thinking). For in Support of many Facts, he has no other Authority than his own *ipse dixit*; and but few in Support of any, when they are fairly stated, and come to be stript of that Disguise, which he has artfully put upon them. Lord *Clarendon* is an Author he frequently vouchsafes to quote (and I think he cannot quote a better) but 'tis Lord *Clarendon* not interpolated, but really curtail'd. For Mr. *Neal* has the Knack of leaving out every thing that makes against him. *Whitlock*, *Rusworth*, *Husbands*, and *Scobel*, are used in the same manner: For I think I shall be able to prove, that he has done none of them common Justice, by his manner of quoting. *Whitlock* is an unexceptionable Authority, and delivers Matters of Fact fairly, and as they came to his hand. *Rusworth* generally gives us the Truth, tho' not always the whole Truth: Nor have I many Exceptions to *Husbands* or *Scobel*. But when he comes to his *Vicars's*, *Cokes*, *Oldmixons*, and Writers of the same Size and Complexion, sure he cannot think that he is writing *History*, but *Romance*. For if he gives Credit to such *Historians*, I am persuaded but very few will give Credit to his *History*.

He has a remarkable Method of quoting Pamphlets and single Tracts, generally without producing either their * *Titles*, or Dates: A Method entirely new, and by which (quote he never so faultily) he may be lucky enough to have his Mistakes undiscovered.

But not to detain the Reader any longer from the Pleasure of Mr. *Neal's* third Volume of the *History* of the *Puritans*.— The first thing almost that he takes notice of, is the King's Removal from *Colnbrook* to *Brentford*, where he attacked the Parliament Garrison: Which Mr. *Neal* (good Man) takes to have been a

† The very *laborious* and *voluminous* (and I wish I could add fair, and impartial) Compiler of the *Republick of Letters*; for his Number for *March* 1736, seems to be in this way of thinking.

* *Neal* p. 151. Vol. *Pamp.* penes me. No. 68. p. 312. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 59. p. 326. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 34. p. 385. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 4. p. 430. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 82. p. 451. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 34. p. 495. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 73. p. 520. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 83. p. 532. Vol. *Pamp.* No. 52. p. 537. Vol. *Pamp.* p. 108.

Breach of Promise ; (tho' it would not have been so probably from the Rebels) and it might appear to be so to others, had we no better Authorities in Defence of the King's Honour in this Particular, than what he has afforded us. But the † King, has sufficiently justified the Action, with the Motives upon which he acted : And to me it seems plain, that if any *Treachery* was intended, 'twas against the King himself. But Mr. *Neal* informs us,

N. p. 2. *Of the great Consternation of the Citizens, which (he says) was inexpressible, they imagining the King would be next Morning at their Gates.*

Very probably they might (§ *Hannibal ad Portas*, was an old Stratagem) for Guilt is very apt to throw People into a *Panick* Fear. But this does not appear to have been the King's Intention, nay the contrary seems to have been the Truth from the King's own Words. * “ We cannot (says he) but make one Argument more of the Truth of our Profession, that
 “ this was all our End, and that we had not the least
 “ Thought by so advancing, to surprise and sack
 “ *London*, (which the *Malignant Party* would infuse
 “ into that our City) and that is, that probably God
 “ Almighty would not have given such a Blessing to
 “ our Journey, as to have assisted us so, both by
 “ Land and Water, as with less than a *third part of our*
 “ Foot, and with the *Loss* but of *ten Men*, to beat two
 “ of their best Regiments out of both *Brainford's*, for
 “ all the great Advantage of their Works in them, to
 “ kill him who commanded in chief, and to kill and
 “ drown many others, to take five hundred Prisoners,
 “ more Arms, eleven Colours, and good Store
 “ of Ammunition, fifteen Pieces of Ordnance (where-
 “ of we sunk most that we brought not away) and

† Reliq. Sacr. *Carolín.* A. p. 67. p. 69. and a much fairer Account than this of Mr. *Neal's*, is to be met with (I think) in *Rushworth's Collections*, 2d. Edit. Vol. 5. p. 59. and *May's Hist. of the Parliament*, B. 3. p. 33.

§. Ac Proximus Urbi *Hannibal*, — *Juvenal.* Satyr. vi. 290. Not. *Is. Grangæi*, alludit ad illud. *Hannibal ad Portas*. *Sallust in Jugurtha* : *Metus Hostilis in bonis Artibus Civitatem retinebat.* Vid. Edit. *Heninii*.

* His Majesty's Messages for Peace. Reliq. Sacr. *Carolín.* p. 68.

“ then

“ then unfought with and unoffered at, nearer than
 “ by Ordinance, to march away, notwithstanding the
 “ great Disadvantage of our Forces by the Difficulties
 “ of the Passages, if he who is the Searcher of all
 “ Hearts, and Truth itself, had not known the Truth
 “ of our Professions, and the Innocency of our Heart,
 “ and how far we were from deserving those horrid
 “ Accusations of Falshood and * Treachery, cast so
 “ point blank upon our own Person, that it would
 “ amaze any Man to see them suffered to be printed
 “ in our City of *London*, if any thing of that kind
 “ could be a Wonder, after so many of the same, and
 “ how really they desire Accommodation, who upon
 “ this have voted they will have none. These our Rea-
 “ sons for this Action, this our Satisfaction sent for it,
 “ and this Blessing of God upon it, will (we doubt
 “ not) clear up to all indifferent Persons, both of the
 “ *Jesuitical Counsels*, and the *Personal Treachery*, to
 “ which some have presumed so impudently to im-
 “ pute it; and God so bless our future Actions, as we
 “ have delivered the Truth of this.

“ Again, † That his Majesty had no Intention to
 “ master the City, by so advancing, besides his Pro-
 “ fession, which (how meanly soever they seem to
 “ value it) he conceives a sufficient Argument (espe-
 “ cially being only opposed by Suspicions and Sur-
 “ mises) may appear, by his not pursuing his Victory
 “ at *Brainford*, but giving Orders to his Army to
 “ march away to *Kingstone*, as soon as he heard that
 “ Place was quitted, before any Notice or Appear-
 “ ance of further Forces from *London*; nor could he
 “ find a better way to satisfy them beforehand, that
 “ he had no such Intention, but that his Desire of
 “ Peace and of Propositions that might conduce to it,
 “ still continued, than by that Message of the twelfth;
 “ for which Care of his he was requited by such a Re-

* The modest Mr. *Oldmixon*, notwithstanding this positive Declaration of the
 King's, has taken the Freedom to call it a *Treacherous Design* (*Hist. of the Royal*
House of Stuart, Vol. I. p. 214.) what Answer such an Assertion deserves, no one
 can want to be informed.

† *Reliq. Sacr. Carolin.* p. 73.

“ ception of his Message and Messenger, as was contrary at once both to Duty, Civility, and the very
 “ * Customs and Law of War and Nations, and such
 “ as theirs (though after this Provocation) hath not
 “ found from him.

Neal, p. 3. *The two Armies having faced each other all Day, his Majesty retreated at Night to Kingston, and from thence to Reading, where having left a Garrison, he returned to Oxford about the beginning of December with his Brentford Prisoners, the chief of whom were condemn'd to die, and had been executed for High Treason, if the two Houses had not threatned to make Reparals.*

* His Majesty discharged all the common Soldiers who had been taken Prisoners at *Brentford*, (before he directed his Forces to retire to *Reading*) (except such as had voluntarily offered to serve him) upon their Oaths, that they would no more bear Arms against his Majesty; notwithstanding which, two of their famed *Casuistical Divines*, and most eminent *Camp-Chaplains* † *Dr. Downing*, and *Mr. Marshall*, for the better recruiting the Parliament Army, publicly avowed,
 “ That the Soldiers lately taken Prisoners at *Brentford*, and discharged, and released by the King
 “ upon their Oaths, that they would never again bear
 “ Arms against him, were not obliged by that Oath;
 “ but by their Power they absolved them thereof,
 “ and so engaged again those miserable Wretches in
 “ a second Rebellion.”

* Lord *Clarendon* informs us, Vol. 2 p. 58. “ That upon the King's Advance to *Brentford*, he had sent a Servant of his own, one *Mr. White*, with the Message to the Parliament, containing the Reasons of that Motion, (there being no Cessation offered on their Part) and desiring the Propositions might be dispatched to him with all Speed. But this Messenger being carried to the Earl of *Essex*, was by him used very roughly, and by the Houses committed to the *Gate-house*, not without the Motion of some Men, That he might be executed as a Spy. See Sir *Philip Warwick's* Memoirs, p. 232.

* Reliq. Sacr. *Carolin.* p. 71. Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. Vol. 2. p. 59. *Eckard* Hist. of England, Vol. 2. p. 364.

† *Clarendon's* Hist. Vol. 2. p. 62. *Eckard*, Vol. 2. p. 366. *Salmon's* Chronological Historian, p. 85.

Mr. Oldmixon (Hist. of the Royal House of *Stuart*, Vol. 1. p. 215) with his usual Modesty, charges this Account of *Downing* and *Marshall* as a Falshood in *Mr. Eckard*. The Reader will readily judge what Weight *Mr. Oldmixon's* Testimony may carry, when opposed to Lord *Clarendon's* and *Mr. Eckard's*.

The

The mention of this would not have been much to Mr. Neal's Purpose ; upon which Account I presume he prudently omitted it. Nor does it appear, that the three Captains mentioned by *Rushworth*, viz. *Clifton Catesby*, *John Lilburne*, and *Robert Vivers*, [Vol. 5. p. 93.] were taken Prisoners at *Brentford*.

N. p. 4. Upon the whole it is probable, that the King came from Oxford with no other Design but to surprise the City of London, before the Earl of Essex's Army could arrive, but having missed his Aim, he framed his best Pretences to persuade the People, that his marching to *Brentford*, was only in his own Defence.

Tho' this has been sufficiently answered before by his Majesty, yet I will take the Liberty of adding what Mr. *Echard* and others observe upon the Occasion. “ * The Houses were very much displeased, and complained of Breach of Faith by the King's March to *Brentford*, and the City was strangely inflamed with an Opinion, that he designed to have surpriz'd them, and to have plunder'd the Place. The King being informed of all this, and that their Apprehensions would at least keep off all Propositions for Peace, while the Army lay so near *London*, he gave Directions to all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; first kindly discharging all the common Soldiers who had been taken at *Brentford* upon their Oaths, that they would no more take Arms against him. He likewise sent a Message to the two Houses, in which he took notice of those unjust Imputations raised on him; again gave them the Reasons of his Motion towards *Brentford*; of the Earl of *Essex*'s advancing towards him, possessing Places about him, and almost hemming him in, after their Commissioners were sent to him with the Petition; and that he never heard of any Cessation, but saw the contrary from them by that Advance. That he had not the least Thought of mastering the City by Force, or carrying his Army thither.” Mr. *Whitlock* seems to allow, that the

* *Echard* Vol. 2, p. 364.

King had Reason for removing towards *Brentford*.
 “ * The Commissioners of Parliament (says he) being newly departed from the King, he was informed that *Essex* had drawn forth his Cannon and Forces out of London, and was advised to take in *Brainford*; whither he advanced the same Night.

The King in Answer to the Petition of the two Houses, *November* the 24th, speaks as follows. † “ For the late, and sad Accident they mentioned, if they intended that of *Brentford*, he desired them once again to deal ingenuously with the People, and to let them see his last Message to them, and his Declaration concerning the same, (both which his Majesty had sent to his Press at *London*, but were taken away from his Messenger, and not suffered to be published) and then he doubted not, but they would be soon undeceiv’d, and easily find out those Counsels, which did rather persuade a desperate Division, than a good Agreement betwixt his Majesty, his two Houses, and his People, * touching the King’s March to *Brainford*; the Reasons thereof have been often declared in Print, to the Satisfaction of all indifferent Readers. But those barbarous Crueltys they speak of to be committed by the King, are most false; for there was not one Man slain but in the heat of War, and the King gave to all the Prisoners their Lives and Libertys, only upon Engagement not to take Arms against him for the future; which Engagement they traiterously and falsely broke, being thereof absolved by some of their wicked Ministers, as some of the said Prisoners (being afterwards taken again) confessed. The Reason why the King changed his Mind from staying at *Windsor*, and advanced to *Brainford*, was for that whilest their Commissioners were sent to him

* *Whitlock’s Memorials of the Reign of King Charles the first*, p. 62.

† *Lord Clarendon’s Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 62.

* *The Royal Apology*, or an Answer to the Declaration of the House of Commons the 11th of *February* 1647, in which they express their Reasons for their Resolutions for making no more Addresses, nor receiving any from his Majesty, p. 28. Publick Library Cambridge, Clafs 19. 7. 18. See *Kingdome’s Brief Answer to the late Declaration of No further Addresses*, p. 9. Printed 1648. penes ms.

“ to *Colebrooke*, that very Night Information was
 “ brought, that they were advanced with their Army
 “ and Ordnance towards him, and they take it very
 “ ill that he would not stay at *Windfor* till they came
 “ to take him.

“ * Whereas (says another Author) it is preten-
 “ ded, the King took Advantage to assault their
 “ Quarters at *Brainceford*, while they were in Treaty.
 “ Our Answer is, First, That there was no Provision
 “ made for the Suspension of all Hostility during that
 “ Space. 2. That Propositions were but pretended
 “ to be framing, (which have often taken up many
 “ Months in the Parliament) not sent to the King.
 “ 3. That they did not accept the King’s Motion to
 “ allow him his own House at *Windfor* for his Use.
 “ 4. That even the Day before there were diverse Men
 “ drawn out of *London* into *Kingston*, with Ordnance
 “ and Ammunition sent towards the King’s Quarters;
 “ the Earl of *Essex*, and *Waller*, and *Warwick* were
 “ in earnest Preparation to advance; the Countrys
 “ round about were summoned, and in Preparation
 “ to march. Upon which, let any reasonable Man
 “ judge, whether it were fit, the King should be meerly
 “ passive, or permit them either to surround and shut
 “ him in, or to creep into such Advantages over him,
 “ that if he had overslipt but that Nick of Time, he
 “ could not have redeemed himself and his Forces out
 “ of their Hands.

“ And since that impertinent Passage is foisted into
 “ their Declaration, that he was forced to retire with
 “ *Shame* and *Loss* after so much Cruelty committed
 “ at *Brainceford*, (agreeable to a false Relation published
 “ at that Time by their Command,) let all the World
 “ know, divers of this City being Witnesses of it the
 “ very next Day after, that there was left in that
 “ Town after the *Royal Army*’s Retreat, both abun-
 “ dance of Bread, Drink, and Wine, and also Pro-
 “ vender for Horse; nor was there any but here and

* The *Regal Apology*, or the Declaration of the Commons, Feb. 11th, 1647,
 canvassed, Printed 1648, p. 71, 72. *Publick Libr. Camb. Class* 19. 7. 13.

“ there

“ there a disaffected Person sustained a considerable
 “ Loss, which Thing border'd upon a Miracle, be-
 “ ing very rarely practiced by an Army, especially
 “ so ill paid, to lie there 15000 of them together for
 “ a whole Day and Night, in an *Enemy's Country*,
 “ a *Towne* which was defended against them; and taken
 “ by *Affault*, and followed in the Reate by a potent
 “ Army, yet to cominit no more Outrage: I am
 “ sure these Men can produce no such Instance of
 “ their Side. Now the *Parliament's Party*, when
 “ they afterwards came into the Towne (I know the
 “ Men that saw these Things) killed divers of the
 “ King's Soldiers who were left drunk in the Streets,
 “ taking that honest *Italian* Revenge, to send their
 “ drunken Soules to the Devil, (as much as in them
 “ lay) together with their Bodies to the *Grave*. Also
 “ the Souldiers pull'd down diverse Houses to the
 “ Ground, under Pretence that the Owners were in
 “ the Conspiracy to bring the *King's Army* to the
 “ Towne; plunder'd the Houses and Shops of others,
 “ nay of one who was in Service of their own Army,
 “ dragged poor wounded Men with Cords tied round
 “ about their Necks, pricking them behind with Pikes
 “ and Swords, twitching some up at a Cart's Tail by
 “ Roaps about their Necks, then letting them down
 “ again, under Pretence that they were *Irish*, and to
 “ make them confesse, whereas they were poor *Welch*,
 “ and could not speak our Language: Moreover they
 “ forced Women into the *Thames*, there pricking
 “ them with their Pikes, and striking them under
 “ Water, to put them to many Deaths at once, un-
 “ der the Notion of *Irish* Women: And all this Inhu-
 “ manity without any Check from their Commanders.
 “ See more in the Books referred to in the * Margin.

N. Ib. *Though his Majesty took all Occasions to make
 Offers of Peace to his Parliament, in hopes the Nation*

* The Kingdome's Brief Answer to the late Declaration of the House of Com-
 mons, Feb. 11, 1647, touching the Reasons of their *No further Addresses* to the
 King. London printed in the Year of our Lord 1648, p. 9. *Sanderfon's Hist. of King*
Charles, p. 593.

would compel them to an Agreement, by leaving him in Possession of all his Prerogatives, it is sufficiently evident he had no Intentions to yield any thing to obtain it, for in his Letter to Duke Hamilton dated December 2. 1642. He says, he had set up his rest upon the Justice of his Cause, being resolved that no Extremity or Misfortune should make him yield: For (says his Majesty) I will be either a glorious King, or a patient Martyr, and as yet not being the First, nor at this present apprehending the other, I think it no unfit Time to express this my Resolution unto you.

This is boldly asserted indeed: What, had the King no Intention to yield any thing to obtain an honourable Peace? The contrary manifestly appears,* from his Majesty's Messages for a Treaty from Oxford, March 3. 1643. † His Message after the ending of that Treaty, concerning the disbanding of all Forces. †† From his Message on the 19th of May in pursuance of the Former. § His Message from Evesham after the Defeat of Waller, at Cropedy Bridge, July 4. 1644. §§ His Message from Tavistock Sept. 8. 1644. after the Defeat of the Earl of Essex in Cornwall, with many other Messages to the same Purpose to be met with in the Book referred to in the Margin.**

N. Ib. The two Houses admitted the Laws of the Land to be the Rule of Government, and that the executive Power in Times of Peace was with the King.

Our Laws have no where (that I know of) distinguished between Times of Peace or War, with Regard to the King's Executive Power.

Id. Ib. But his Majesty had so often set aside the Laws by the Advice of a corrupt Ministry after repeated Assurances to the contrary, that they durst not confide in his Royal Word, and therefore insisted upon some additional Security for themselves and the Constitution.

Mr. Neal has not produced one single Proof in support of his Assertion, tho' he has confidently asserted it over and over again; and I challenge him to

* Reliqu. Sacr. Carolin. p. 72. † Id. p. 73. †† Id. p. 76. § Id. p. 78. §§ Id. ib. ** Id. p. 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 93, 98, 99, 100, 103, 105, 106, 108, &c.

instance in Particulars, and till then, I believe, he will meet with but small Credit, from the impartial Reader at least.

The incomparably learned Archbishop *Usher*, who lived in those Times, and had a thorough Knowledge of his Majesty, and must certainly have been better acquainted with his Cause than Mr. *Neal*, or Monsieur *Rapin*, in a Fit of Sickness, in which he expected to die, spoke to a Member of the House of Commons in the following manner, * “ Sir, you see
 “ I am very weak, and cannot expect to live many
 “ Hours, you are returning to the Parliament, I am
 “ going to God, my Blood and Life is almost spent;
 “ I charge you to tell them from me, that I know
 “ they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the King, and I am not mistaken in
 “ this Matter.” † Let it be calmly considered (says another Author who lived in those Times) whether this be a modest and decent Way of a House of Commons to charge the King as a *perjured Man*, whom they have ever professed they would make a *glorious King*; especially when their said Charge is as false in the Matter, as shameful in the Manner; for they are not able to fix upon the King any one Particular, wherein he hath broken his Oath or Protestation, when the Truth of the Fact and Circumstances shall be truly set down on the Behalf of the King, as well as their false Relations of the said Fact, with their Strains and malicious Glosses thereupon; and doubtless if the King were not highly punctual and religious in the Observance of the said Oath, he would not suffer those Miseries and Hazards which he doth, rather than infringe it.— Let them consider that their present Animosity against the King, is chiefly because they cannot make him consent to be *perjured*. He hath sworn to maintain the Laws, to protect his

* Dr. Parr's Life of Archbishop *Usher* prefixed to his Letters, p. 61. See Letters concerning State Affairs. Vol. III. Printed 1735. No. 430. p. 450.

† *The Royal Apology*, &c. p. 8.

Subjects, to defend the Church, to maintain the
 Religion establish'd by the Laws, to uphold the
 just Rights inherent in the Crown, or legally there-
 unto annexed, and because he will not consent to
 be perjured in them all (which he must be, if he
 should consent to their Demands) he must be de-
 clared unworthy to govern, and by some among
 them, not worthy to live, be close imprisoned, and
 debarred of all Comforts of Life. God in his due
 Time will be judge between them and the King,
 and so will all sober and disinterested Men.

N. p. 6. *Lord Clarendon was of Opinion, That even
 at the Treaty of Uxbridge, if the Parliament could
 have obtained an Act of Oblivion for what was past,
 and good Security for the King's governing by Law, the
 Affair of Religion might easily have been compromised.*

Where does Lord Clarendon discover this Opinion?
 As he is faulty even when he quotes his Authorities,
 I am unwilling to take his Word, when he makes no
 Reference at all.

I find an Author of those Times of a different Opi-
 nion, who tells us, That the Parliament * 'hav-
 ing tasted a while of the *Sweets of Sovereignty*, pro-
 ceed still to prosecute it upon the same Principles
 that they began it, and kept off his Majesty from
 all Possibility of an Accommodation, by fresh
 Supplies of Demands, more monstrous and un-
 reasonable than the first. And of this Strain were
 the nineteen Propositions presented by the Com-
 missioners of both Houses to his Majesty at *Cole-
 brooke*, the Propositions of both Kingdoms present-
 ed first at *Oxford*, a second Time at *Newcastle*,
 and now lately again at *Hampton-Court*; to all
 which his Majesty returned convincing Reasons of
 his Denial, they being such as he could not assent
 unto, without manifest Violation of his *Honour*
 and *Conscience*, by yielding up the *Regal Dignity*,

* The Case of the King stated from the very beginning of the War to this pre-
 sent Day, by *Basilus Anonymus*, Printed 1647. p. 4. Publick Library Cambridge.
 Class 19. 7. 32.

‘ with the *Revenues, Rights, and Endowments of the Church* (which he is sworn to defend) and a wilful
 ‘ *Condemnation of his own most just Cause*, and all
 ‘ those that had adhered closest to him, in the midst
 ‘ of his Adversity.

‘ And as Propositions have been made use of
 ‘ hitherto, only to vex him, and delude the *King-*
 ‘ *dom* with pretended Offers towards an *Accommodation*,
 ‘ the same hath been the Aim likewise in all their
 ‘ *Messages and Treaties*, but especially that main One
 ‘ at *Uxbridge*, where it is a Shame to consider how
 ‘ far his *Majesty condescended unto them*, out of his in-
 ‘ deed Affection to his wearied and wasted *Subjects*,
 ‘ toward the procuring of a firm and well grounded
 ‘ Peace, valuing the Quiet and Comfort of his *Peo-*
 ‘ *ple*, before many known and undoubted *Preroga-*
 ‘ *tives of the Crown*. But the *Houses* having then
 ‘ for some Years engrossed the greatest Places of
 ‘ Honour and Profit in their own Hands, had not
 ‘ made their full *Markets* at the Price of the *Peoples*
 ‘ Blood, and therefore kept still at such a Distance,
 ‘ that all his Majesty’s Endeavours for *Agreement*
 ‘ were rendered fruitless and unprofitable; so that
 ‘ instead of the sweet *Musick of Peace*, expected by
 ‘ the *Treaty*, the *Kingdom* trembled again with fresh
 ‘ *Alarms* unto the War, and all turned to Con-
 ‘ fusion.

N. p. 6. *The King’s Affairs had a promising Aspect this Winter, his Forces in the North, under the Earl of Newcastle were superior to those of Sir Thomas Fairfax.*

He should have said Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax*.
 * *Rushworth* informs us in the Place referred to (Vol. 5. p. 66.) ‘ That Lord *Ferdinando Fairfax* associated
 ‘ the County of *York*, and all the before-mentioned
 ‘ northern Counties. And he was the General of all
 ‘ the northern Forces raised, or to be raised for the
 ‘ King and Parliament.

N. p. 7. *His Majesty in order to bring over the Irish Forces under the Command of the Duke of Ormonde con-*

sent to a Truce with the Irish Rebels (Signed Sept. 15. 1643.) In which he allowed the Catholicks to remain in Possession of what they had conquered since the Rebellion, to the great Grief of the Protestants, who by this Means were legally dispossessed of their Estates; a most unpopular Action in favour of a People, who by the late Massacre were become the very Reproach and Infamy of human Nature.

There was a Necessity for complying with a *Truce*, as appears in a Letter from the Lords Justices to the King (11th of May 1643.) complaining of the Members at *Westminster*, for not furnishing them with the promised Supplies. ‘ * We have (say they) by the Blessing of God been hitherto prosperous and successful in your Majesty’s Affairs here, and should be still hopeful by the Mercy of God, under the Royal Direction of your sacred Majesty, to vindicate your Majesty’s Honour, and recover your Rights here, and take due Vengeance of those Traitors, for the innocent Blood they have spilt, if we might be strengthened or supported therein by needful Supplies out of *England*; but those Supplies being hitherto expected to come from the † Parliament of *England* (on which if your Majesty

B 2

‘ had

* *Rusworth’s Collections*. Vol. 5. p. 539. Lord Clarendon’s Hist. Vol. 2. p. 321. Mr. Carte’s Letters concerning State Affairs. Vol. 3. p. 162. ‘ The King in his Proclamation against the *Irish* Rebellion Jan. 1. 1641. authorized his Justices of *Ireland*, and others his chief Governour or Governours, and General, or Lieutenant General of his Army there, and did thereby accordingly require, and authorize them and every of them to prosecute the said Rebels and Traitors with Fire and Sword, as Persons, who by their high Disloyalty against him their undoubted King and Sovereign, had made themselves unworthy of any Mercy or Favour.” (A Collection of Letters concerning State Affairs, &c. published 1735. Vol. 3. No. 53. p. 53.) And the Lords Justices and Council in a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons in *England*, (Letters concerning State Affairs, 1735. No. 134. p. 134.) use the following Words, ‘ And here we cannot but lament in the Consideration of the Shame and Dishonour which will reflect upon the *English* Nation, if now, after so long and often Forewarnings given by us to that Honourable House, this Kingdome be lost, and that by want of Supplies from thence; wherein all the Comfort left us, is this, that we have done our Parts, and discharged our Duties to God, his Majesty, and to all his Kingdoms, who must bear their Part with us in so heavy a Loss.” See Letter of the Justices of *Ireland* 13. Martij 1642. to Speaker *Lenthall*. [Letters concerning State Affairs. No. 141. p. 148.] See their Letter to his Majesty. *Id. ib.* No. 144. p. 151, 152. No. 149. p. 156.

† In a Letter from the Officers of the Army to the Lords Justices and Council,

' had not relied we are assured you would, in your
 ' high Wisdom, have found out some other means
 ' to preserve this your Kingdom) and so great and
 ' apparent Failure having happened therein, and all
 ' the former and late Easterly Winds bringing us no
 ' other Provisions than those few Cheese and Butter,
 ' and no Advertisement being brought us of any fu-
 ' ture Supplies to be so much as in the way hither,
 ' whereby there might be any likelihood, that con-
 ' siderable means of Support for your Majesty's
 ' Army might arrive here, in any reasonable Time,
 ' before that we be totally swallowed up by the Re-
 ' bels, and your Kingdom by them wrested from
 ' you ; we find ourselves so disappointed of our
 ' Hopes from the *Parliament*, as must needs trench
 ' to the utter Loss of the Kingdome, if your Majesty
 ' in your high Wisdom, ordain not some present
 ' means of Preservation for us.

Nay they, in their Letter in Answer to a Letter of
 the Members of the two Houses remaining at *West-*
minster, directed to the two Speakers, plainly dis-
 prove this Charge of Mr. *Neal's*: * ' Concerning the

Council, are the following Words— ' Or give us leave to make our Applica-
 ' tion to his Majesty, for a more ample Supply to our Wants, which all the
 ' World cannot choose but see are exceeding great ; and which do daily increase
 ' upon us (notwithstanding your Lordship's so often, and most earnest soliciting the
 ' Parliament for us, and the lively Representation which their *Committee of Great*
 ' *Trust* have made unto them) that we are likely to perish under the Burden of
 ' them for ought we see, unless we betake us for our Relief to the *Fountain of*
 ' *Justice* and Piety, our gracious Sovereign, who we doubt not according to his
 ' Princely Favour will be ready to succour us.' [Collection of Letters, published
 by Mr. *Carte* 1735. No. 127. p. 129.] See their Address to his Majesty to the
 same Purpose. *Id. ibid.* No. 120. The King in a Letter to the Lords Justices,
 and Marquiss of *Ormonde*, 7. *Sept.* 19. Year of his Reign. [Letters concerning
 State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 169. p. 172.] has the following Expressions, ' where-
 ' as not only the great Neglect of the Affairs of that our Kingdome, by the re-
 ' maining Part of our Houses of Parliament, who pretended so great care of it ;
 ' but their impious perverting of all the Supplies, destined to their Relief by our Au-
 ' thority (which did ever most readily concur to any Levy of Men, Money, or any
 ' other Work, in order to the Assistance of our *Protestant* Subjects there, and the
 ' employing the same in an unnatural War against us their Leige Lord and Sovereign,
 ' hath reduced our Army in that our Kingdom into so heavy Streights, that out of our
 ' Care for the Preservation of them, who so faithfully ventured their Lives for our
 ' Service, we were brought to condescend to a Treaty for a Cessation of Arms.

* Lord *Clarendon's* History of the Rebellion. Vol. 2. p. 335. See the Letter
 at large, remonstrating the ill Usage of that Kingdome by the Members at *West-*
minster. Letters concerning State Affairs, 1735. Vol. 3. No. 182. p. 183. to
 193. exclusive.

' Commission

' Commission in your Letters mentioned, it was not
 ' to hear what the Rebels would say, or propound
 ' for their own Advantage, as your Letters mention;
 ' but his Majesty having received an humble Petition
 ' in the Name of the *Recusants of Ireland*, desiring
 ' to be heard, his Majesty thought it not unjust or
 ' inconvenient for him, to receive from them, what
 ' they should say unto him; to whom they insinuated,
 ' that they would yet yield due Obedience. And
 ' therefore his Majesty by his Commission, under
 ' the Great Seal of *England* (wherein he declareth his
 ' extreme Abhorrence of the odious Rebellion, which
 ' the *Recusants of Ireland* have, without any Ground
 ' or Colour raised against him, his Crown and Dig-
 ' nity) authorised some of his Ministers here, to hear
 ' at large what the Petitioners should say or pro-
 ' pound, which his Majesty by the said Commission
 ' directed, that the Petitioners, or the Principal of
 ' them, authorised by the rest should set down in
 ' writing under their Hands, and the Commissioners
 ' to send the same unto his Majesty; whereupon
 ' his Majesty by the same Commission declared, he
 ' would take such farther Consideration, as should
 ' be just, honourable, and fit for his Majesty: And
 ' that that Course gave not the least Interruption to
 ' the Proceedings of the War, appears by this, that
 ' on the eighteenth of *March* (being in the Time the
 ' Commissioners authorised by his Majesty, gave
 ' meeting to those of the other side upon that Com-
 ' mission) the Lord Marquess of * *Ormonde*, tho' one
 ' of those Commissioners, in his return from *Rosfo*
 ' with about two thousand five hundred Foot, and

* The Marquess of *Ormonde* was a great Sufferer by the Rebellion in *Ireland*, as
 appears from a Letter of his in his Sickness to the King, 1 Sept. 1642. [Letters
 concerning State Affairs published by Mr. Carte, 1735. No. 105. p. 103.] ' All
 ' my Estate is rent and torn from me by the Fury of this Rebellion raging now
 ' in the Kingdome, and nothing left, if I should die of this Sickness, to support my
 ' dear Wife and Children, whilst the present Rebellion shall last; but your Ma-
 ' jestie's great Goodness, which never failed me, and which I doe most humbly
 ' beseech your Majestie may be extended towards them, in taking care of them,
 ' by making some such honourable Provision for them as your Majesty in your
 ' great Goodness and Wisdom shall think fit, untill my own Estate may be so
 ' settled, as that thereout they may receive convenient Maintenance.

“ five hundred Horse of his Majesty’s Army, fought
 “ with the Army of the Rebels, consisting of about
 “ six thousand Foot, and six hundred and fifty Horse,
 “ and obtained a happy and glorious Victory against
 “ them; and the Rebels Army being defeated, and
 “ wholly routed, and their Baggage and Munition
 “ seized on, his Majesty’s Forces lodged that Night
 “ where they had gained that Victory.

Signed from his Majesty’s Castle at *Dublin*, 28. Oc-
 tober 1643.

Jo. Borlase.
La. Dublin.
Ant. Midenfis.
Geo. Shurley.
Fr. Willoughby.
Hen. Titchborne.
Ormonde.
Edw. Brabazon.

Ger. Lowther.
Tho. Lucas.
G. Wentworth.
Rich. Bolton, Canc.
Roscommon.
Char. Lambert.
Thomas Rotherham.
Ja. Ware.

“ * There was no sober Man in *Ireland* or *Eng-*
 “ *land*, who believed it to be in the King’s Power to
 “ enable his People to carry on the War; for all
 “ Men too well knew, that he had neither Money,
 “ Victual, Ammunition or Shipping to supply them:
 “ and therefore his Majesty could not but conclude,
 “ that by this Application of that State to him, they
 “ hoped he would endeavour to extinguish that War;
 “ which he could not maintain: And it is very true,
 “ that at the same Time with this Letter [*viz.* from
 “ the Lords Justices before mentioned] he received

* Lord Clarendon’s Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 322. See Lord Clarendon’s Hist. View of the Affairs of *Ireland*, 1720, p. 19, &c. Saint John’s Libr. *Cambr.* H. h. 8, 29. The Earl of *Clanricarde* and St. *Albars* in a Letter to his Brother the Earl of *Essex*, (Collection of Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. published by Mr. *Tho. Carte* 1735. No. 84. p. 77.) has the following Remark.
 “ For my Expression concerning the *Scots*, I did and do still believe, that it may be
 “ worthy your Consideration there, that they, when this Rebellion began, were
 “ above 40000 well armed in the North of this Kingdom, and might easily have
 “ broken it in the Beginning, but they have stay’d a Time of more Advantage, to
 “ have Pay and Arms out of *England*, strong Fortresses delivered them here, and
 “ more Forfeitures of Estates. This I relate as the Observation of knowing discreet
 “ Persons, and no Conceptions of mine.

Advice and Information, from some of his prime
 Ministers of that Kingdom, who were well known,
 and acknowledged perfectly to abhor the Rebel-
 lion, " That there was no reasonable Hope of pre-
 serving his *Protestant* Subjects, and his own Interest
 in that Kingdome, but by treating with the Rebels,
 and making a Peace or Truce with them." The
 King well foresaw to what Reproaches he should
object [subject] himself, by entring into such a Trea-
 ty with those Rebels; and that they who had persua-
 ded many to believe, that he had given Counte-
 nance to, if not fomented the Rebellion, against
 all human Evidence that can be imagined, would
 more easily gain Credit, when they should be able
 to say, that he had made a Peace with them: Be-
 sides, that he had bound himself not to make Peace
 with the Rebels in *Ireland*, without the Consent of
 his two Houses of Parliament in *England*. * On
 the other Side, nothing was more demonstrable,
 than that his *Protestant* Subjects there, could not
 defend the little they had left, without extraordi-
 nary Aid and Assistance out of *England*, that it was
 impossible for him to send any to them, and as vi-
 sible, that the Parliament would not, or could not;
 so that it seemed only in his Election, whether he
 could preserve the Remainder of his *Protestant* Sub-
 jects there, and that whole Kingdom in Dependance
 upon his Crown, with the Inconvenience of some
 perverse and unreasonable Scandal; or suffer them
 to be rooted out; and undergo the perpetual Ob-
 loquy of having lost a Kingdome, when it was in
 his Power to have retained it within his Subjection;
 and whatever he had obliged himself to, in those

* The Cessation was signed by the Privy Council, and Officers in *Ireland*, Sep-
 tember 15, 1643. (Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 172. p. 174.) the
 King in the Grounds and Motives inducing his Majesty to a Cessation (Letters, &c.
 No. 173. p. 176.) complains, " That instead of any Redress or Relief—such Ships
 as were by the Care and Charity of some well affected Persons, provided to trans-
 port Clothes and Victuals to them, were in their Voyage thither seized, and taken
 by the Ships under the Earl of *Warwick*: and instead of Endeavours to send more
 Forces thither, attempts were made to draw the *Scots* Forces from thence into this
 Kingdome.

‘ Acts of Parliament which he had pass’d for the Relief of *Ireland*, before any Rebellion in *England*, was not, that there might never be a Peace in *Ireland*, but that the two Houses might co-operate with him, whereby the Rebels might be reduced to those Streights, that they might be compelled to submit to the Performance of their Duties : And that instead of any such Co-operation, the two Houses refused to concur with him in any Thing, and had employed those Monies, which had been raised by those very Acts, for the Relief of *Ireland*, in the Maintenance of the Armys which had given his Majesty Battle in *England*, expressly contrary to the Words of those Acts; and therefore that his Majesty might be reasonably discharg’d from the Covenants on his Part.

‘ Upon these Considerations after two Months delay, to see whether yet the Parliament would take care of them, and having received fresh Importunities and Advices from thence, about the end of *July* he writ to the Lords Justices of *Ireland* to conclude a Cessation.

‘ † This Cessation was no sooner known in *England*, but the two Houses declared against it with all the sharp Gloss upon it to his Majesty’s Dishonour that can be imagined : Persuading the People, “ That the Rebels were now brought to the last Gasps, and reduced to so terrible a Famine, That, like *Cannibals* they eat one another, and must have been destroyed immediately, and utterly rooted out, if by the *Papish* Counsels at Court, the King had not been perswaded to consent to this Cessation.” “ It is one of the Instances of the strange fatal Misunderstanding which possessed this Time, that notwithstanding

† Lord Clarendon’s Hist. View of the Affairs of *Ireland*, p. 323. Lord Digby in his Letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, May 9, 1644, (Letters concerning State Affairs, No. 285. p. 298.) makes the following Remark. “ The Truth of the Case is thus: Every Body that is faithful to the King’s Interest, apprehends the Necessities of a Peace, both for the Preservation of the *Protestants* in *Ireland*, and the Support of our Affairs here ; but every body also is seeking as the *Ape* did, to pull the Chesnut out of the Fire with the *Puppy’s* Foot, and to cast off the Counsel of granting the *Irish* any thing at all to his Neighbour,

‘ all the Caution the King used in meddling at all
 ‘ with the Business of that Kingdome from the Time
 ‘ of the Rebellion, and the clear Discovery of all
 ‘ particular Reasons, Grounds and Counsels, when
 ‘ he found it necessary to interpose in it, the Calum-
 ‘ nies and Slanders raised to his Majesty’s Disservice
 ‘ and Dishonour, made a more than ordinary Im-
 ‘ pression upon the Minds of Men, and not only of
 ‘ vulgar spirited People, but of those who resisted
 ‘ all other Infusions and Infection. And Posterity no
 ‘ question, will enquire from what Rise or Spring this
 ‘ Disadvantage flow’d ; to which I can apply no other
 ‘ Satisfaction, besides the Disease of the Time ; which
 ‘ imputed all Designs, to Designs upon Religion, and
 ‘ whatsoever was done by the *Papists* to the Zeal of
 ‘ the Queen on Behalf of her own Religion ; than
 ‘ that the chief Managers and Conducters of their
 ‘ Counsels, found it necessary to aver many Things of
 ‘ Fact upon their own Knowledge, (by which they
 ‘ found the Understanding of Men liable to be capti-
 ‘ vated) which in Truth were not so : As I my self found
 ‘ by some sober Men, at such Times as there was Oc-
 ‘ casion of Intercourse, and Conference with them ;
 ‘ and they did upon such Assurance believe, that the
 ‘ King had done somewhat in the Business of *Ireland*,
 ‘ (some having avowed, that they had seen his Hand
 ‘ to such Letters and Instructions) which upon as
 ‘ much Knowledge, as any Man can morally have
 ‘ of a Negative, I am sure he never did.’ Would
 Mr. *Neal* be always so candid to read Authorities on
 both Sides, I am willing to believe, that he would not
 assert in the Manner he frequently does.

N. p. 9. *Though the King had rejected the Scots Me-
 diation, and had set up his Rest upon the Justice of his
 Cause, he was pleased before the beginning of the Cam-
 paign, to admit of a Treaty with his two Houses.*

And this was done in a Way that plainly shew’d,
 that he had nothing so much as the real Interest of his
 Subjects at Heart, as appears from his Message for a
 Treaty, *March 3, 1643, from Oxford.*

▪ C. R.

OUT of our most tender and pious Sense of the sad and bleeding Condition of this our Kingdome, and our unwearied Desires to apply all Remedys, which by the Blessing of Almighty God may recover it from an utter Ruine; by the Advice of the Lords and Commons assembled at Oxford, we do propound and desire, that a convenient Number of fit Persons may be appointed and authorized by you to meet with all convenient Speed at such Place as you shall nominate, with an equal Number of fit Persons, whom we shall appoint and authorize to treat of the Ways and Means to settle the present Distractions of our Kingdome, and to procure a happy Peace, and particularly how all the Members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free Convention of Parliament, there to treat, consult and agree upon such Things as may conduce to the Maintenance and Defence of the true Reformed *Protestant* Religion, with due Consideration to all just and reasonable Ease of tender Consciences; to the settling and maintaining of our just Rights and Priviledges; of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and all other Expedients that may conduce to that blessed End of a firm and lasting Peace both in Church and State, and a perfect Understanding betwixt us and our People, wherein no Endeavour or Concurrence of ours shall be wanting. And God direct your Hearts in the Way of Peace. Given at our Court at Oxford the third Day of March 1643.

Supercribed, *To the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.*

Lord Clarendon informs us, That when they had sent their Commissioners, they made use of one Stratagem which at that Time occasioned some Mirth.

* The common People of *London* were perswaded, that there was so great Scarcity of Victual and Provisions at *Oxford*, and in all the King's Quarters, that they were not without Danger of starving; and that if all other Ways failed, that alone would in a short Time bring the King to them. To make good this Report, Provisions of all Kinds, even to Bread, were sent in Waggons, and on Horses from *London* to *Oxford*, for the Supply of this Committee: When without doubt they found as great Plenty of all Things where they came, as they had left behind them.

Mr. *Neal* has much curtail'd the Propositions of the Parliament, as the Reader may be convinced by comparing him with Lord † *Clarendon*, who informs us, That they * who brought this Petition and Propositions, spake to their Friends at *Oxford* with all Freedome of the Persons from whom they came, inveigh'd against their Tyranny and Unreasonableness, and especially against the Propositions, themselves had brought, but positively declared, That if the King would vouchsafe so gracious an Answer (which they confess'd they had no Reason to expect) as might engage the two Houses in a Treaty, it would not be in the Power of the violent Party to deny whatever his Majesty could reasonably desire.

N. p. 13. *To the forementioned Propositions and Bills, his Majesty, after a sharp Reply to the Preamble, returned the following Answer: That though many of them were destructive of his just Power; yet because they might be mollified and explain'd by Debates, he is pleased to agree, that a Time and Place be appointed for the Meeting of Commissioners on both Sides to discuss them, and to consider of the following Proposals of his own.*

¶ Though the King (says Lord *Clarendon*) expected little from these private Undertakings, well

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 90.

† Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. Vol. 2. p. 92, 93.

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 94. ¶ Ibid.

knowing

' knowing that they who wished best, were of least
 ' Power, and that the greatest among them, as soon
 ' as they were but suspected to incline to Peace, im-
 ' mediately lost their Reputation, his Majesty with-
 ' in two Days graciously dismissed those Messengers
 ' with this Answer.' " If his Majesty had not given
 " up all the Facultys of his Soul to an earnest Endeav-
 " our of Peace and Reconciliation with his People,
 " or if he would suffer himself, by any Provocation,
 " to be drawn to a Sharpness of Language, at a Time
 " when there seems somewhat like an Overture of
 " Accommodation, he could not but resent the heavy
 " Charges upon him in the Preamble of these Propo-
 " sitions; would not suffer himself to be reproach'd with
 " protecting of Delinquents by force from Justice,
 " (his Majesty's Desire having always been, that all
 " Men should be tried by the known Law, and having
 " been refused it) with raising an Army against his
 " Parliament, and to be told that Arms have been
 " taken up against him for the Defence of Religion,
 " Laws, Liberties and Privileges of Parliament, and
 " for the sitting of the Parliament in Safety, with
 " many other Particulars in that Preamble so often,
 " and so fully answered by his Majesty, without re-
 " membring the World of the Time and Circumstan-
 " ces of raising those Arms against him; when his
 " Majesty was so far from being in a Condition to invade
 " other Mens Rights, that he was not able to main-
 " tain and defend his own from Violence: And with-
 " out telling his good Subjects, that their Religion,
 " (the true *Protestant* Religion in which his Majesty
 " was born, hath faithfully lived, and to which he
 " will die a willing Sacrifice) their Laws, Liberties,
 " Priviledges, and Safety of Parliament were so am-
 " ply settled and established, or offered to be so by
 " his Majesty, before any Army was raised against
 " him, and long before any raised by him for his De-
 " fence, that if nothing had been desired but that
 " Peace and Protection which his Subjects, and their
 " Ancestors had, in the best Times enjoyed under his
 " Majesty,

• Majesty, or his Royal Predecessors, this Misunderstanding and Distance between his Majesty and his People, and this general Misery and Distraction upon the Face of the whole Kingdome, had not been now the Discourse of all *Christendome*.

• But his Majesty will forbear any Expressions of Bitterness, or of a Sense of his own Sufferings, that if it be possible the Memory thereof may be lost to the World. — And therefore, tho' many of the Propositions presented to his Majesty by both Houses, appear to him very derogatory and destructive to his just Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficial to his Subjects, few of them being already due to them by the Laws established, (and how unparliamentary it is by Armes to require new Lawes, all the World may judge) yet (because these may be waved or mollified, and many Things that are now dark and doubtful in them cleared, and explained upon Debate) his Majesty is pleased, such is his Sense of the Miseries this Kingdom suffers by this unnatural War, and his earnest Desire to remove them by an happy Peace, “ That a speedy Time and Place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such Persons as his Majesty and both Houses shall appoint to discuss these Propositions.”

This was his Majesty's *sharp Reply to the Preamble of the Propositions of the two Houses*.

Lord Clarendon, after the six Articles, gives us his Majesty's concluding Words, (prudently omitted by Mr. Neal) “ * This Offer and Desire of his Majesty he hopes will be so chearfully entertained, that a speedy and blessed Peace may be accomplished. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting upon unreasonable Circumstances be made impossible, (which he hopes God in his Mercy to this Nation will not suffer) the Guilt of the Blood which will be shed, and the Desolation which must follow, will lie upon the Heads of the Refusers! However his Majesty

* Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 95.

“ is resolved, through what Accidents soever he shall
 “ be compelled to recover his Rights, and with what-
 “ ever prosperous Success so it shall please God to bless
 “ him, that by his earnest constant Endeavours to pro-
 “ pagate and promote the true *Protestant* Religion,
 “ and by his governing according to the *known Laws of*
 “ *the Land*, and by upholding the just *Privileges of*
 “ Parliament, according to his frequent Protestations
 “ made before Almighty God, (which he will always
 “ inviolably observe) the World shall see, that he
 “ hath undergone all these Difficulties and Hazards
 “ for the Defence and Maintenance of those, the
 “ zealous Preservation of which, his Majesty well
 “ knows is the only Foundation and Means for the
 “ true Happiness of him and his People.

Mr. *Neal* has produced every Thing relating to
 this Treaty from *Whitlock* and *Rushworth*, which
 might reflect the least Discredit upon his Majesty's
 Conduct, but has not been so *candid*, as to give us
 Mr. *Whitlock*'s Account of the King's great Civility
 to the Parliament Commissioners (for the Omission
 of which he probably has his Reasons in Reserve)
 * The King used them (says he) with great Fa-
 vour and Civility: And his General *Rutben*, and
 divers of his Lords and Officers came frequently to
 their Table; and they had very friendly Discourses
 and Treatments together. The King himself did
 them the Honour sometimes to accept of part of
 their Wine and Provisions, which the Earl (viz. of
Northumberland) sent to him when they had any
 thing extraordinary —

Their Instructions were very strict, and tied them
 up to treat with none but the King himself, whom
 they often attended at his Lodgings at *Christ Church*,
 and had Access at all times when they desired it;
 and were allowed by his Majesty a very free Debate
 with him.

* *Whitlock's Memorials*. p. 65. *B. Kenner's complete History of England*, Vol.
 3. p. 123. *Lord Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 147. *Eschard's Hist. of England*, Vol.
 2. p. 399.

' He had commonly waiting on him, when he
 ' treated with them, Prince *Rupert*, and the Lord
 ' Keeper *Littleton*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the
 ' Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, and several Lords of his
 ' Council, who never debated any Matters with them,
 ' but gave their Opinions to the King in those Things,
 ' which he demanded of them, and sometimes would
 ' put the King in mind of some particular Things, but
 ' otherwise they did not speak at all. In this Treaty
 ' the King manifested his great Parts and Abilities,
 ' Strength of Reason, and Quickness of Apprehen-
 ' sion, with much Patience in hearing what was ob-
 ' jected against him; wherein he allowed all Free-
 ' dome; and would himself summ up the Arguments;
 ' and give a most clear Judgment upon them.

' His Unhappiness was, that he had a better Opi-
 ' nion of others Judgments than his own, though they
 ' were weaker than his own; and of this the Parlia-
 ' ment Commissioners had Experience to their great
 ' Trouble.

N. p. 15. *Mr. Whitlock says, That the Commis-
 sioners (of which he was one) having been with the King
 one Evening till Midnight, gave his Majesty such Rea-
 sons to consent to a very material Point, which would have
 much concluded to an happy Issue and Success of the Treaty,
 that he told them, " He was fully satisfied, and promised
 " to let them have his Answer in writing, according to
 " their Desire next Morning." But when the Commis-
 sioners were withdrawn, some of the King's Bed-Chamber,
 and they went bigger, fearing the King's Concessions
 would tend to Peace, never left persuading him, till he
 had altered his Resolution, and gave Orders for the fol-
 lowing Answer to be drawn up directly contrary to what
 he had promised the Commissioners.*

'* Allowing (says Bishop *Kennet*) this Relation of one
 ' of the Commissioners themselves to be true and candid,
 ' we cannot but lament the Unhappiness of the good
 ' King, that some of his most intimate Confidants
 ' were against concluding a Peace, &c. (as in Mr.

Neal) But indeed in the present Case 'tis possible,
 that the Friends whom he consulted did really ap-
 prehend, that the more he yielded, the more Bur-
 then was pressed upon him; and therefore might
 well endeavour to prevail, that he should never re-
 cede from an Authority sufficient to restore him-
 self, and defend those who had faithfully adhered to
 him.

Mr. Neal then gives his Majesty's final Answer, and
 makes the following Remark upon it, p. 17. That
*this resolute Answer broke off the Treaty, and left the
 Quarrel to be decided by the Sword.*

The very Answer as it stands in Mr. Neal curtail'd
 in the first Article, shews plainly, how desirous his
 Majesty was of Peace, and what large Concessions he
 was willing to make towards it. And in the second
 Article he seems to give up the Bishops Votes. As
 soon (says the King) as all the Members of both
 Houses shall be restored to the same Capacity of sit-
 ting and voting in Parliament, as they had on the
 18th of January 1641, the same Rights belonging
 to them by their Birthrights, and the free Elections
 of those that sent them; and having been voted from
 them for adhering to his Majesty, in these Distracti-
 ons, his Majesty not intending that this should
 extend either to the Bishops, whose Votes had been
 taken away by Bill, or to such, in whose Places upon
 new Writs, new Elections have been made. [See
Sanderson's Life of King Charles, p. 612.]

Mr. Echard observes upon this Treaty as follows,
 * That the plain Difference between them was, whe-
 ther the King would reserve the Disposal of the great
 Offices and Places of Trust to himself, as all *English*
 Kings had enjoy'd; or whether he would be content
 with such a Nomination, as being to depend upon
 their Approbation, no Man should be admitted to
 them, who should be named by him.

* Echard's History of England, Vol. 2. p. 398.

And Lord *Clarendon's* Observation is, * That what was done in the Houses during the Time of the Treaty, was by their Directions; That by their own Authority, they directed all the Lands of the *Bishops* †, *Deans* and *Chapters* to be sequestred, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under Pretence of searching for Arms, and taking away superstitious Pictures, they caused the Queen's Chapel at *Somerset House* (where she was to exercise her Devotion, if they ever meant she should return again to *London*) to be most licentiously rifled; in which Licence with Impunity her Lodgings were plundered, and all her Furniture and Goods of Value taken away and imbezell'd; and that there was an Order made in the House of Commons, when they sent their Messengers every Day to *Oxford*, without any Formality or Controul, " That whatsoever Person should come from *Oxford*, or any part of the King's Army to *London*, or the Parts adjacent, without the Warrant of both Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord General the Earl of *Essex*, he should be apprehended as a *Spy* and *Intelligencer*, and be proceeded against according to the Rules and Grounds of War." By virtue of which Order of the House of Commons only, and without any Communication that Notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for discharging the Duty of his Place, was * executed.—

Whosoever remembers the other Propositions upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent, must know, that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the *Nineteen Propositions*, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many Additions made

* Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. Vol. 2. p. 175, 176.

† See the Amount of *Dean and Chapter* Lands, Appendix. No. XI.

* The King, (says Mr. *Salmon*, Chronological Historian, p. 89.) sending *Daniel Kniventon* and *Carpenter* to the Judges at *Westminster*, (November 27, 1643.) for adjourning *Michaelmas* Term from *London* to *Oxford*, the Rebels condemn the Messengers as Spies, and executed *Kniventon*.

' that were not in the former; that they demanded
 ' the total Abolition and Extirpation of Archbishops,
 ' Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and the whole Frame
 ' of the Government of the Church; and another
 ' Bill for the calling an Assembly of Divines nomi-
 ' nated by themselves, (which was a Presumption as
 ' contrary to the Policy and Government of the
 ' Kingdom, as the most extravagant Act they had
 ' done) consisting of Persons the most deeply engaged
 ' in the most unwarrantable Acts that had been done;
 ' and yet his Majesty was required to pass such other
 ' Bills for settling Church Government, as upon Con-
 ' sultation with that Assembly of Divines, should be
 ' resolved on by both Houses of Parliament: That
 ' all the other Bills then presented to the King for his
 ' Royal Assent, and insisted upon by their fourth
 ' Proposition, though they had specious and popular
 ' Titles, contained many Clauses in them, contrary to
 ' common Equity, and the Right of the Subject, and
 ' introduced Proceedings very different from the
 ' known Justice of the Kingdom: And therefore, be-
 ' sides the Time and Circumstances of the passing
 ' those Acts (when the Nation was in Blood) not like
 ' to meet with his Majesty's Approbation.

Nay Lord *Clarendon* for this observes, ' * That
 ' some of the Commissioners at their Return were
 ' look'd upon with great Jealousy, as Persons en-
 ' gaged by the King, and disengaged to the Par-
 ' liament; and this Jealousy prevailed so far, that
 ' Mr. *Martin* opened a Letter from the Earl of
 ' *Northumberland* to his own Lady, presuming, that
 ' he should therein have discovered some Combina-
 ' tion; and this Insolence was not disliked. Nay,
 how ill they used the King in other Respects, during the
 Treaty, an original Letter of the Commissioners to

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 174.

† Manuscript Collections of the Reverend Dr. *Philip Williams*, President of Saint John's College Cambridge, Vol. 3. No. 1. I take this Opportunity of acknowledging the great Obligation I am under to this Reverend and worthy Friend, for his Readiness in allowing me to transcribe so many Originals, from his invaluable Collection of Manuscripts.

Mr. *Lentball* their Speaker, still in Being, plainly proves. ‘ † Upon the Retourne of the Aunswere of both Houses to his Majesty’s last Messuage, wee were commanded to attend him Yesterday, at two of the Clock in the Afternoone, the Answere being ready, and presented to his Majestie. He asked us some Questions about our Power to proceed in the Treaty. To which we answered according to our Instructions. His Majestie then told us he had Particulars to acquaint us with, one was, That the Queene sente to him, the Messenger had the Lord *Fairefax* his Passe, and yett was staied by some Forces from *Rockingham*, and his Letters taken from him, and sent to *London*, and there the *Queen’s* Letter to him was broke open by the private Committee. The other Perticuler was concerning Sir *William Waller*, that he came to *Malmesbury*, which yielded upon Conditions, and * yet they weare not observed. His Majestie expressed much Dislike that safe Conducts, and Capitulations should not be observed. The Earl of *Northumberland* desired to knowe, whether his Majestie would command us to acquaint the Houses hearewith. He answered, he left it to us, and intended to sende a Messuage himself to demand the Letter. About five in the Evening we weare commanded to attend his Majestie againe, whoe asked us very many Questions, in order to the Proceedings upon the Treaty, to which after Conference together, we gave our Answeres agreable to your Instructions.

‘ This Afternoone wee waited upon his Majestie againe, whoe after long Advice with his Councell, sente for us, and demanded our Answere to that first Part of his Proposition, which concerne his Revenue; our Answere to it was ready in Writing, according to your Instructions, and wee presented it to his Majestie, whoe said he would send his

* See Appendix No. 1. Sir *Philip Warwick* informs us, (*Memoirs*, p. 252.) That some *Independents* of *Cromwell’s* Army killed brave young *Cavendish*, and many others, after Quarter given, in cold Blood.

‘ Answered to it, and wee are now in Expectation
‘ thereof.

Your Humble Servants,

W. Pierrepont.

W. Armyne.

J. Holland.

B. Whitelocke.

*Oxford 26 March, 1643.
One a Clock in the Night.*

‘ Wee moved his Majestie for a safe Conduct for
‘ the Messengers named in your Instructions. Mr.
‘ Secretary *Nicholas* gave us one for M. *Michael Wel-*
‘ *den*, which wee have sent you heere inclosed, and
‘ will gett a safe Conduct for the Rest as soone as we
‘ can.’

From what has been observed on this Occasion, the Reader will be able to judge, how candid Mr. *Neal*’s following Remarks are, p. 17. *’Tis plain from hence, that by Peace, the King meant nothing but being restored to all the Prerogatives of his Crown, as before the War, without any additional Security, and that there was no Room for a Treaty, till the previous Question was determined: Whether there was just Reason to confide in the King, and restore him to his Rights, upon his bare Promise of governing by Law for the future? For all the Propositions necessarily lead to this Point, and till this was decided, it was in vain to lose Time upon the others.*

N. p. 19. *Towards the End of this Year, died Robert Lord Brook, a virtuous and religious Gentleman, a good Scholar, and Patriot of his Country, but a determined Enemy to the Hierarchy.*

Lord *Clarendon* speaks of him as follows. ‘ * They
‘ who were acquainted with him, believed him to be
‘ well natured and just, and rather seduced and cor-
‘ rupted in his Understanding, than perverse and
‘ malicious; whether his Passions or Conscience sway’d
‘ him, he was undoubtedly one of those who with the
‘ most Difficulty would have been reconciled to the
‘ Church and State; and therefore his Death was

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 114.

‘ look’d upon as no ill Omen to Peace; and was exceedingly lamented by his Party, which scarce had a more absolute Confidence in any Man than in him.’ But in what his *Patriotism* consisted, I am really at a Loss to understand, unless in his professed Enmity to the Constitution both in Church and State.

N. Ibid. *In the beginning of the War he took part with the Parliament, and being made Lord Lievetenant of the County of Warwick and Stafford, put himself at the Head of twelve hundred Men, and marched against the Lord Chesterfield at Litchfield, whom he dislodged from the Town, March 1. But the next Day, as he was looking out at a Window with his Beaver up, and giving Directions to his Soldiers to assault St. Chad’s Church adjoining to the Close where the Earl of Chesterfield’s Forces lay, a Musket Ball struck him near the left Eye, of which he instantly died.*

Mr. Echard observes, ‘ * That when he advanced, and planted his great Guns against the South-East Gate of the Close, standing himself in the Window of a little House just by, to direct the Gunners in their intended Battery: It happened, that upon a sudden Accident which caused the Soldiers to give a Shout, this Lord coming to the Door, tho’ completely armed *Capape* with Plate, was shot from the Cathedral into one of his Eyes, by one *Diot* a Clergyman’s Son, who could neither hear nor speak. Nay he adds, what is remarkable, ‘ † That at his coming out of *Coventry* upon this Expedition, he ordered his Chaplain to preach upon this Text in *Esther*, *If I perish, I perish*, and within half a Mile of *Litchfield*, drawing up his Army, in a long Prayer of his own composing, he earnestly begg’d, “ That God would by some special Token manifest to them his Approbation of that their Design, that if the Cause was not right and just, he might be presently cut off.

* *English History*, Vol. 2. p. 389.

† *Id. Ib.* Lord Clarendon’s Hist. Vol. 2. p. 114. Bishop Kennet’s Complete History, Vol. 3. p. 119. Sanderfon’s Life of King Charles, p. 613.

N. p. 20. *While the Treaty of Oxford was depending, his Majesty's Friends in the City were contriving to bring him to London, and deliver the Parliament into his Hands, Mr. Tomkins, Challoner, and Waller a Member of the House of Commons, in Conjunction with some others, were to carry off the King's Children, to secure the most active Members of the House, as Pym, Hamden, Strode, &c. to seize the Tower, and the Gates of the City and the Magazines, and to let in a Part of the Royal Forces who were to be at hand, for all which they had the King's Commission dated March 16. 1643.*

Lord Clarendon after giving a Character of the Plotters, has the following Account of the Plot; and I am willing to believe, that by all impartial Readers he will be allowed at least as competent an Authority in this Case as either Mr. *Rushworth*, or Mr. *Rapin*.

‘ * I am persuaded (says he) the utmost Project of
 ‘ this Design was (I speak not what particular Men
 ‘ might intend or wish upon their own Fancies) to
 ‘ beget such a Combination among the Party well
 ‘ affected, that they would refuse to conform to those
 ‘ Ordinances of the 20th Part, and other Taxes for
 ‘ the Support of the War; and thereby, or by joint
 ‘ petitioning for Peace, and discountenancing the o-
 ‘ ther who petitioned against it, to prevail with the
 ‘ Parliament to incline to a Determination of the War.
 ‘ And it may be, some Men might think of making
 ‘ Advantage of any casual Commotion, or preventing
 ‘ any Mischief by it, and thereupon that Enquiry where
 ‘ the Magazines lay, and Discourse of wearing some
 ‘ distinguishing Tokens, had been rather casually
 ‘ mentioned, than seriously proposed. For it is cer-
 ‘ tain very many who were conscious to themselves of
 ‘ loyal Purposes to the King, and of hearty Dislike
 ‘ of the Parliament's Proceedings, and observed the
 ‘ violent, revengeful, ruining Prosecution of all
 ‘ Men, by those of the engaged Party, were not
 ‘ without sad Apprehensions, that, upon some Jea-

* Lord Clarendon's Hist. Vol. 2. p. 193. Echard's History of England. Vol. 2. p. 408. &c. See Sanderfon's Life of King Charles, p. 621.

‘ lousy, and Quarrel picked, even a general *Massacre*
 ‘ might be attempted of all the King’s Friends ; and
 ‘ thereupon in several Discourses might touch upon
 ‘ some Expedients as might in those Seasons be most
 ‘ beneficial to their Safety. But that there was ever
 ‘ any formed Design either of letting in the King’s
 ‘ Army into *London*, which was impossible to be
 ‘ contrived, or of raising an Army there, and sur-
 ‘ prizing the Parliament, or any one Person of it,
 ‘ or of using any Violence in, or upon the City, I
 ‘ could never yet see Cause to believe.’ Then he pro-
 ceeds to the Particulars, for which I refer the Reader
 to his History.

N. ibid. The Conspirators were apprehended and tried, Tomkins and Chaloner confessed the Facts and were executed.

What Facts did they confess? Not those (sure) laid to their Charge by Mr. Neal. Lord *Clarendon* observes ‘ * That Mr. *Tomkins* and Mr. *Challoner* were
 ‘ condemned to be hanged, and were both with all
 ‘ the Circumstances of Severity and Cruelty executed,
 ‘ the one on a Gibbet by his own House in *Holborn*,
 ‘ where he had long lived with singular Estimation,
 ‘ and the other by his House in *Cornhill* near the
 ‘ *Royal Exchange*.

N. ib. But Waller purchased his Life for ten thousand Pounds and was banished,

‘ † *Waller* (says Mr. *Whitlock*) had a Reprieve from
 ‘ General *Effex*, and after a Year’s Imprisonment he
 ‘ paid a Fine of ten thousand Pounds, was pardoned,
 ‘ and travelled into *France*. And Lord *Clarendon*
 ‘ observes, § That they did not proceed capitally
 ‘ against those Citizens whose Names were in the
 ‘ Commission, it not appearing that their Names
 ‘ were used by their Consent, and Privity ; though
 ‘ the Brand of being *Malignants* served the Turn for

* Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 2. p. 199. *Echard’s History of England*. Vol. 2. p. 412.

† *Memorials*, p. 66. Bp. *Kennet’s Complete Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 127.

§ History of the Rebellion. Vol. 2. p. 199.

‘ their undoing, for all their Estates were seized, as
 ‘ theirs were who had been executed.

‘ N. *ibid.* Upon this Discovery both Houses resolved to
 ‘ strengthen themselves by a new Covenant or Vow, which
 ‘ was tendered first to their Members, then to the Army,
 ‘ and such People as were willing to take it.

Lord Clarendon tells us, ‘ * That for the Rareness
 ‘ of this Covenant both in Title and Style, he thought
 ‘ it necessary to insert it in the very Terms.’ And
 ‘ then makes the following Observation upon it. ‘ † Tho’
 ‘ many were startled at this Covenant, and took time
 ‘ to consider of it, there being in the *Preamble* and
 ‘ *positive Part*, much which very few believed, and
 ‘ in the *promissory Part*, a more direct denouncing
 ‘ War against the King, than had been in plain
 ‘ Terms before avowed by them, and an absolute
 ‘ Protestation against Peace, till the King were at
 ‘ their Mercy ; yet the fear of being concluded guilty
 ‘ of a Plot, made them swallow all the rest ; and the
 ‘ Example of one, prevailing with many, there was
 ‘ not a Member of either House that took it not ;
 ‘ and being thus fettered and intangled themselves,
 ‘ they sent their Committee into the City to acquaint
 ‘ them with their “ happy Discovery, and how mi-
 ‘ raculously God had preserved them, and to engage
 ‘ them in the same sacred Vow and Covenant, which
 ‘ was readily submitted to ;” and by the Industry of
 ‘ their Clergy, sooner than can be imagined, taken
 ‘ throughout that People. Then it was with equal
 ‘ Diligence transmitted to their Army, that their
 ‘ Fears of Inconvenience from thence might likewise

* Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 198. Echard, Vol. 2. p. 411. See a remarkable *Fanatical Vow*, Appendix, No. 2. Sir Philip Warwick informs us (*Memoirs* p. 221.) ‘ That when an Oath was framed, and tendered to all the Mem-
 ‘ bers to live and die with the Earl of *Essex*, Sir Sidney Montague, Father of the
 ‘ late Earl of *Sandwich*, would not take it. “ For, he said, he would not
 ‘ swear to live with him, because he was an old Man, and might dye be-
 ‘ fore him, nor would he swear to dye with him, since the Earl was going with
 ‘ an Army against the King, which he did not know how to free from Treason,
 ‘ and so he did not know what end that great Man might come to.” For
 ‘ which Reflection he was presently to be dismembred, and another chose into
 ‘ his Place, to serve as Knight for *Huntingtonshire*.

† Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 2. p. 199.

‘ be purged ; and thence it grew the Mark of Distinction to know their Friends and Enemys by,
 ‘ and whosoever refused to take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be concluded, and prosecuted
 ‘ as the highest *Malignant*.

N. p. 22. *After this Account of Things, 'tis reasonable to suppose, that very extraordinary Burdens must be laid upon the People on both sides, to support the Expences of the Warr. The Parliament at Westminster excised every Thing, even the Necessarys of Life. All Butchers Meat paid one Shilling in twelve, &c.*

‘ * No way (says a Writer that lived in those Times)
 ‘ more ready to find out how the City and Kingdome
 ‘ have been abused, than by recounting the innumerable Tricks that have been used to milk the Purfes
 ‘ of the People, in pretence of maintaining the Warre,
 ‘ when the least Part (God knows) hath been employ'd
 ‘ that way, but either treasured up in the Purfes of
 ‘ the *Members*, or laid out by them in rich or fair
 ‘ Purchases at home, or † transported to serve their
 ‘ Turns abroad, against a *rainy Day*. While the
 ‘ †† Souldiers have pined for want of Pay, in
 ‘ their *Religious Cause*, and devoured the poor *Coun-*
 ‘ *trymen by Free Quarter* : For whereas one or
 ‘ two ways well ordered, would have served the

* The Case of the King stated from the very Beginning of the Warre, printed 1647. p. 19, 20. Publick Library Cambridge, 19. 7. 32. In Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, is the following remarkable Order. (Vol. 13. No. 107.) *Die Martis 15. Nov. 1642.* “ Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parl. assembled, “ (among other things That all Horses, Mares, and Geldings, in all Places with- “ in the City of London, and five Miles thereof, not already listed under the Com- “ mand of his Excellency, be listed for the Service of the King and Parliament, ex- “ cepting the Horses, Mares, and Geldings, and the Furniture thereunto belong- “ ing, of the Members Assistants of both Houses of Parliament, not being De- “ linquents.

Jo. Browne, Cleric. Parliamentor.

For the Mr. of the Rolls, one of the Assistants of the House of Peers.

† Secretary Nicholas, in a Letter to the Marquess of Ormonde, 1. Aug. 1643.

[Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 166. p. 170.] observes as follows,
 ‘ There is a Committee appointed to examine the Accompts of Receipts, and
 ‘ Disbursements of Money raised by the two Houses, it being openly avowed that
 ‘ some of the Committees have sent beyond Seas 300000 l.

†† Mr. Birkenhead puts the following Query, (*Paul's Church-Yard Cent. iij.* Clafs x. No. 24. p. 19.) ‘ Whether it be not a Grace A&t in the Parliament, to
 ‘ borrow a Month's Pay of every private Soldier in the Army ; and then to abate
 ‘ every Trooper half a Crown every Week in his wonted Salary, because their
 ‘ Lordships want Money?

‘ Turn ;

Turn; they have made use of so various ways for
 raising of vast and incredible Summs of Money, as
 were never heard of before at a time in one King-
 dom; whereof I will set down here the Catalogue.
 1st, Royal Subsidy of 300000*l*. 2. Pole Money.
 3. Free Loans and Contributions upon the publick
 Faith, amounted to a vast incredible Summe, in
 Money, Plate, Horse and Arms, * Bodkins,
 Thimbles and Wedding-Rings of the zealous Sisters.
 4. The *Irish* Adventure for Sale of Lands, a first
 and second time. 5. The weekly Meale. 6. The
 City Loane after the Rate of fifty Subsidys. 7. The
 Assessment for bringing in the *Scots*. 8. The
 fifth, and twentieth Part. 9. The weekly Asses-
 sments for the Earle of *Essex's* Army. 10. The
 weekly or monthly Assessment for Sir *Tbo. Fairfax*
 his Army. 11. The weekly Assessment for the
Scotish Army. 12. The weekly Assessment for the
British Army in *Ireland*. 13. The weekly Asses-
 sment for my Lord *Manchester's* Army. 14. Free
 Quarter (at least) connived at by the State, because
 the Souldiers having for a Time Subsistence that
 way, were the less craving for Pay; whereby the
 Arrears growing stale, must at last either be frustra-
 ted by a tedious *Committee* of Accounts, or forgot-
 ten; while in the mean time the *Grand Committee* of
 Accounts discount it out of the Commanders Ar-
 rears, whereby the State saves it. 15. The King's
 Revenue. 16. Sequestration and Plunder by Com-
 mittees, which if well answered to the State, would
 have carried on the Work, which may be thus de-
 monstrated, one half of all the Goods and Chattels,
 and at least one half of all the Lands, Rents and
 Revenues of the Kingdome have bin sequester'd.
 And who can imagine that one half of the Profits and
 Goods of the Land, will not maintayn any Forces,

* A *Thimble*, *Bodkin*, and a *Spoon*,

Did start up Living Men as soon,

As in the Furnace they were thrown,

Just like the Dragon's Teeth b'ing sown. *Hudibras*, B. 1. Cant. 2.

‘ that can be kept and fed in *England* for the Defence
 ‘ thereof. 17. Excise upon all Things, this alone
 ‘ (if well managed) would have maintained the Warre:
 ‘ The Low Countrys make it almost their only Sup-
 ‘ port. 18. Fortification Money; all which amount-
 ‘ ing to about 40 *Millions*, have been expended here-
 ‘ tofore, whereto we may add since, the Sale of a great
 ‘ Part of Bishops Lands, with the unmeasurable
 ‘ Summs still arising by Fines for * *Delinquents* Com-
 ‘ positions, with the Continuance of the Excise; and
 ‘ yet not so much as a Penny disbursed for the Pay
 ‘ of the Souldiers, insomuch, that they threaten every
 ‘ Moment to come and levie their Arrears within the
 ‘ City of *London*, which is become now the common
 ‘ Mark of all intolerable *Affronts*, and *Injuries*, that
 ‘ the Ingratitude of the Houses, or the insolent
 ‘ Threats of the Souldiers can cast upon them. And
 ‘ the Country groans still under the heavy Burthens,
 ‘ *Excise*, *Taxes*, *Free-Quarter*, without hope when,
 ‘ or how they shall have Remedy. But rather on the
 ‘ other side they see nothing but a Cloud of perpet-
 ‘ ual Misery and Slavery hanging over their Heads,
 ‘ ready to fall upon them by the late Votes of the
 ‘ Houses, and the General Council of the Army, for
 ‘ the Establishment of thirty thousand standing Forces
 ‘ in the Kingdome, with constant Pay to be levied
 ‘ (for ought we know) if they once settle, to more
 ‘ than the third Generation.

Sir *William Dugdale* gives an Account of the Particulars that these *Patriots* excised. ‘ † It is not unworthy of note (says he) that this thrifty Contri-

* In Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections* (Vol. 15. No. 4.) I find the following remarkable Composition. “ *Francis Newport* of *Eyton* in the County of *Salop* Esq; “ his *Delinquency*, that being sometimes a Member of the Howse of Commons, “ he deserted the Parliament, and went to *Oxford*, was taken at *Oswestree* 1644. “ in Armes against the Parliament. He took the Covenant in *November* 1645. “ his Estate in Fee in Possession *per Annum* 920 *l.* 12 *s.* 7 *d.* in old Rents *per Annum* “ 33 *l.* in Reversion after one Life 1011 *l.* 07 *s.* 02 *d.* in Reversion, after the “ Leases expired 421 *l.* 03 *s.* 09 *d.* in old Rents after a Life 195 *l.* 05 *s.* 04 *d.* “ out of which issues 100 *l.* for one Life, and 18 *l.* 01 *s.* 05 *d.* for ever, which “ being allowed, the *Fine* remains at a Third 9436 *l.* 17 *s.* 06 *d.* reported and accepted xx° *Maij* 1647.

† A short View of the late Troubles in *England*, p. 119, 120.

vance for *sparing one Meal a Week*, was the Usher
 to that then formidable Imposition, called *Excise*,
 never before heard of by many thousands in this
 Kingdom: Which the Contrivers at *Westminster*
 durst not shew the People, till they were sufficient-
 ly tamed under the Yoke of other Exactions, know-
 ing full well how displeasing it would be to them.
 Nay so fearful were they themselves after they had
 formed their first Army, lest the People should
 apprehend any Suspicion thereof, (which might then
 endanger a Revolt) that when it was but whispered
 by some, what they foresaw would happen, they
 made an Order in their House of Commons, (8 Oct.
An. 1642.) for punishing such malignant Persons, as
 had cast Aspersions upon that House, that they intend-
 ed to assess any Man's Pewter, and lay *Excise* upon
 that and other Commodities. But now that they saw
 the People by degrees so patiently submit to many
 other Burthens, they began to debate [25 Maij]
 in their House of Commons, how fit and necessary
 it would be for them to impose *Excise* upon Wine,
 Beer, Tobacco, and such petty Commodities, where-
 upon Mr. Pym, by his Letter to Sir John Hottham
 [30. Maij] signified, " That they had proceeded
 in the *Excise*, to many Particulars, and intend-
 ed to go on farther; but that it would be ne-
 cessary to use the People to it by little and lit-
 tle." Again, * " They passed an Ordinance [12.
 July] for *Excise* or new Impost, upon Wine, Beer,
 Ale, Cider, Perry, Raisins, Figs, Currans, Sugar, Spices,
 wrought and raw Silks, Furrs, Hats, Laces, Lether, Lin-
 nen of all sorts, Thread, Wier, &c. and for sweetening
 its Relish with the People gave it out, that Part
 of its Income should pay Debts, for which the pub-
 lick Faith was engaged. Tho' it was computed
 that the Maintenance for the Lord General's Army,
 would for the ensuing Year amount to above a
 Million of Money, that of the Navy having been
 240 thousand Pounds for the Year past. † And

* *Id.* p. 123.† *Id.* p. 127.

whereas

whereas the first Ordinance for Excise was but only for Maintenance of the Army, and Payment of Debts due from the Common-Wealth; they passed another (11 Sept. *Scob. Coll.* p. 54.) wherein was a Consideration added for *securing Trade*, which occasioned the Enlargement thereof upon such Commodities as had not been formerly taxed, besides an Alteration of the Rates, which Commodities were *Strong-waters, Medicinal-drugs, Haberdashers-ware, Upholsterers-ware, Salt, Sallets, Sope, all sorts of Wool-len-cloth, Paper, Skins, and Glasses.* * The Houses passed another Ordinance (9. Jan. *Scob. Coll.* p. 60.) for a new Excise upon *Flesh Viſtuals, and Salt*, ever heartening the People with hopes of Ease, and now most especially, because the *Scots Army* was ready to march; which was represented so formidable, as that it would put a sudden end to the Work. Nay it appears from *Husbands's exact Collections*, that they raised upon the several Countys about 90000*l.* per Month. There was an Ordinance of the two Houses for raising of Money for the Maintenance of the Parliament Army, by a weekly Assessment upon the several Counties for two Months (which probably was continued) beginning from the third Day of August 1643. amounting to above 22000*l.* per Week, settled upon the Countys &c. in the following manner.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
† Upon the County of <i>Middlesex</i> , and the City and Liberty of <i>Westminster</i>	0750	00
The County of <i>Essex</i>	1125	00
The County of <i>Surrey</i> , with the <i>Burrough</i> of <i>Southwark</i>	0500	00
The County of <i>Suffex</i>	0625	00
The County of <i>Hertford</i>	0450	00
The County of <i>Cambridge</i>	0375	00
The Isle of <i>Ely</i>	0147	10
The County of <i>Suffolk</i>	1250	00

* *Id.* p. 132.

† Append. to *Husbands's exact Collections*, Folio Edit. p. 4, 5.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>
The County of <i>Norfolk</i> , with the City of <i>Norwich</i> }	1250	00
The County of <i>Huntington</i> _____	0220	00
The County of <i>Buckingham</i> _____	0420	00
The County of <i>Bedford</i> _____	0250	00
The County of <i>Lincoln</i> , with the City of <i>Lincoln</i> }	0812	10
The County of <i>Rutland</i> _____	0062	10
The County and Town of <i>Nottingham</i> _____	0187	10
The County of <i>Berks</i> _____	0550	00
The County of <i>Chester</i> _____	0175	00
The County of the City of <i>Chester</i> _____	0062	00
The County of <i>Cornwall</i> _____	0625	00
The County of <i>Derby</i> _____	0175	00
The County of <i>Devon</i> _____	1800	00
The County of the City of <i>Exon</i> _____	0050	10
The County of <i>Dorset</i> _____	0437	10
The Town and County of <i>Pool</i> _____	0005	00
The County of <i>York</i> _____	1062	10
The County of the City of <i>York</i> _____	0062	10
The Town and County of <i>Kingston upon Hull</i> }	0025	00
The County of <i>Glocester</i> _____	0750	10
The County and City of <i>Glocester</i> _____	62	10
<i>Hampshire</i> , with the City of <i>Winchester</i> , } <i>Southampton</i> and the <i>Isle of Wight</i> }	0750	00
The County of <i>Hereford</i> and City _____	0437	10
The County Palatine of <i>Lancaster</i> _____	0500	00
The County of <i>Leicester</i> _____	0187	10
The County of <i>Monmouth</i> _____	0062	10
The County of <i>Northampton</i> _____	0425	00
The County of <i>Oxford</i> _____	0400	00
The County of <i>Salop</i> _____	0375	00
The County of <i>Stafford</i> _____	0212	10
The County of the City of <i>Lichfield</i> _____	0005	00
The County of <i>Somerset</i> _____	1050	00
The City of <i>Bristol</i> _____	0055	15
The County of <i>Warwick</i> _____	0562	10
The County and City of <i>Coventry</i> _____	0037	10
The County of <i>Worcester</i> _____	0550	13

The

	l.	s.
The City and County of <i>Worcester</i> —	0016	13
The County of <i>Wilts</i> —	0725	00
<i>Cumberland</i> —	0037	10
<i>Durham</i> —	0062	10
<i>Westmoreland</i> —	0027	05
<i>Newcastle upon Tyne</i> —	0025	00
<i>Northumberland</i> —	0050	00
<i>W A L E S.</i>		
<i>Anglesey</i> —	0025	00
<i>Brecknock</i> —	0050	10
<i>Cardigan</i> —	0062	10
<i>Carmarthen</i> —	0050	00
<i>Carnarvan</i> —	0035	00
<i>Denbigh</i> —	0025	00
<i>Flintshire</i> —	0016	10
<i>Glamorgan</i> —	0067	10
<i>Merioneth</i> —	0012	10
<i>Mountgomery</i> —	0062	10
<i>Radnor</i> —	0037	10
<i>Haverford West</i> —	0005	00

For an Account of the Expences of the Armys in the Year 1645, 1650, and 1657, I refer the Reader to original Accounts in the * Appendix.

‘ † We please not our selves (says a Writer in those Times) in recriminating. We suffer on both Sides, yet we could say a hundred Prisoners have bin for one since, worse Usage, Persons of Quality kept on Ship-board proposed to be carried to the Islands, nay to be sold to the *Turks*, Mens Books of their Estates, their Cabinets of their secretest Papers; nay their very Defence, when they were charged for their Lives have been before Trial taken from them: What Oaths have been imposed on the Subject? what *Loanes* extorted? and what *Customs* continued and increased? And after all, what an *Epitome* have wee

* Appendix No. 3, 4, 5, 6.

† The Kingdomes Brief Answer to the late Declaration of the Commons, Feb. 21, 1647. touching the Reasons of no further Addresies. London printed 1648, p. 19. penes me, I refer to the Scarce Tracts in my own Custody, that Mr. Neal may know where to command them, if he has Occasion.

‘ of Slavery? *Excise on all wee eat, and drink, or weare.*

N. Ibid. *The King's Parliament at Oxford did the like in his Majesty's Quarters.*

Lord Clarendon observes, ‘ * That of all his own Revenue, the King had not yet the receiving a Penny within his Power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even such who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to supply him: only by Letters, and all other gentle Ways, he invited those who were able to consider how much their own Security and Prosperity was concern'd, and depended upon the Preservation of his Rights, and offered to sell any of his Lands, or to give any personal Security for whatsoever Money would be lent to him at Interest: For he had directed a Grant to be prepared of several Parks and Forests, and other Crown-Lands to many Persons of Honour and great Fortune about him, whose Estates and Reputation were well known; who were ready to be personally bound for whatsoever Summs could be borrowed.

‘ The Affection of the University of † *Oxford* was most eminent; for as they had before, when the Troubles first broke out, sent the King above ten thousand Pounds out of the several Stocks of the

* Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 67. The King's Farm Rents amounted to 77000 *l.* 00 00 *p.* *per Ann.* as appear from *Appendix No 10.* And a remarkable Letter relating to the King's Revenue, &c. from Sir *William Brereton* to *Lentball* the Speaker, is still in Being (Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 3. No. 55.) in the following Words. “ *Sir*, Whereas the Honourable Houses foreseeing his Majestie's, the Queen's and Prince's Revenues, Rents, and Proffitts might be converted to other Uses against his Majestie and the Publick Good, have ordayned that the same should be receyved and seized upon by such Persons to be nominated afterwards to be employed for his Majestie's Good, and the Commonwealth. In regard of the present Necessity of the Army here, I desire you will move the Committee for the Revenue, that an Order may be drawn upp, signed and sent downe into this County for the seizing and receiving of the Premisses here, by such honest Persons as by the Committee for Sequestrations appointed for this County, or five or more of them shall think meet, soe as Expedition therein may be used for a present Supply of the Soldiers Necessities. — Your undoubted Friend *William Brereton. Namptwich, 21 of October 1643.* An Original.

† The Humane Mr. *Oldmixon* styles this Piece of Humanity to their Sovereign, an Act of Injustice; but how just his Remark is, the Reader must be left to judge. [See *Index to History of the Royal House of Stuart*, Vol. I.]

‘ Col-

Colledges, and the * Purfes of particular Persons, many whereof lent him all they had, so they now again made him a new Present. By these Means, and the Loan of particular Persons, especially from *London*, (for from thence, notwithstanding all the strict Watch to the contrary, considerable Sums were drawn) the King even above his Hopes was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thousand Pounds weekly, in such a manner, that during the whole Winter, there was not the least Disorder for want of Pay.

King *Charles* has indeed been often charged by the Writers of *Mr. Neal's Party*, for raising Money by illegal Methods, by *Loans*, *Privy Seals*, &c. which in Cases of Necessity had been practised by several of the preceding Kings of *England*. Sir *Edward Walker* in his Observations on the Annals published by *Hamond L'Estrange* Esquire observes, † That this way of raising Money was not first practised by King *Charles*. For I find (says he) *Edward IV.* in the second Year of his Reign raised Money by *Privy Seals* to resist the *Scots*; and in his twentieth Year, towards his Wars with *France*, great Sums of Money were raised by a Benevolence, and both these done out of Parliament. And King *Henry* the seventh in the 20th Year of his Reign, made use of *Privy Seals*, and a Benevolence. But what Difference there is between *Privy Seals*, *Benevolence*, and *Loans*, I cannot determine; only I must say, if this Proceeding in this King's Time was illegal, it seems to have been no less in the former, though those Kings had the Hap to find better Compliance.

N. p. 22. *The Queen furnished him with foreign Money, and with two thousand Foot, a thousand Horse, &c.—Upon which the House of Commons impeach'd her of High Treason, for levying Forces without Consent of Parliament.*

§ An Attempt (says Lord *Clarendon*) as unheard
of

* See Appendix, N. 7.

† Sir *Edward Walker's* Historical Discourses upon several Occasions, p. 337. I have an original *Privy Seal* in King *James's* Reign, for borrowing ten Pounds of the Town of *Land Beach* in *Cambridgeshire*.

§ Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 191. *Rushworth's* Collections, Vol. 5. p. 322. Secretary *Nicholas* in a Letter to the Earl of *Ormonde*, 1 June 1643, (Letters concerning

of among all the Acts of their Predecessors, and as
 ‘ surprising as any thing they had yet ventured upon.
 ‘ The Queen mentions her Impeachment in a Letter
 ‘ to Duke *Hamilton*. You will give a Share of these
 ‘ News to all our Friends, if any dare own themselves
 ‘ such, after the House of Commons hath declared
 ‘ me Traitor, and carried up their Charge against
 ‘ me to the Lords. This I assure you is true, I know
 ‘ not yet what the Lords have done upon it ; God
 ‘ forgive them for their Rebellion, as I assure you, I
 ‘ forgive them from my Heart for what they do
 ‘ against me, and shall ever continue as I have pro-
 ‘ mised,

Your Affectionate Cousin and Friend,
Henrietta Maria, R.

Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* in his Speech at the Censure of *Prynn* [*Rushworth*, Vol. 2. p. 234.] calls her a most gracious Queen, such a one as this Kingdome never enjoy’d the like ; ‘ and I think, (says he) ‘ the Earth never had a better.

And Lord *Hollis* observes, as has been mentioned before [Impartial Examination of Mr. *Neal*’s second Volume, p. 372.] ‘ That they gave her the Usage ‘ both in Words and Actions, one would not have ‘ done to the meanest Handmaid of the Kingdome, ‘ tho’ she was the Wife, Daughter, and Sister of a ‘ King. * That a Princess of so high Extraction (says ‘ a Writer of those Times) as the Blood of *France*, and ‘ Daughter of the Great *Henry* the Fourth, and the ‘ King’s Wife, that never had done any Person any ‘ Wrong, but obliged all, whenever it was in her way, ‘ should find such Usage from Subjects, as to have all ‘ malicious false Libels countenanced against her, to be ‘ questioned for her Life, only for assisting her Husband;

concerning State Affairs, No. 160.) observes, ‘ That the Commons House had ‘ suffered with Impunity, a Motion for deposing the King to pass, that they had im- ‘ peach’d the Queen of High Treason, &c. They voted the making a new Great Seal, that the Peers had rejected the last, and not consented to, or approved the first ; and ‘ tis conceived when the Impeachment is brought up, they will reject it.

* The Royal Apology: Or an Answer to the Declaration of the House of Commons, Feb. 11, 1647, p. 30. Publ. Lib. Cam. 19. 7. 13.

' to be inforced to fly the Kingdome, to have all her Re-
 ' venue taken from her.— It cannot but be held a most
 ' inhumane and barbarous Proceeding, as indeed it
 ' is, by all the World but themselves. † The Queen
 ' having received a Message from both Houses of
 ' Parliament by the Earl of *Newport* and the Lord *Sey-*
 ' *mour*, intimating unto her that she had been told
 ' that the House of Commons had an Intention to ac-
 ' cuse her of High Treason, and that Articles to that
 ' purpose had been shewn unto her. Returns this ge-
 ' neral Answer, That there was a general Report of an
 ' Accusation intended against her, but she never saw
 ' any Articles in Writing, and having no certain
 ' Author for the one or the other, she gave little Cre-
 ' dit thereunto, and much less now, beeing assured
 ' from the House of Commons, that never any such
 ' thing came into their Thoughts. Nor will she be-
 ' lieve they could lay an Aspersion upon her, who hath
 ' been very unapt so far to misconster the Actions of
 ' any one Person, and much more the Proceedings of
 ' Parliament, and shall at all times wish a happy Un-
 ' derstanding between the King and his People.

N. p. 25. For want of Room, about twenty [viz. Episcopal Clergy] according to Dr. Walker, were imprisoned on Board of Ships in the River Thames, and shut down under Decks, no Friend being suffered to come unto them.

Dr. *Walker's* Words in the Place referred to [Suff. Cler. Part II. p. 180.] ' About twenty were imprisoned in *London*, and in the Ships, and in the several Jayls and Castles in the Country, upwards of that Number fled to avoid the like Imprisonment.

N. Ibid. The same Writer observes, That about a hundred and ten of the London Clergy were turned out of their Livings in the Year 1642, 1643, and that as many more fled to prevent Imprisonment.

Dr. *Walker's* Words: ' Thus were about one hundred and ten of the *London* Clergy turn'd out of their Livings, (nor do I know whether the List be yet

† Dr. *Philip Williams's* Manuscript Collections, Vol. 15. No. 134.

‘ compleat) above forty of which were Doctors of
 ‘ Divinity, “ and most of them plundered of their
 ‘ Goods, and their Wives and Children turned out
 ‘ of Doors.

N. Ibid. *But it ought to be remembred, that none were imprisoned for adhering to the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of England, till after imposing the Scots Covenant, but for Immorality, false Doctrine, non Residence, or for taking part with the King against the Parliament.* Informations were made against the Clergy for their Loyalty before this, as appears from the *Appendix*, N^o. viii, ix. And Dr. *Walker* (from a learned Person who lived in those Times) gives this Character of the then *London Clergy*. ‘ * That for a more pious, ‘ learned, and laborious Ministry, no People ever ‘ enjoy’d it [more] even their Enemies themselves ‘ being Judges. And from the Life of the famous Dr. *Barwick* afterwards Dean of *St. Paul’s*, we learn from what small Grounds, Immoralities were then charged upon the conforming Clergy.

‘ † He himself went to see his old Friend Dr. *Busby* ‘ Master of *Westminster School* at *Chiswick*, in the ‘ midst of the Way on a sudden he was seized with an ‘ immoderate Flux of Blood. It happened at that ‘ Time, that some Travellers passed by, of that sort, ‘ it seems, who bear a great Hatred to the Clergy, ‘ without any Ground: For as if they had been delighted with this Sight: *Behold*, (say they) *one of* ‘ *Baal’s Priests*, *drunk with red Wine*, *and discharging his overloaded Stomach*. There was certainly ‘ no Man living against whom they could with more ‘ Injustice have thrown this *curst Dart* of a *poisoned* ‘ *Tongue*: For it was about 15 Years since he had ‘ tasted the least Drop of Wine, except at the holy ‘ Sacrament, continually tempering and diluting the ‘ Heat of his Blood with cold Spring Water only. ‘ As soon as the good Dean was able to take Breath, ‘ after this fit of vomiting Blood, little moved with

* Dr. *Walker’s* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part 2. p. 180.

† Dr. *Barwick’s* Life published by Mr. *Bedford*, 1724, p. 336, 337, 338.

• so unworthy a Reproach, and wishing his Revilers a
 • better Mind; These Calumnys, said he, ought to be
 • refuted only by our good Deeds: For it was no new
 • or unaccustomed Thing at that Time, after the Bar-
 • riers of the Church were broken down, that the best
 • Men suffered the Punishment due to the worst, even
 • from such as were the vilest Wretches themselves; if
 • there be any Punishment in being barbarously revil-
 • ed with villanous Invectives. Thus if any of the Cler-
 • gy worn out with old Age, and former Calamitys,
 • made use of a Staff to support his aged weak Limbs
 • as he walked along the Streets; he was pointed at as
 • one that through Drunkenness was not able to go-
 • vern his Steps. If he looked earnestly round about
 • him with dim Eyes, to find out any Place he was to
 • go to in the City; some insolent *Scoffer* would thus
 • reflect upon him: That *Parson* has devoured five
 • fat Livings, and see with what prying Eyes he is
 • seeking for a sixth. Indeed I knew this severe Re-
 • flection cast upon one, who had not only refused a
 • Benefice deservedly offer'd him, but had voluntarily
 • resigned those he had accepted, because he thought
 • his ill Health render'd him incapable to take care
 • of the rest of them. From these Reproaches of ill
 • Men the best of the Clergy could not be safe, nei-
 • ther Mr. *Oley*, nor Mr. *Thorndike*, nor Mr. *Thir-*
 • *cross*, nor any of those great Men, who with incom-
 • parable Sanctity of Life have adorn'd this worst Age,
 • altogether worthy of a better.

* The Accusations (says Dr. *Walker*) brought against
 • the Clergy before the Committees; were bowing at
 • the Name of *Jesus*, or towards the Altar, removing
 • or railing in the Communion Table, beautifying
 • the Chancels, requiring People to come up to the
 • Rails to receive the holy Sacrament, and the like
 • Observances of the Orders of the Church, were the
 • most frequent Allegations against them; as appears
 • by Mr. *White's Century*, and the Proceeding of the
 • Sequestrators under the Earl of *Mancester*, in the

* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part 1. p. 23.

‘ associated Counties, which are filled with Storys of
‘ this Nature.

N. p. 25. *It is to be lamented, that several pious and good Bishops, and other Clergymen, who withdrew from the World, and were desirous to live without joining either Side, suffered afterwards in common with the rest of their Brethren; their Estates and Livings being sequestred, their Houses and Goods often plundered by ungovernable Soldiers.*

Among these were the most Reverend Archbishop Usher, Bishop Morton, Hall, and many others.

‘ * When the prevalent Faction (says Dr. Parr)
‘ sitting at *Westminster*, found that the Archbishop
‘ [*Usher*] was not for their Turn, but to the contrary
‘ had in Divine Sermons at *Oxford*, preached against
‘ their rebellious Proceedings, they were so enraged
‘ at him, that the Committee they had appointed for
‘ *Delinquents* Estates, (as they nicknamed those who
‘ now faithfully served their Prince) made an Order
‘ for the seizing of his Study of Books of considerable
‘ Value, which he had brought over with him, or
‘ bought here, and were left behind in *Chelsey* Col-
‘ lege, which were seized accordingly, and had been
‘ sold by them, had not Dr. *Featly*, who was then in
‘ some Favour with them, by reason of his being one
‘ that sate in that Assembly, (though otherwise Or-
‘ thodox and Loyal) made an Interest with them by
‘ the Means of Mr. *Selden* (a Member of the House,
‘ and also of that Assembly) to obtain those Books for
‘ his own Use, either as a Gift, or by laying down
‘ some Money for them, and so got them into his
‘ Hands, and secured them for my Lord Primate’s
‘ Use, at least as many of them as were not imbezled,
‘ or stolen away, whilst they were in their Custody.
This good Archbishop was so much esteemed abroad
by Foreigners, that when he was stript of what he had
in *Ireland* by the Rebels, ‘ † the City and University

* Dr. Parr’s Life of Dr. *James Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, Folio, p. 50.

† Parr’s Life of the Archbishop of *Armagh*, p. 47.

of *Leyden* offered to chuse him their *Honorarie Professor*, with a more ample Stipend, than had been formerly annex'd to that Place: And Dr. *Bernard* likewise tells us, that Cardinal *Richlieu* did about the same time make him an Invitation to come into *France* with a Promise of a very noble Pension, and Freedome of Religion there; and that this is not unlikely (though I never heard my Lord Primate speak of it) may be proved from the great Honour that Cardinal had for him, which he expressed with a Letter full of Kindness and Respect, accompanied with a Gold Medal of considerable Value, having his own Effigies stamp't upon it, which are still preserv'd. These were sent upon his publishing his Work, *De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*.

For the Sufferings of Bishop *Morton*, which were great, I refer the Reader to the Authorities cited in the * Margin. Bishop *Hall* after giving an Account of the barbarous Usage of the protesting Bishops, by the House of Commons, informs us, that after their Dismission from the Tower, he went to *Norwich*, † where the *April* following came the *Sequestrators*, viz. Mr. *Sotborton*, Mr. *Tooley*, Mr. *Rawley*, Mr. *Greenwood*, &c. to the Palace, and told him, that by vertue of an Ordinance of Parliament, they must seize upon the Palace, and all the Estate he had both real and personal, and accordingly sent certain Men appointed by them (whereof one had been burnt in the Hand for the Mark of his Truth) to appraise all the Goods which were in the House, which they accordingly executed with all diligent Severity, not leaving so much as a Dozen Trenchers, or my Children's Pictures out of their curious Inventory. Yea, they would have appraised our very wearing Clothes, had not Alderman *Tooley*, and Sheriff *Rawley*, declared their Opinion to the contrary. These Goods,

* *Walker's Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy*, Part 2. See his Life written by *John Barwick D. D.* Printed at London 1660, 4to. Seditious Preachers, ungodly Teachers, p. 55, 57.

† Bishop *Hall's* hard Measure wrote by himself. Remains published 1660, p. 56.

' both Library and Household Stuff of all Kinds, were
 ' appointed to be exposed to publick Sale. Much
 ' Inquiry there was when the Goods should be
 ' brought to Market; but in the mean Time Mrs.
 ' Goodwin, a religious, good Gentlewoman, whom
 ' yet we had never known or seen, being moved with
 ' Compassion, kindly offer'd to the *Sequestrators* that
 ' whole Summ which the Goods were valued at; and
 ' was pleased to leave them in our Hands for our Use,
 ' till we might be able to repurchase them, which
 ' she did accordingly.—— As for the Books, several
 ' Stationers look'd on them, but were not forward to
 ' buy them. At last, Mr. Cook, a worthy Divine of
 ' this Diocess gave Bond to the *Sequestrators*, to pay
 ' to them the whole Summ whereat they were set,
 ' which was afterwards satisfied out of that poor Pit-
 ' tance that was allowed me for my Maintenance; as
 ' for my Evidences they required them of me, I de-
 ' nied them, as not holding my self bound to deliver
 ' them; they nailed and sealed up the Door, and took
 ' such as they found with me.—

*N. Ib. Though the two Houses voted very considerable
 Pensions to some of the Bishops, in lieu of their Lands that
 were sequester'd, due Care was not taken of the Payment.*

This is plain enough from the Case of Bishop Hall,
 and the other two Bishops before mentioned, who
 were entitled from their peaceable Behaviour to good
 Usage, even from those merciless Rebels. Bishop
 Hall complains in the following manner. '* Not
 ' only my Rents present, but the Arrearages of the
 ' former Years, which I had in Favour forborn to
 ' some Tenants, being treacherously confessed to
 ' the *Sequestrators*, were by them called for, and taken
 ' from me; neither was there any Course at all taken
 ' for my Maintenance; I therefore addressed my self
 ' to the Committee sitting here at *Norwich*, and de-
 ' fired them to give Order for some Means, out of
 ' that large Patrimony of the Church, to be allowed
 ' me. They all thought it very just; and there be-

* Bishop Hall's hard Measure, p. 58, 59, 60.

ing present Sir *Thomas Woodhouse*, and Sir *John Potts*, Parliament Men, it was moved, and held fit by them and the rest, that the Proportion, which the Votes of the Parliament had pitched upon, viz. 400 *l. per Annum* should be allowed to me. My Lord of *Manchester*, who was then conceived to have great Power in these Sequestrations, was moved herewith; he apprehended it very just and reasonable, and wrote to the Committee here, to set out so many of the Mannors belonging to this Bishoprick, as should amount to the said Summ of 400 Pound annually; which was answerably done under the Hands of the whole Table. And now I well hoped I should yet have a good Competency of Maintenance out of the plentiful Estate which I might have had: But those Hopes were no sooner conceived than dash'd. For before I could gather up one Quarter's Rent, there comes down an Order from the Committee for Sequestrations above, under the hand of Serjeant *Wild* the Chairman, procured by Mr. *Miles Corbet*, to inhibit any such Allowance; and telling our Committee here, that neither they, nor any other, had any Power to allow me any thing at all; but if my Wife found herself to need a Maintenance, upon her Sute to the Committee of Lords and Commons, it might be granted, that she should have a fifth Part, according to the Ordinance allowed for the Sustentation of herself and Family. Hereupon she sends a Petition up to that Committee, which after a long Delay, was admitted to be read, and an Order granted for the fifth Part: But still the Rents and Revenues both of my spiritual and temporal Lands were taken up by the Sequestrators, both in *Norfolk*, and *Suffolk*, and *Essex*, and *We* kept off from either Allowance or Account. At last, upon much pressing, *Beadle* the Solicitor, and *Rust* the Collector, brought in an Account to the Committee such as it was; but so confused and perplexed, and so utterly unperfect, that we could never know what a fifth Part meant: But they were

content

* content that I should eat my Books, by setting off
 * the Summ engaged for them out of the fifth Part.
 * Mean time the Synodals, both in *Norfolk* and *Suf-*
 * *folk*, and all the spiritual Profits of the Diocesis,
 * were also kept back, but only Ordination, and In-
 * stitution continued for a while.

Our *learned* Historian in giving an Account of the
 several Committees for scandalous Ministers informs us,

N. p. 27. *That Presentments against the Clergy came
 in so fast, that for the Dispatch of Business they were
 obliged to divide again into several smaller Committees.*

And the Reason of these several Presentments, Dr.
Walker [from *Heylin*] has given in the very Place re-
 ferred to in Mr. *Neal*, which he thought proper (ac-
 cording to old Use and Custom,) to keep out of
 View.

* * That however base and scandalous this Method
 * of obtaining Informations was, by animating the
 * *Parishioners against their Ministers, and seducing Ser-*
 * *vants to accuse and betray their Masters,* might be, it
 * did (in Conjunction with some other Arts of the
 * Faction) effectually answer the wicked Purposes
 * for which it was intended; and met with such a
 * ready Compliance with the meaner sort of People,
 * that within a short Space, above 2000 Petitions were
 * brought in against the Clergy.

The first Sufferer he mentions is,

N. p. 28. *Mr. Symonds of Rayne in Essex, who
 acknowledges that he was sequestred for preaching and
 publishing, that the King being supreme Magistrate, hath
 immediate Dependance on God, to whom alone he is ac-
 countable.— That Authority is a sacred Thing, and essen-
 tial to the King's Person, that Resistance is against the
 Way of God, destructive to the whole Law of God, in-
 consistent with the Spirit of the Gospel, the perpetual Prac-
 tice of Christianity, the Calling of Ministers common Pru-
 dence, the Rule of Humanity, Nature itself, Reason, the
 Oath of Allegiance, and even the late Protestation.*

* Dr. *Walker's* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part 1. p. 63.

And was not all this true? If so, why was Mr. Symonds sequestred for it? This I assure him was thought sound Doctrine by most of the eminent Divines of those Times, whatever it may be esteemed at this Day. And what the learned Archbishop *Usher's* Opinion was, the Reader may be informed by Dr. * *Parr* the Writer of his Life; and I am much mistaken, if the learned † *Calvin* (long before) has not said some Things favouring this Doctrine. § *Rivet*, I am sure, has, and so has the very learned * *Grotius*, who lived about the same Time with the Primate, whose Opinions Mr. *Neal* will find it no easy matter to confute. And for further Authorities I refer the Reader to the † Margin.

N. ib. Besides he [Mr. Symmons] had notoriously defamed the Parliament, and pressed his Auditors to believe the King's Declarations, because a divine Sentence was in his Mouth, and he cannot err.

* Life of Dr. *James Usher* Archbishop of *Armagh*, by Dr. *Parr*, p. 53, &c.

† *Calvini* Institut. lib. iv. cap. 20. Sect. 25. p. 309. Edit. 1607. Verum si in Dei verbum respicimus, longius nos deducet, ut non eorum modò Principum imperiò subditi simus, qui probe, & quâ debent fide, munere suo erga nos defunguntur: Sed omnium qui quoque modo rerum potiuntur, etiamsi nihil minus præstant, quam quod ex officio erat Principum. Id. Ib. S. 27. p. 310. Videmus quanta obedientiâ Tetrum tuum ferocemq; tyrannum [scil. *Nabucodonosor*] coli voluerit, non alia ratione nisi quia regnum obtinebat. ad autem ipsum erat cœlesti decreto, in solum regni impositum esse, ac in regiam Majestatem assumptum: quâ violare nefas esset. Hoc nobis assiduè ob animos & oculos obversetur, eodem decreto constitui etiam nequissimos Reges, quo Regum autoritas statuitur: Nunquam in animum nobis seditiosæ illæ Cogitationes venient tractandum esse pro meritis Regem: nec æquum esse ut Subditos ei nos præstemus, qui vicissim Regem nobis se non præstet. S. 29. Hunc Reverentiæ atq; adeo pietatis effectum debemus ad extremum Præfectis nostris omnibus, qualescumq; tandem sint, quod sæpius ideo repeto, ut discamus non Homines ipsos excutere, sed satis habeamus, quod eam voluntate Domini Personam sustineant cui inviolabilem Majestatem impressit ipse & insculpsit, ac mutuas (inquies) subditis suis vices debent Præfecti: Id jam confessus sum, verum si ex eo statuis, non nisi justis imperiis rependenda obsequia insulsus es Ratiocinator. Vid. *Calvin* in *Daniel*, Cap. iv. ver. 19.

§ *Riveti Jesuit*. Vapulans. To. iii. op. p. 536, &c. Alia duo prius etiam observanda. Unum, quod ex publicis Ecclesiarum nostrarum confessionibus, & Doctrinâ communiter receptâ, nihil potuerunt Adversarii producere, quod vel tantillum ad suam Accusationem faceret, quasi aliquâ in Re derogaremus Principum Autoritati, vel eorum vitam exponeremus periculo, aut cuiquam daremus potestatem manus violentas in eos quovis prætextu conjiciendi.

* *Grot.* de Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. i. cap. iv. S. vi. vii.

† De potestate Papæ in Rebus Temporalibus, &c. lib. i. cap. 8. class. 2. advers. *Bellarminum* Authore *Joanne* Episcopo *Roffensi* Londini 1614, p. 107, 116. *Joban. Gerbard.* Loc. Commun. To. vi. de Magistratu Politico. No. 483. p. 1303. *Marci Anton.* de Dominis in offensione Error. *Fra. Suarez.* Cap. vi. S. 27.

Take

Take Mr. Symmons's Account of his Sufferings from himself, in a Letter to Mr. Stephen Marshall, &c. * 'Tis counted a prime Note of a *Malignant* to be seen speaking to me, and yet (you know) I have been some Body heretofore, as well as some of you. O but the Report goes, that I am now become an Apostate ; and why so ? Because I am (still the same Man) obstinate in my Way, will not conforme to the Example of such and such of my worthy Brethren, preach to promote the War (as they call it) for the Parliament. Sirs, I am a Minister of the Gospel of Peace, and 'tis against my Calling, and my Conscience to doe soe, the King's expresse Command also being to the contrary. I may lose my Credit, myne outward Estate, the Comfort of Wife and Children (as I have already done) yea, and my Life too, which is (in Mercy) yet preserv'd ; but I am resolved by God's Grace to keep my Conscience, the Enemy shall not spoyle me of that, let him doe his worst. Truly Friends I must confess, like you I have always loved my Credit well (and perhaps too well) with the People ; but when my *Saviour's Truth*, enjoyed with my *Sovereignes Honour* came in Question, I was glad I had loved it so well, and kept it entire 'till then to Sacrifice in that Quarrel : What I am you know ; and what my Doctrine and Conversation hath been ; had it been formerly bad, my self in these Times had fared better, for I was plainly told at the beginning of my Troubles, That *I must suffer the Punishment of an hundred Knaves, because being an honest Man, I did more hurt to the Cause, than so many* : Which since then I have found true, be your selves the Judges, and say, whether you know any in these Counties that were marked for Scandalous, Lazy, or Superstitious, and complained of as such, that

* A loyal Subject's Belief, expressed in a Letter to Mr. Stephen Marshall, Minister of *Titchingfield* in *Essex*, from *Edward Symmons*, a Neighbour Minister, occasioned by a Conference betwixt them. *Oxford*, Printed for *W. Webb*. 1643. p. 1. 2. Publ. Libr. Cambridge Clais 19. 7. 24. *Et penes me.*

‘ have suffered in any Measure so much as I : First
 ‘ hear, and then determine.

‘ The Apostle says, *receive not an Accusation against
 ‘ an Elder, but by the Testimony of two or three Wit-
 ‘ nesses*, yet upon the bare Information of one mali-
 ‘ cious Varlet (one *Samuel Burrowes* sometimes of *Col-
 ‘ chester*, Brother to Master *Burrowes* the Minister,
 ‘ whom many of you know to be most notorious for
 ‘ *false Swearing, publick Drunkenness, and Blasphemy*,
 ‘ for which, the last Year, at the publick Sessions he
 ‘ was bound to his good Behaviour) I was voted a *De-
 ‘ linquent*, by some of the Members of the House of
 ‘ Commons; and published in a *Diurnal* over the
 ‘ Nation, to preach such foolish Stuffe which none (I
 ‘ hope) that know me, suspect of me: Hereupon,
 ‘ being sent for by a Messenger, and committed to
 ‘ Custody, I was at last referred to a *Committee of
 ‘ scandalous Ministers*, that so I might afterwards be
 ‘ reckoned in that Number, and disabled thereby
 ‘ from doing Christ any more Service. For a Mini-
 ‘ ster marked with that Badge by them (they call
 ‘ the Parliament) is more odious than he that is made
 ‘ such a one by Sin or by *Satan*; so that when I re-
 ‘ turned home, the drunken Crew (whose vicious Lives
 ‘ I had often inveighed against) and their Children
 ‘ too, would point at me as I went in the Streets, and
 ‘ say, There goes a *Scandalous Minister*, there goes
 ‘ he that was in *Gaole* with his *Fellow Rogues* the other
 ‘ Day.

‘ After this, when by Master *Marshall*’s Friend-
 ‘ ship, and Testimony of me, I obtained to put in
 ‘ Baile, I was forced to make many Journeys this last
 ‘ Winter Time to *London* (being almost forty Miles
 ‘ from mine Habitation) for preaching against Lying
 ‘ and Slandering, Pride and Malice, Sinnes notorious
 ‘ in my Neighbours, who had now got the Tricke
 ‘ (because all was believed against me which they said)
 ‘ to affirme, that whatever I preached was against the
 ‘ *Parliament*, so making that, and their own Sinnes
 ‘ all one (for that indeed was able to doe me more

' hurt than they) and tho' I never failed upon the
 ' least Intimation to appeare, yet I was sent for a-
 ' gain by a *Purfevant* (as if I had not been bailed) be-
 ' cause that was most chargeable, whereby a great
 ' Part of that little Money, which in ten Years Space
 ' I had saved to keep my Wife and Children (if I
 ' should die) was expended.

' And now at last, when it was perceived, that nei-
 ' ther by Threats, nor Molestations, nor Charges,
 ' nor weary Journeys, I would be forced to deny the
 ' Truth of God, my *debauched Adversary* (knowing
 ' as it should seeme the Intentions of his powerful
 ' Friends) laid Wagers, that he would quite put me
 ' by from preaching, and turn me out of my Living;
 ' wherefore having forced several of my simple People
 ' to make a Purse to bear his Charges (by threatening
 ' them else with Plundering, and the Imputation of
 ' being accounted *Cavaliers*) he repairs again unto
 ' London, and on the third of *March*, not only in the
 ' Name of the *Commons* but also of the *Lords* (before
 ' whom I never appeared, nor was ever summoned)
 ' hee obtained a Sequestration to be granted to some
 ' others (my deadly Enemies of his own Knot) to
 ' seize upon my parsonage House, Glebe, and Tythes,
 ' and a Power withall, to apprehend my Person, to
 ' doe with me God knows what, and (as the Words
 ' of the Sequestration are) *for the better Supply of an*
 ' *able and godly Man in the Church*, they sent down a
 ' Stranger to officiate as Parson in my Place, whom
 ' they call a *godly, learned, and orthodox Divine*, in-
 ' timating thereby unto the World, that he whom
 ' they cast out, was not to be accounted any such a
 ' one: What I am, or have been (my *Christian Friends*)
 ' I referre to your Judgments, who have knowne me; I
 ' thank God I am able to say with the Apostle, *I have*
 ' *walked in all good Conscience, both before God and Man,*
 ' *unto this Day*; I have constantly preached twice upon
 ' the Lord's Day, and oft on Holydays, when I could
 ' intreat my People to come to Church; but
 ' if that their *godly, learned, and orthodox Divine* be
 ' such

‘ such a one as is their Lecturer, whom in despite of me, they did (in the beginning of my Troubles) set up to preach against God’s Truth, and me in myne own Church, I think, they will have (amongst them that are wise and godly) but little Credit by him.

‘ Concerning which Lecturer [one *Lemuel Tuke*] some of you (my *Christian* Friends) did at first conceive and say of him, that *had he been good, the barren Country from whence he came would not have parted with him*. In brief, by Education he is a *Weaver*, of no University, yet one that hath a Charge of Souls in *Nottinghamshire*, from which ever since the Parliament began, he hath been a *Non-Resident*, for his Parish then framed a Bill against him to the House of Commons, articling him to be negligent, and insufficient in his Place, to be guilty of *Barretry*, and *Battery*, to be famed of *Drunkenness*, *Whoredome*, and divers other such (as they are now accounted in some) small Offences, upon which he fled the Country into our Parts, and being more suitable to the Temper of my People than I am, they made choice of him; among whom he blasphemeth God’s holy Word, preacheth Sedition and Rebellion, telleth in the Pulpit many foolish Lyes, and ridiculous Tales, bawleth against the Reverend Ministers of the Country, and raileth upon the Worshipful the Gentry, and so many Ways he poysoneth the Soules of them that are committed to my Care, which is my greatest Grief of all.

‘ My reverend Brethren and Friends, some of you thought me much abused by the Intrusion of him; I doubt not but you think me, in your Hearts, more wronged now, by being after all those former Troubles turned out of my Living, and my Wife and Children, and aged Parent exposed to the wide World, and my self forced to seek Safety in strange Places, by flying, but blessed be God yet, *my Flight was not in the Winter*.

‘ *Sed quid mali feci*, what Law of God or Man is it that I have broken, which doth expose me to these

‘ Miseries?

' Miseries? O! that some would discover unto me
 ' my Trangressions, for as yet I am (to my Know-
 ' ledge) a *Delinquent*, upon no other Ground,
 ' than the bare Accusation and Word of my Enemy,
 ' when ten of my Neighbours sufficiently furnished
 ' with evil Affections, were sent for up against me,
 ' they were not able to speak me culpable in any
 ' thing, save in *the Matter of my God*; and when I
 ' urged them before the Committee, and Spectators
 ' to say, whether they heard me speak a Word of
 ' Evil against the Parliament in publick, or private,
 ' they could not say it, nor deny, but I constantly
 ' prayed for it; only my chief Adversary said, in
 ' Behalf of himself, and the rest, *We think, that in his*
 ' *preaching he meant the Parliament*; and because my
 ' Enemies did think so, some of the Members, as it
 ' should seem, did think so too, whose Thoughts in
 ' such a Case, 'tis not comely for me to gainsay.

' I dealt ingenuously before the Committee, relat-
 ' ing the Truth of what I had preached (altho' I might
 ' easily suspect that some Passages in regard of the
 ' Malignity of the Times might prove to my Dis-
 ' advantage) with which my Candour and Plainness di-
 ' vers Honourable Members of the Committee were so
 ' well pleased, that they concluded to have me reported
 ' to the House as a Man deserving their Favour.
 ' But as appears (unknowing I believe to them in Par-
 ' ticular) some others did intend, and have now done
 ' otherwise, for five Months after (as if I had ne-
 ' ver answered at all) this *Sequestration* against me
 ' comes forth, wherein are some Expressions alledg-
 ' ed (that I should use in those my Sermons) as the
 ' Cause of this my Punishment, which are now shewn
 ' up and downe to justify the pretended Equity of the
 ' same; but they are so false and foolish, that I need
 ' not confute them to you that know me; or indeed,
 ' were they all true of me, I believe you would say,
 ' if you durst speak, that my Penalty exceeds my
 ' Sin.

Again,

Again, * When I saw People inclining to Rebellion and Strife, I declared that to be rather the Doctrine of *Antichrist* and *Popery*, than of the Church of *England*; which taught Peace, and commanded Patience; this presently purchased me the Suspicion, and soon after the Name of *Malignant*. Secondly hearing Men unreverently speak of the *King's Majesties Person*, I opposed that Blasphemy by God's Word, and endeavour'd to maintain his Honour according to my Duty and Protestation; this produced me the Title of a *Royallist*, yea, of a rank *Cavallier*, and I should have a *Buffe-Coat*, and a Scarlet Pair of Hosen bought me presently, to make me compleat. And then Secondly observing People on their own Heads rending Common-prayer-Books, and altering Things established by Law, I inveighed against those doings, as injurious to the Power and Priviledge of Parliament, which by my Protestation also I was bound to maintaine; and this (they said) discovered me to be a plain *Papist*, one that loved the *Masse-Book* better than I did *God*; so there I had preached away my good Name, but my Comfort was, I had two Witneses, God, and my own Conscience, which would justify me in my way, *Sed hinc Dolor, hinc Lachrymæ*.

But further (for I will confesse all against my self) I have been charged to be a great Hinderer of the *Parliament Proceedings* in the Association, and gathering Money in that well affected County of *Essex*: If I have, 'tis more by my Sufferings, than any other way, and if God please to make me an Instrument to prevent Sin in others, though by myne own Sorrowes, I will rejoyce in my Tribulations; I confesse my *scandalous Adversaries* have added some Fame and Credit to my Sufferings, as well as to myne own Innocency; and their Malice is more observed with wonder, at their Success and Favour with the House of Commons, because some six Weeks before, they complained of me to *them*, divers of

* *Id.* p. 6.

‘ these my persecuting Neighbours (whereof the *debauched Drunkard* was one) *had convented me before the Justice of Peace, for omitting the Cross and Surplice*, urging the worthy Gentleman (to his Admiration) to inflict the Penalty of the Statute upon me for the same, when as notwithstanding at that time in other Places, to other Persons they did rail upon me for using the Common-prayer-Book at all, which soon after they rent in Pieces.

‘ And lastly another Reason of this my Usage, hath been alleadged by a Member of the House to be this; the *King* (says he) turns out those Ministers that be for the Parliament, and we must provide for them, and how should we so doe, but by turning out those that be for the King? But I believe *his Worship* was misinformed of his Majesty, for unto that Day I cannot yet heare (though I have enquired) that the King hath sequestered any Living, or turn’d any Minister out: Perhaps some whose Consciences accused them for preaching Treason and Sedition, did run away when his Majesty’s Forces approached, and in pity to the Peoples Souls so forsaken, some might be appointed by his Majesty to preach unto them.

‘ But such Wrongs upon such Grounds, unto the King’s Subjects that are Peaceable and Loyal, will make Men see and believe what hath been foretold them by their Sovereign; and to further that Work, had I another Living (I hope) I should be content to lose it.

N. p. 29. For which Reasons the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, ordered [March 3. 1642.] his Living to be sequestered into the Hands of Robert Atkins, M. A. who was appointed to preach every Lord’s Day till further Order.

* Mr. Symonds gives ‘ a Copy of the Sequestration, that was brought against him for his preaching, and his refusing to renounce that Faith and Doctrine of

* The loyal Subjects’ Beliefe, &c. p. 95.

• *Christianity* expressed in the seven first Sections of his preceding Discourse.

N. *ibid* Mr. Symmonds endeavoured to discredit the Evidence, but was far from disowning the Charge that he afterwards vindicated it in a Pamphlet entitled, *the loyal Subjects Belief*.

Whether he has sufficiently *discredited the Evidence*, must be left with the Reader to judge, from Mr. Symmons's own Words above mentioned. And as to his not *disowning the Charge*, if he means no more by it, than his *professing Allegiance to his Sovereign*, I readily acknowledge that in this Tract he has fully owned it.

N. p. 29. *A second Gentleman who has left an Account of his Sufferings is the Rev. Mr. Squire of Shoreditch; he was * articulated against* [‘ by some of the Rable, or meaner People of his Parish, contrary to the Sense, and even to the Trouble and Grief of far the greater and more considerable Parishioners omitted.’ See Dr. Walker’s Sufferings p. 68.] *for practising and pressing the late Innovations* [the Answer to which (says Dr. Walker) in one Word is, that he observed the Rubricks and Orders of the Church, and used the Ceremonies established by Law, and no other] *for saying the Papists were the King’s best Subjects because of their Loyalty and Liberality* [the Words in Dr. Walker, the Author he refers to, ‘ the second is; that he said the Papists were the King’s best Subjects, which it is true he did say, but he added, As they did (or might) boast of themselves. Of which he offered unexceptionable Proof’] *for comparing his Majesty to the Man that fell among Thieves, being wounded of his Honour, and robbed of his Castles, and of the Hearts of his People; that the Priest passing by was the Protestant, the forward Professor, the Levite, but the Papist was the good Samaritan.*

* There was a humble Petition of four of his Parishioners of Shoreditch against him, viz. Christopher Debdale, Samuel Samways, William Crooke, and Edward Ramsay, with thirteen Articles annexed, printed 1642. [penes me] by which it plainly appears, that his firm Attachment to the Constitution both in Church and State, was his only Crime.

The Words of Dr. *Walker* [p. 68.] ‘ The fifth accuseth him of comparing the Condition of his Majesty (when the *Scots* were in Arms against him) to that of the *Man who fell among Thieves*,’ and the formal Confessors and the *Protestants*, were the *Levite*, and the *Priest*, but the *Papist* was the good *Samaritan*.

‘ The use of the Parable on that occasion he acknowledged. The Words as charged on him, he denied, and affirms, that he advanced nothing at that Time, but what he was warranted in by his Majesty’s Proclamation; and even that also, he spoke not *absolutely*, but by way of *Supposition*; and after the Pacification, never said any thing of it. But the Reader will better guess at the great Wick- edness and Disingenuity of this, and the second Article of his Accusation (for they had both the same Foundation) by having Mr. *Squire*’s very Words layn before him. His Majesty issuing a Proclamation, commanding his loving Subjects to be aiding and assisting to him after the *Scots* had taken *Newcastle*. Mr. *Squire* thought it his Duty to enforce that Proclamation on his own People, and on that occasion bespoke them in these Words, “ Suppose the *Irish* *Papists*, whom we hate worse than the *Jews* did the *Samaritans*, should shew Compassion on the King, would they not brag that they were better Subjects than we *Protestants* ?

N. *ibid*. Mr. *Squire* denied some of these Articles, and extenuated others, and procured a Certificate from several of his Parishioners of his Diligence in preaching, in catechizing, and beating down Popery for 30 Years last past, all which might be true.

Dr. *Walker* adds [p. 69.] ‘ That great Numbers of the Parishioners would have attended the Delivery of this Testimony; but doubting it might (as the Times then went) have been interpreted a *Riot*, they contented themselves with presenting it by few Hands only. However on the Day of hearing, many of them flocked to see the Event, and by their Con-

cern which sat on their Countenances, plainly shewed, the great Affection and many good Wishes they had for him. Notwithstanding the Committee (on these shameful and trifling Accusations, attested by the bare Words only of the Witneses, and those too for the most part Persons that he had prosecuted for *Nonconformity*, and some of them even *Excommunicated*) not only proceeded to his Sequestration, but contrived it in such a Manner, as to deprive him of the whole Income of the foregoing Year; it being the Custom of the Parish, that whosoever is in possession of the Vicarage on *Lady-Day*, hath all the Profits of the preceding Year. Nor was the Sentence as far as I can guess by the *Century* (for they were so much infatuated, to pick out that truly excellent Person for a Place in that Paper) grounded on any other of the many Articles against him, than those two which so shamefully pervert the Words of his Sermon, about *the Papists being the King's best Subjects*, and the use of the Parable of the good *Samaritan* to the like Purpose.

The other barbarous Usage of this worthy Person, his Imprisonment in *Newgate*, and several other Places; his excellent Character (abundantly confirmed in this, that neither his Accusers, nor the Century have suggested the least Immorality against him) the great Authority and Respect which he had in his Parish; his Diligence in the Discharge of his Duty, his great Charity to the Poor, and many Particulars of this Kind will be aftermentioned. Dr. *Walker* concludes his admirable Character in the following Words, ' The Reader is not to look upon the bare-faced, shameless, and barbarous Oppressions of Mr. *Squire*, as peculiar to himself, but as the common Fate of very many hundreds of the Clergy in those Times.

N. p. 30. *The Committee for plundered Ministers took its Rise from those Puritan Clergymen, who being driven from their Cures in the Country by the King's Soldiers, fled to London with their Families, leaving their*

Substance, and Household to the Mercy of the Enemy; These being reduced to very great Poverty, applied to the Parliament for Relief.

Dr. Heylen informs us, ‘ * That they instituted a
 ‘ Committee for plunder’d Ministers, under Pretence of
 ‘ making some Provisions for such Godly Preachers as
 ‘ had either suffered Loss of Goods by his Majesty’s
 ‘ Soldiers, or Loss of Livings for adhering to the
 ‘ Houses of Parliament, under which Stiles, they
 ‘ brought in a confused Rable of their own Persuasi-
 ‘ ons, or such at least, as were most likely to be ser-
 ‘ viceable to their own Ends and Purposes; some of
 ‘ which had no Goods, and most of them no Livings
 ‘ at all to lose.

N. p. 31. *In order to silence the Clamours of the Roy-
 alists, and justify the Proceedings of these Committees. It
 was resolved to print the Cases of those they ejected, and
 submit their Conduct to the publick Censures. Accordingly,
 towards the latter end of the Year, Mr. White the
 Chairman published a Pamphlet, entitled, “ The first
 “ Century of scandalous malignant Priests made and ad-
 “ mitted into Benefices by the Prelates, in whose Hands
 “ the Ordination of Ministers, and the Government of
 “ the Church hath been; &c.—*

Dr. Heylen observes, ‘ † That the Terror of the
 ‘ Covenant, and the severe Penalty imposed on those
 ‘ which did refuse it, compelled great Numbers of
 ‘ the Clergy to forsake their Benefices, and to betake
 ‘ themselves to such Towns and Garrisons as were
 ‘ kept under the Command of his Majesty’s Forces;
 ‘ whose vacant Places were in part supplied by such
 ‘ Presbyterians who formerly had lived as Lecturers,
 ‘ or Trencher Chaplains, or else bestowed upon such
 ‘ Zealots as flock’d from Scotland, and New England,
 ‘ like Vultures, and other Birds of Rapine to seek after
 ‘ the Prey. But finding the deserted Benefices not
 ‘ proportionable to so great a Multitude, they
 ‘ compelled many of the Clergy to forsake their

* Heylin’s History of the Presbyterians. 2d Edit. 1672, p. 450.

† Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 445.

Houses, that so they might avoid Imprisonment,
 or some worse Calamity. Others they sent to several
 Gaols, or shut them up in Ships, whom they
 exposed to Storms and Tempests, and all the Mis-
 eries which a wild Sea could give to a languishing
 Stomach. And some again they sequestred, under the
 Colour of Scandal, imputing to them such notorious
 and enormous Crimes as would have rendred them
 incapable of Life, as well as Livings, if they had been
 proved. But that which added most Weight to
 these Oppressions, was the publishing of a malicious
 and *Unchristian* Pamphlet, entitled, *The first Century*
of scandalous and malignant Priests; which, whether
 it were more odious in the Sight of God, or more
 disgraceful to the Church, or offensive to all sober
 and religious Men, it is hard to say. And as it
 seems, the Scandal of it was so great, that the
 Publisher thereof, (though otherwise of a fiery and
 implacable Nature) desisted from the putting forth
 of a *second Century*, though he had promised it in
 the first, and was inclinable enough to keep his
 Word. Instructions had been sent to all the Coun-
 ties of *England* for bringing in such Informations
 against their Ministers, as might subject them to
 the Danger of a Deprivation. But the Times were
 not then so apt for Mischiefe, as to serve their Turns,
 which made them fall upon these wretched and *Un-*
christian Courses, to effect their Purpose: By Means
 of which, they purged the Church of almost all
 Canonical and Orthodox Men; the Greatness of
 which Desolation in all the Parts of the Kingdome
 may be computed by the Havock which they made
 in *London*, and the Parishes thereunto adjoining, ac-
 cording as it is presented in the Bill of Mortality
 hereunto adjoined.

* The Design of this Pamphlet (says Dr. Wal-
 ker) was to raise the blackest *Odium* upon the *Clergy*.
 That there might be nothing wanting to make
 odious the Orthodox *Clergy* of the Realm (saith

* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part I. p. 47.

“ Mr. *Dugdale*, and to enrage the People against
 “ them, as heretofore the Enemys of the Gospel did
 “ those holy *Martyrs*, whom they clothed in the
 “ Skins of wild Beasts, to animate Dogs to worry them)
 “ they caused a most libellous Pamphlet against
 “ diverse Divines, which endeavoured to oppose
 “ their wicked Practices, to be printed and published
 “ by special Order, intituled, *The first Century*, &c.
 “ In pursuit of these wicked and flagitious Designs, the
 “ Crimes on which an hundred of the Clergy had been
 “ sequestred, were produced by this Pamphlet; and
 “ the first Instance given, as if all that followed
 “ were equally bad at least, if not worse, is of a no-
 “ torious * *Sodomite*, &c. But in truth, the Exam-
 “ ples which follow are nothing less than what this
 “ introductory one was probably intended to suggest:
 “ For tho’ it cannot be questioned, but Mr. *White*
 “ chose the very worst Examples, (and at that Time
 “ his Committee had sequestred several Centuries)
 “ yet he is compell’d to fill far the greater Part of
 “ his Paper, with *bowing at the Name of Jesus*, ne-
 “ glecting the Parliament Fasts, and other Instances,
 “ of what was then called Superstition and Malig-
 “ nancy. The Reader will after find what Credit is to
 “ be given to the Story of the *Sodomite*, when the Se-
 “ questrations of that Person come to be spoken of;
 “ and the vile and detestable Calumnies and Falshoods
 “ of the other Parts of that Pamphlet will appear,
 “ when I come to vindicate the Clergy (as I propose
 “ if God continues my Life and Strength) from the
 “ Calumnys of those Times; and to give this Libel a
 “ Particular Examination.

* Mr. (afterwards Dr.) *Birkenhead* (in his Tract intitled *Paul’s Church Yard*, &c. Class. 1. *penes me*) seems to allude to Crimes of *Bisfiality*, of the most shocking Nature, committed by *Fanatics* of those Times, in the following Words, *viz.* *Con-jum Pecus?* The Law of *Cofin Germans* cleared in this Case. “ An *Elder’s Maid* took a *Mastiff Dog*, an *Independent Corporal*, espous’d a *Bitch*. May not the “ *Presbyterian Dog’s Son* marry the *Independent Bitch’s Daughter*, they being Bru- “ thers and Sisters Children? His Remark in the Margin. *Scribi expedit, scilicet tamen borreo, quod vel perpetrassse Pseudo-Sancti non verentur*. He wrote likewise the four *Legg’d Quaker Ballad*, to the Tune of the *Dog*, and the *Elder’s Maid*, 1659, and *Mercurius Aulicus*, from 1642, to 1645. *Wood’s Athen. Oxon.* 1st Edit. Vol. 2. p. 476.

' In the mean time the Author was not content
 ' with the Slanders and Reproaches cast upon those
 ' particular Clergymen, whose Accusations he thus
 ' published ; but in the Preface to the Undertaking,
 ' loads the whole Body of them with such Infamy and
 ' Scandal, as can hardly be imagined. It is impos-
 ' sible to forbear transcribing some Parts of it. Speak-
 ' ing of the Church Government by Bishops, &c.
 ' he saith. " They have not only neglected their
 " Personal Execution of this weighty Trust, but also
 " generally and mostly have committed the same to
 " Persons illiterate, and insufficient. *Dumb Dogs*
 " (as the Scripture calls them) *that cannot bark*, a-
 " gainst whom God hath protested for their Igno-
 " rance ; and to Men swallowed up with Wine and
 " strong Drink, whose Tables are full of Vomit and
 " Filthiness, *Whoremongers and Adulterers, who as fed*
 " *Horses neigh after their Neighbours Wives* ; Buggerers,
 " who *change their Natural Use, to that which is against*
 " *Nature*, and to other scandalous—— Men unfit to
 " preach, or live among Christians——, taking the
 " high way to destroy the Souls committed to them,
 " to drown them in Perdition.—— whose Offices
 " God had cursed—— Vermin that crawl upon, and
 " devour the Vitals,—— *Popish Dregs, &c.* such as
 " cannot endure the Purity, Power and Strictness of
 " True Religion,— given over to vile Affections, to
 " Superstition, Ambition, Persecutions, Covetous-
 " nesses, Malignity, and all Wickedness. And know-
 " ing the Judgment of God— not only do the same,
 " but have Pleasure in them that do them,— that
 " feed not the Flock, but kill them that are fed, and
 " cloath themselves with the Wool,— Priests of *Ba-*
 " *al*, Sons of *Belial*, that know not the Lord.——
 " Priests of *Bacchus*, of *Priapus*,— unclean Beasts,
 " &c. ' The Reader, I suppose, will not expect I
 ' should say any thing on these Passages, since he
 ' must needs find himself struck dumb with Astonish-
 ' ment at them. Mr. Collier informs us, * That the

* Ecclesiastical History, Vol. 2. p. 823.

‘ *Royalists* offer’d [*viz.* in answer to this Book] to
 ‘ return the Reproach with much more Force upon
 ‘ the *Puritan* — Party, but the King who thought
 ‘ common *Christianity* might suffer in the Contest, re-
 ‘ fused to give leave for such an Undertaking. Nay
 Mr. *Baxter* is far from approving Mr. *White’s* Work,
 and observes upon it. ‘ † That many moderate Men
 ‘ could have wished, that their Nakedness had been
 ‘ rather hid, and not exposed to the World’s Deri-
 ‘ sion, and that they had remembered that the *Papists*
 ‘ did stand by, and would make Sport of it.

Mr. *Neal* speaking of the Country Committees,
 and their constituent Members, says, p. 36. *I shall*
only observe farther, That these Country Committees hardly
began to sit till the Year 1644, that they exercised their
Power very sparingly, while the War was in suspense,
but when the Royal Forces were beat out of the Field, and
Victory declared on their Side, they proceeded with more
Freedom, especially against those who had made themselves
Parties in the War.

‘ § They were actually sitting (says Dr. *Walker*)
 ‘ in *Northamptonshire* in July 1643, and the Year fol-
 ‘ lowing were very busy in that County. They were
 ‘ compleatly form’d and entred upon Business in *He-*
 ‘ *resfordshire*, by the beginning of *March* 1645. By
 ‘ severall of their original Orders and Papers which I
 ‘ have now before me, I find, they were sitting in
 ‘ *Devon* and *Cornwall* in 1646, and continued acting
 ‘ in the former of these Counties in the Year 1648,
 ‘ 1650, 1651, 1652, and 1653. And in a word,
 ‘ there is scarce a considerable Estate or Family in the
 ‘ Kingdome, but can sadly testify, that they con-
 ‘ tinued from the Time of their Institution, till to-
 ‘ wards the latter end of the Usurpation, to harraß
 ‘ and ruine their fellow Subjects, in every Part and
 ‘ Corner of the Nation.

N. p. 41. To put some Stop to the Royalists at Ox-
ford, who gave out that the Parliament admitted Butch-

† *Baxter’s* Life, Part I. p. 19,

§ Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part I. p. 87.

ers, Coblers, Bricklayers, and those who had no Call from God or Man; They ordained July 27, 1643, that the Committees should not nominate any Persons to vacant Benefices, but such as should be examined and approved by the Assembly of Divines then sitting at Westminster.

Dr. Walker gives this Character of them from *Mercurius Rusticus*, written by Dr. Bruno Ryves. ‘ † That their Powerful Ministry are ignorant, factious Schismatical Ministers: or else intruding Mechanicks, who, without any Calling either from God or Man, stepping from the Cocker’s Stall, the Butcher’s Board, and the Bricklayer’s Scaffold into the Pulpit, like Sheba’s Trumpet, summoning the People to Rebellion.

Nay, Sir Edward Dering, as I have before observed, [Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal’s second Part of the History of the Puritans, p. 280.] says, ‘ That Taylors, Shoemakers, Brasiers, Feltmakers, did climb the publick Pulpits. And an Author who lived in those Times, has the following Expression in proof of it. “ * They well weighing the Proverb, that none is so bold as blind Bayard, and that Ignorance is the Mother of blind Obedience, they knew none so fit to work their own Ends as the meanest and most illiterate of the Clergy, who were as ready to swallow the greatest Benefices, as themselves the great Offices of the Kingdome; and these they employed both at Press and Pulpit, to libel and rail down the ancient received Government both of Church and State. And Dr. South observes, † That all Learning was then cry’d down, so that with them

† Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part 1. p. 73.

* The Case of the King stated, 1647. p. 2. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, Class 19. x. 32.

† South’s Sermons, Vol. 3. p. 500. In a Pamphlet intitled, *New Orders New, agreed upon by the Parliament of Roundheads, &c.* 1642. are the following Words (p. 4.) 9. ‘ That any Round Head (being God’s Anointed) may, and shall have Authority by us the Parliament of Round-Heads, to teach, preach, pray, and instruct in any Place soever; whether it be in Barn, Chamber, Stable, Loft, Garret, Field, Ditch, Sawpit, in Woods, or under Hedges, either by Land or Sea, without the Prohibition of any Place: provided only it be not taught in a Pulpit, for that tends to the Advancement of Popery, therefore it is more convenient in a Tab.

‘ the best *Preachers* were those that could not read,
 ‘ and the ablest *Divines* such as could not write. In
 ‘ all their *Preachments* they so highly pretended to
 ‘ the *Spirit*, that some of them hardly could spell a
 ‘ Letter. To be blind with them, was a proper
 ‘ Qualification of a spiritual Guide, and to be *Book-*
 ‘ *learn’d*, as they (called it) and to be *irreligious*, were
 ‘ almost Terms convertible. None were thought fit
 ‘ for the Ministry but *Tradesmen* and *Mechanicks*; be-
 ‘ cause none else were allowed to have the *Spirit*:
 ‘ Those only were accounted like Saint *Paul*, who
 ‘ could work with their Hands, and in a literal Sense
 ‘ drive the Nail home, and be able to *make a Pulpit*,
 ‘ before they preached in it.

N. p. 43. *The Fast* (viz. the publick one) was ob-
 served the last Wednesday in every Month, the publick
 Devotions continued with little or no Intermission from
 nine in the Morning, till four in the Afternoon.

Dr. *South* who lived in those Times, gives the fol-
 lowing Account of their Prayers, &c. ‘ * That
 ‘ they were like those of the *Pharisees*, famous for
 ‘ Length and Tautology: Two whole Hours for one
 ‘ Prayer at a Fast, used to be but a moderate Dose:
 ‘ And those for the most part fraught with such irre-
 ‘ verent and blasphemous Expressions; that to speak
 ‘ them would have profaned the Place he was then
 ‘ speaking in: And indeed they seldome carried on
 ‘ the Work of the Day, but they left the Church in
 ‘ need of a new Consecration.— In their long Fasts,
 ‘ from first to last, from seven in the Morning, to
 ‘ seven in the Evening (which was their Measure) the
 ‘ Pulpit was always the † emptiest thing in the Church;
 ‘ and I never knew such a Fast kept by them, but
 ‘ their Hearers had cause to begin a Thanksgiving
 ‘ as soon as they had done.’ And Sir *William*
Dugdale

* *South's Sermons*, Vol. 2. p. 175.

† In a Pamphlet intitled *New Orders New*, &c. are the following Words in Ban-
 ter of their long Prayers and Sermons, (p. 6.) 21. ‘ That every Year there shall be
 ‘ the Round-Heads Feast celebrated, a well lung’d, long breath’d Cobler shall preach a
 ‘ Sermon six Hours, and his Prayers two Hours long, and at every Mess in this
 ‘ Feast

Dugdale tells us, ‘ § That in their Prayers they have oftentimes not only taken the Liberty to deprave the Government in Church and State, by divers subtil Expressions; but made such a seeming Shew of Zeal therein, by altering their Countenance, and changing their Voices into an affected Tone, using therein many absurd and unmannerly Expressions; that one of their own Fraternity [Colonel John Frye a Member of the then Parliament] ‘ after he became farther reform’d by an *Independent* Light, could not forbear, but cry’d out against them in a certain Book intituled, *The Clergy in their Colours*, printed at London 1651, Page 33. l. 17. in these Words. “ I cannot let pass one Observation, and that is the strange Posture these Men put themselves into, when they begin their Prayers before their Sermons: Whether the Fools and Knaves in Stage Plays took their Pattern from these Men, or these from them, I cannot determine, &c. what wrye Mouths, squint Eyes, and scrued Faces doe they make? (and p. 41. L. 3.) Again, how like a Company of Conjurers doe they mumble out the beginning of their Prayers, that the People may not hear them. And when artificially they have raised their Voices, what puling do they make.”

And Mr. John Birkenhead, the Author of a Tract intituled *The Assembly Man*, (written in the Year 1647, and printed 1662—3. p. 13. *penes me*) says, ‘ That when he first enters his Prayer before Sermon, he winks and gasps, and gasps and winks, as if he prepared to preach in another World: He seems in a Slumber, then in a Dream; then rumbles a while, then he sounds forth, and then throws so much Dirt and Nonsense towards Heaven, as he durst not offer

‘ Feast shall be presented a goodly Dish of *Turnips*, because it is very agreeable to our Natures; for a *Turnip* hath a *Round Head*, and the Anagram of a *Puritan* is A *TURNIP*. Mr. Birkenhead (in his *Assembly Man*) speaking of his way of preaching, says, ‘ Though you have heard him three Hours, he’ll ask a fourth, as the Beggar of *Delft* craves your Charity, because he eats four Pounds of Bread at a Meal. ‘Twas from his *Larum* the Watchmakers learned their Infinite Screw.

§ Short View of the Troubles, p. 15.

to a Member of Parliament.—— His whole Prayer is such an irrational Bleating, that without a *Metaphor* 'tis the Calves of his Lips: And commonly 'tis larded with fine new Words, as *savingable, muchly, Christ-Jesusness, &c.*—— when the King girt round the Earl of *Essex* at *Lestytbiel*, an Assembler complained, *That God had drawn his People into the Wilderness*, and told him, *he was bound in Honour to feed them; for Lord* (said he) *since thou givest them no Meat, wee pray thee, O Lord, to give them no Stomachs.*

N. p. 44. *The King apprehending the Parliament's monthly Fast perverted from its original Design, and turned into a Nursery of Rebellion, was pleased to dissolve it, and appoint another contained in the following Proclamation from Oxford, October 5th, 1643. And how terribly he has curtail'd this Proclamation, the Reader may be convinced by comparing him with the Authority referred to in the † Margin*

N. 45. *Agreeably to this Proclamation, the King's Friends in the Counties of Cornwall and Devonshire entered into an Association upon sundry Articles, of which this was one, that if any Minister shall refuse, or artfully neglect to observe the Fast appointed by his Majesty, or shall not read the Service and Prayers appointed for that Fast, and being carried before a Justice of Peace, shall not promise a Protest for their future Conformity, he shall be forthwith secured, and his Estate sequester'd. Rushworth, p. 380.*

The Words of the Association of *Cornwal* and *Devon* for the King are omitted by Mr. Neal.

“ * Whereas a few malevolent and ambitious, in
“ the name of the two Houses of Parliament, have
“ by treasonable Practices embroiled this Kingdom in
“ a Civil Warr, pursued his Majesty's Person, murdered his good Subjects, some barbarously by the
“ common Hangman, against Law and Justice, others
“ by hostile Assaults, brought a general Devastation
“ upon the whole Kingdom, taking away all Liberty

† Husband's exact Collections, Folio, Edit. p. 353.

* Rushworth, Vol. 5, p. 381, &c.

" from the Members of both Houses, by awing, ter-
 " rifying, and assaulting them with Tumults and
 " Arms, *usurping the Royal Power, counterfeiting a*
 " *Great Seal*, to shew their horrid Intentions against
 " the King, Kingdome and Government; and find-
 " ing their Acts not likely to protect them from the
 " Punishment due to their Merits, have unnaturally
 " invited the *Scots* to invade this Kingdome, and in
 " these Distractions to make a total Conquest of this
 " Nation; for Resistance whereof, and preserving
 " the common Peace the Inhabitants of *Cornwal* and
 " *Devon* have united themselves, and for the Conti-
 " nuance of which Union this ensuing Protestation is
 " to be taken.

The Cornish and Devonshire Mens Oaths.

" I *A. B.* do in the Presence of Almighty God
 " promise, vow, and protest, with my utmost Pow-
 " er, to maintain and defend the true reformed Protestant
 " Religion established by Law in this Kingdome, against
 " all Popery, and Popish, and other Innovations of Sec-
 " taries and Schismatics, as also of his Majesty's Per-
 " son and Rights, against all Forces whatsoever, and
 " in like manner, the Laws, Liberties and Privi-
 " leges of Parliament, and of this Kingdom; and
 " I shall to the utmost of my Power, preserve and de-
 " fend the Peace of the two Counties of *Cornwal* and
 " *Devon*, and all Persons that shall unite themselves
 " by this Protestation in the due Performance thereof,
 " and to my Power, assist his Majesty's Armys for
 " reducing the Town of *Plimouth*; and Resistance
 " of all Forces of *Scots* Invaders, and others, levied
 " under Pretence of any Authority of two Houses of
 " Parliament, or otherwise, without his Majesty's
 " personal Consent.

N. p. 45. *The next Thing the Parliament undertook,*
was the Removal of those Monuments of Superstition out
of Churches, &c. which had been voted down the last
Year, but without any considerable Effects, because of
the

the Dissent of the House of Lords, but in the beginning of May, Sir Robert Harlow, by Order of the two Houses, took down the Crosses in Cheapside, and Charing Cross.

The hypocritical Preciseness of those Times is humorously enough bantered by an Anonymous Writer or two, who lived in the Times. The first in a Dialogue betwixt the *Cross* in *Cheap* and *Charing Cross*. ‘ * *Cheap*, ‘ I must tell you, Sister, I am accused for a *Papist*, ‘ and not thought fit to have any abiding in the Heart ‘ of the City ; I am called and preached against by ‘ the Name of *City Idol*. The *Brownists* spit at me ‘ as they come along ; the *Familists* hide their Eyes ‘ with their Fingers ; the *Anabaptist* wishes me knock’d ‘ in a thousand Pieces : The Sisters of the *Fraternity* ‘ will not come near me, but get about by *Watling* ‘ Street, and come in again by *Bow Lane*, to buy their ‘ Markets of the Country Women. They so extremely hate the *Cross*, that they hate every thing ‘ that maketh a Shew, or carrieth the Resemblance of ‘ a *Cross*. This last Week a Broker’s Wife of *Hounsditch* beat her Maid pitifully for laying, as she ‘ made her Master’s Bed, by chance, two Bed-staves ‘ *across*. And another, a Parish Clark, a petty ‘ Schoolmaster, would not suffer a *Christ-Cross* in any ‘ *Hornbook*, but cut them all out, and rubbed over ‘ the Place with Chalk and Butter.

Again, (p. 5.) ‘ Some think it very fit that we ‘ and our Children should be again baptiz’d, because ‘ we were signed with the Sign of the *Cross*. There ‘ is one *Cross* in *London*, a very honest Man, a Taylor, ‘ who very much fears that he must change his Name, ‘ and so make himself no better than a Rogue by the ‘ Statute. Two *Brownists* as they came along, were ‘ overheard by the Drawer at the *Three Tuns* to affirm, ‘ that the very Name of † *Cross* ought utterly to be ‘ abolished,

* A Dialogue betwixt the *Cross* in *Cheap*, and *Charing Cross*, comforting each other, as fearing their Fall in these uncertain Times. Printed 1641, p. 3. *penes me.* *A Defence of our ancient and modern Historians*, 1725, p. 133, &c.

† In a merry Pamphlet, intitled *New Orders New*, agree’d upon by the Parliament

abolished, and not so much as to be named in or about any Thing. As if your Maid be bid to mend the Fire, you must not say to her, *Lay those Sticks across*, nor may a *Dancer* once name a *Cross-Caper*; nor, if any Misfortune befall you, must you say, I am *cross'd in Mind*, nor must a Tradesman say to his Prentice, *Cross the Book*, but *lattice the Book*, nor must a Country Taylor be said to fit *cross-leg'd*, but *Andrew wise*, nor must you say, I will *cross* the Street, but overthwart it. And another about the same time says, '† If we break down sorry half-headed *Crosetts* in our Church-Yards and High-Ways, for fear of the worst, with what Courage should we (with the valiant and zealous *Don Quixot*) set upon these *Giantly* Champions of Superstition? Since we may boldly say, That no old *Primmer*, or *Horn-Book*, no Book of *Popish* Massing or Conjuring, hath in it a more exact Form of that great Idol than the common *Windmill* hath. Well fare a good Sister of ours, who would not suffer the little ones to name that Idol in her first Lesson, but taught them to say *Black Spot*, in stead of Christ-Cross: And our Brother *H. L. the Baker*, in Detestation of this Figure, would not so much as prick his Loaves with a headless Cross, but contented himself with one single Motion of his Knife.

N. Ibid. *And Saint Paul's Cross, which was a Pulpit of Wood covered with Lead, in Form of a Cross, and mounted on several Steps of Stone, about the Middle of*

of Roundheads, confirmed by the Brethren of the new Separation, assembled at Round-Heads-Hall without Cripplegate, with the great Discretion of Master Long Breath an upright new inspired Cobler, Speaker of the House. Avowed by Ananias Dulman, alias Prick-Ears. Cler. Parl. Round. London printed for T. V. 1642. p. 4. (penes me) are the following Words. 5. 'That we have no *Crosses*, for they are meer *Popery*, and tend to the Confusion and Opposition of Scripture: Especially let the sight of *Cheap-side Cross* be a Detestation unto you all, and let these Streets that are called *Crosses*, as *Red Cross Street*, and *White Cross*, &c. be turned otherwise, and called after the Name of some of our own Family, as *Green*, *Spencer*, &c. and call it rather *Green Street*, then *Red Cross Street*, &c. That thus all Profaneness being rooted, and extirpated from our Conventions, nothing but Holiness may remain amongst us.

† A new Wind-Mill, a new, Printed at Oxford, 1643, p. 5. *penes me.* A Defence of our Ancient and Modern Historians, p. 134.

Saint Paul's Church-yard, where the first Reformers used to preach frequently to the People.

* ' In which (says Dr. *Walker*) more learned Men
' had appear'd, and out of which, more sound and
' good Divinity had been deliver'd, than perhaps any
' one Pulpit, since the First-preaching of the Gospel
' could ever glory in. And particularly under that
' (now idolatrous) Banner of the *Cross*, more Learning
' against *Popery*, and all real Idolatry had been shewn,
' than those new Reformers were ever Masters of.
' Nor must I omit (says he) to observe in this Place,
' that no Order having been as yet made for executing
' this Order in his Majesty's Chappels [*Heylin's Hist.*
' of the *Presbyterians*, p. 456.] A private Warrant
' was obtain'd by *Harlow*——for making the said
' Chappels equal to all the rest, by depriving them
' of such Ornaments of State and Beauty, with which
' they had been constantly adorned in all Times since
' the Reformation.'

Mr. *Neal*, mentioning the Ordinance of the *Lords* and *Commons*, for the demolishing, removing, and taking away all Monuments of Superstition and Idolatry, observes upon it,

N. p. 47. *That there were some Disorders and Tumults in putting it in Execution, and great Neglect of Repairs: But if the Reader will look back to the Superstitions, Decorations, and Ornaments of Cathedrals mentioned in the former Volume of this Work, p. 224. he will see there was some Occasion for Reformation.*

Allowing there might, surely the Way of reforming then most commonly used, is far from being justifiable. Take the following Instance from the moderate *Bishop Hall*, (concerning their reforming in this Respect the Church of *Norwich*,) which was comparatively mild and gentle. † ' It is no other than
' tragical to relate the Carriage of that furious Sacrilege, whereof our Eyes and Ears were the sad Witnesses, under the Authority and Presence of *Linsay*

* *Walker's Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part 1. p. 24.*

† *Bishop Hall's Hard Measure, p. 63.*

‘ [an Alderman] and *Tofts* the Sheriff, and *Greenwood*.
 ‘ *Lord*, what Work was here, what clattering of
 ‘ Glasses, what beating down of Walls, what tearing
 ‘ up of Monuments and pulling down of Seats, what
 ‘ wresting out of Irons and Brasses from the Windows,
 ‘ and Graves! what defacing of Arms, what demo-
 ‘ lishing of curious Stone Work, that had not any
 ‘ Representation in the World, but only of the Cost
 ‘ of the Founder, and Skill of the Mason! What too-
 ‘ ting and piping upon the destroyed Organ Pipes,
 ‘ and what a hideous Triumph on the Market-Day
 ‘ before all the Country, when in a kind of sacrile-
 ‘ gious and profane Procession, all the Organ Pipes,
 ‘ Vestments, both Copes and Surplices, together with
 ‘ the leaden Cross, which had newly been sawn down
 ‘ from over the Green-Yard-Pulpit, and the Service
 ‘ Books and Singing Books that could be had, were
 ‘ carried to the Fire in the publick Market-place! A
 ‘ *lewd Wretch* walking before the Train in his Cope
 ‘ trailing in the Dirt, with a Service Book in his
 ‘ Hand, imitating an impious Scorn, the Tune, and
 ‘ usurping the Words of the *Litany* used formerly in
 ‘ the Church: Neere the Publick Crosse, all these
 ‘ Monuments of Idolatry must be sacrificed to the
 ‘ Fire not without much Ostentation of a zealous Joy
 ‘ in discharging Ordnance to the Cost of some who
 ‘ professed how much they long’d to see that Day.
 ‘ Neither was it any News upon this *Guild-Day* to have
 ‘ the Cathedral now open on all Sides, to be filled
 ‘ with Musketers, waiting for the Major’s Return,
 ‘ drinking and tobacconing as freely, as if it had
 ‘ turn’d Alehouse.’ Of this Kind of sacrilegious Re-
 ‘ forming, our Histories are full. The famed *Dr. Bru-*
 ‘ *no Ryves* has filled the second Part of his *Mercurius*
 ‘ *Rusticus* with lamentable Instances. Nay, * *Dr. Walker*
 ‘ observes from *Whitlock*, [Mem. p. 514.] That to com-
 ‘ plet the Reformation ‘ *July 13, 1652.* it was referr’d
 ‘ to a Committee to consider “ what Cathedrals are fit
 ‘ “ to stand, or what to be pull’d down, and how such

* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part I. p. 15.

“ as shall be pull'd down may be applied to the Payment of the *Publick Faith*.” * ‘ How they came to escape (says he) I know not, but have heard that some who inherit their Principles, did within these last five or six Years, decry the sparing of them, as a very false Step, and the one great Mistake of those Times, and declared, that when they have it in their Power again (of which they had then no unpromising Prospect) they will level them all with the Ground. Alledging their Reasons for it in this Similitude, *Tear out the Nests, and the Birds can ne'er return.*’

N. Ibid. December 14. the Commissioners cleared the Cathedral of Canterbury of all the Images and Paintings.

I have already given an Account of *Clulmer's* breaking the famous Windows of *Christ Church*, in *Canterbury*, [Impartial Examination of Mr. *Neal's* 2d Vol. p. 131.] where being asked ‘ why in one Window (which represented the *Devil* tempting our *Saviour*) he brake down *Christ*, and left the *Devil* standing? He answer'd, *He had an Order to take down Christ, but had no Order to take down the Devil.*’

N. Ibid. Heylin says, the Rabble violated the Monuments of the Dead, spoyled the Organs, took down the Rails, &c. and affronted the Statue of our Blessed *Saviour*.

The Words of Dr. Heylin uncurtail'd, are as follow:

† ‘ But their first Furies of this Kind, brake out in the Cathedral Church of *Canterbury*, and that of *Rocheſter*, under the Conduct and Command of Colonel *Sandys*, one of that County, who taking some Forces with him to make sure of *Canterbury*, came

* Remarkable is the Observation of the judicious Mr. *Hooker* upon some Reformers of the like Kind, in his Time. ‘ *David's* Grief (says he, *Ecclef. Polity*, B. 5. S. XI. p. 200.) was no less that he could not have the Honour to build God a Temple, than their Anger is at this Day, who bite asunder their own Tongues with very Wrath, that they have not as yet Power to pull down the Temples, which they never built, and to level them with the Ground.’

† History of the *Presbyterians*, p. 443. *Mercurius Rusticus*, Part 2. p. 119. In a Letter from Dr. *Paske* a Prebendary, to the Earl of *Holland*, Aug. 30, 1642. *Dugdale's Short View of the Troubles*, p. 557.

' thither in the End of *August*; and having got the
 ' Keys of the Cathedral into his Possession, gave a
 ' free Entrance to the Rabble, which attended on
 ' him; forcing their Way into the Quire, they over-
 ' threw the Communion-Table, tore the Velvet-
 ' Cloth, which they found about it, defaced the
 ' goodly Screen, or Tabernacle-work, violated the
 ' Monuments of the Dead, spoil'd the Organs, brake
 ' down the ancient Rails and Seats, with the Brazen
 ' Eagle which did support the Bible, forced open the
 ' Cupboards of the Singing-Men, rent some of their
 ' Surplices, Gowns, and Bibles, and carried away
 ' others, mangled all the Service Books, and Books
 ' of Common-Prayer, bestrewing the whole Pave-
 ' ment with the Leaves thereof. They also exercised
 ' their Madnes on the Arras-hangings, which adorn'd
 ' the Quire, representing the whole Story of our Sa-
 ' viour, and meeting with some of his Figures a-
 ' mongst the rest, some of them swore, that they
 ' would stab him, and others that they would rip up
 ' his Bowels: Which they did accordingly, so far
 ' forth at the least, as those Figures in the Arras-
 ' Hanging could be capable of it. And finding a-
 ' nother Statue of *Christ* placed in the Frontispiece
 ' of the South Gate there, they discharged forty
 ' Muskets at it, exceedingly triumphing when they
 ' hit him in the Head or Face. And it is thought
 ' they would have fallen upon the Fabrick, if at the
 ' Suit of the Mayor and Citizens they had not been
 ' restrain'd by their principal Officers.'

N. Ibid. Decr. 30. They removed the Pictures and Images in Henry the Seventh's Chappel..

And we are told by an Author who lived in those
 Times, * ' That Sir Robert Harlow breaking into
 ' Henry the Seventh's Chappel, brake down the Al-
 ' tar Stone which stood before that goodly Monu-
 ' ment of Henry the Seventh. That the Stone was
 ' Touch Stone, all of one Piece, a Rarity not to be
 ' match'd that we know of in any Part of the World;

* *Mercur. Russic. Part 2. p. 155.*

‘ there it stood for many Years, not for Use, but for
 ‘ Ornament, yet it did not escape the Frenzy of this
 ‘ Man’s ignorant Zeal, for he broke it all into Shi-
 ‘ vers.’

And in the Abbey Church of *Westminster*, we are told by the same Author, † ‘ That some Soldiers of
 ‘ *Wesbborne*, and *Caywood*’s Companies, were quar-
 ‘ ter’d in the Abbey Church (as the rest of our mo-
 ‘ dern Reformers) they brake down the Rail about
 ‘ the Altar, and burnt it in the Place where it stood ;
 ‘ they brake down the Organ, and pawn’d the Pipes
 ‘ at several Ale-houses for Pots of Ale: They put
 ‘ on some of the Singing Mens Surpleffes, and in
 ‘ Contempt of the Canonical Habits, ran up and
 ‘ down the Church, he that wore the Surplefs was
 ‘ the Hare, the rest were the Hounds. To shew
 ‘ their *Christian Liberty*, in the Use of Things, and
 ‘ that all *Consecration*, or *Hallowing of Things* under
 ‘ the Gospel, is but a *Jewish*, or *Popish* Superstition,
 ‘ and that they are no longer to be accounted holy,
 ‘ than that holy Use to which they serve, shall by
 ‘ the actual Use only impart a transient Holiness to
 ‘ them, they set *Forms* about the Communion Table,
 ‘ there they eat, and there they drink Ale, and To-
 ‘ bacco: Some of their own *Levites* (if my Intelli-
 ‘ gence deceive me not) bearing them Company, and
 ‘ countenancing so beastly a Profanation. Nor was
 ‘ this done once, to vindicate their *Christian Liberty*,
 ‘ as they call Profanation it self, but the whole Time
 ‘ of their Abode there, they made it their common
 ‘ Table, on which they usually din’d, and supp’d,
 ‘ tho’ Saint *Paul* calls it *Despising the Church of Christ*,
 ‘ and asks his *Corinthians*, if they *had not Houses to eat*
 ‘ *and drink in*. [1 Cor. xi.] They did the Easements
 ‘ of Nature, and laid their Excrements about the Al-
 ‘ tar, and in most Places of the Church. An Abo-
 ‘ mination which God did provide against by a pecu-
 ‘ liar Prohibition in the Law of *Moses*, and that, in

† *Ib.* p. 154. *Heylin’s History of the Presbyterians*, p. 453. See likewise *Dugdale’s Short View of the Troubles*, p. 562.

‘ Places not rendred so dreadful by so peculiar a Manner of the Presence of God, as in the hallowed Temples of his publick Worship.—

‘ Nay, which is the Height of all Impiety, they familiarly kept their Whores in the Church, and which I tremble to write (prodigious Monsters as they are) lay with them on the very Altar it self, and did in that Place commit such Things, as are unfit to be done by *Christians*.’

N. p. 48. *And within a few Months most of the Cathedrals in England underwent the same Fate.*

Two remarkable Instances more I will take the Liberty of adding, one is of the Church of *Litchfield*, where * the Soldiers exercis’d the like Barbaritys as were done at *Worcester*, in demolishing all the Monuments, pulling down the curious Carved-work, battering in Pieces the costly Windows, and destroying the Evidences and Records belonging to that Church. Which being done, they stabled their Horses in the Body of it, kept Courts of Guard in the Cross Isles, broke up the Pavement, polluted the Quire with their Excrements; every Day hunted a Cat with Hounds throughout the Church, delighting themselves in the Echo from the goodly vaulted Roof: And to add to their Wickedness, brought a Calf into it, wrapt in Linnen; carried it to the Font, sprinkled it with Water, and gave it a Name, in Scorn and Derision of that holy Sacrament of Baptism.’ The other Instance is of the Church of *Chichester*.

† ‘ By *Waller*’s taking it (says Dr. *Heylin*) the Town got little, and the Church lost more: For upon *Innocents Day*, the Soldiers forcibly break into it, where they seize upon the Vestments and Ornaments of the Church, together with the consecrated Plate serving for the Altar, not leaving so much as a Cushion for the Pulpit, or a Chalice for the blessed Sacrament. But this rich Spoil being

* Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 559.

† History of the Presbyterians, B. 13. p. 451.

committed by the *Marshall* and other Officers, the
 rest was left unto the Hands and Weapons of the com-
 mon Soldiers, who with their Pole-Axes did not
 only break down the Organs, but cut in pieces the
 Communion Table with the Rail before it. They
 defaced the two Tables of the Law at the east End
 of the Quire, for fear they should rise up against
 them in the Day of Judgment; most miserably made
 havock of that Churches Foundation, which they
 found on the one side of the South Cross-Isle pour-
 trayed in artificial Manner, with the Statues of
 the Kings of *England*, and coming to the Pourtrai-
 ture of King *Edward* the Sixth, they picked out
 his Eyes, saying, in Scorn, *That all the Mischief came*
from him, in establishing the Book of Common-Prayer.
 Which that it might not be officiated as in former
 Times, they break open all the Chests and Cup-
 boards, in which the *Quire-Men* had laid up their
 singing Books, Common-Prayer-Books, Gowns,
 and Surplices, strewing the Pavements of the Church
 with the Leaves of the Books, but turning the Gowns
 and Surplices into ready Money. To all which Acts
 of sacrilegious Spoyl and Rapine, as *Waller* gave
 some Countenance by his personal Presence, and in
 that somewhat worse than *Nero*, as the Story tells
 us; so *Hazlerig* gave much more by his Voice and
 Actions; for forcing his way into the Chapter-House,
 he did not only command the Soldiers to break
 down the Wainscot, but seized on all the rich Plate
 that belonged to the Church. And when it was de-
 fired they would leave one *Chalice* only for the use of
 the Sacrament; answer was most profanely made
 by one of the *Scots* (of which Nation the two Houses
 had employed too many) *That they might serve the*
Turn with a Wooden-Dish.

Mr. Neal informs us, p. 54. *That 4 Shillings per*
Day was allowed for each Member of the Assembly during
his Attendance.

And how punctually that was paid, the Reader may be informed from the Assembly's Petition in the * Appendix.

C H A P. II.

MR. Neal's second Chapter takes in that Period of Time from the calling of the Assembly of Divines at *Westminster*, to the *Oxford* Parliament, and here, as well as in the foregoing Chapter, I cannot but think that there are Mistakes enough to prove the Inaccuracy at least of our Historian. In the Ordinance for calling the Assembly, he has mistaken *William* for *Philip* Earl of *Pembroke*, and in his List of the Assembly alphabetically drawn up, *Henry Tuckney*, D. D. for *Anthony Tuckney*, D. D.

Before the Assembly sat, he informs us :

N. p. 60. *That the King by his Royal Proclamation of June 22. forbid their meeting, for purposes therein mentioned, and declares that no Acts done by them ought to be received by his Subjects; he also threatned to proceed against them with the utmost Severity of the Law.*

And was not their Assembly contrary to the 25th of *Henry* the Eighth, Chap. 19. or the Act of Submission of the Clergy? Where 'tis enacted by the Authority of that Parliament, according to the said Submission of the Clergy, that they, ne any of them, from henceforth shall presume and attempt, alledge, claim, or put in ure, any Constitutions or Ordinances, Provincial or Synodal, or any other Canons: Nor shall enact promulge or execute any such Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, by whatsoever Name or Names they may be called in their *Convocations*, in time coming (which

* Appendix No. 12. Mr. *Birkenhead* in his *Assembly Man*, p. 22. has the following Words, ' Weigh him single, and he has the Pride of three Tyrants, the Forehead of six Goalers, and the Fraud of twelve Brokers; and take him in the Bunch, and their whole Assembly is a Club of Hypocrites, where six Dozen of Schismatics, spend two Hours for four Shillings a-piece.

' always

‘ always shall be assembled by Authority of the King’s
 ‘ Writ) unless the same Clergy may have the King’s
 ‘ most Royal Assent and License, to make, promulge,
 ‘ and execute such Canons, Constitutions, and Ordina-
 ‘ nances Provincial or Synodal, upon pain of every
 ‘ one of the saide Clergy, doing contrary to this Act,
 ‘ and being thereof convict, to suffer Imprisonment,
 ‘ and make Fine at the King’s Will.

N. p. 61. *I believe no set of Clergy since the Begin-
 ning of Christianity have suffered so much in their Cha-
 racter and Reputations, as these for their Advices to the
 two Houses of Parliament.*

And no set of Clergy ever deserved it more [as
 may appear from the *impartial Examination* of Mr.
Neal’s 2d Volume of the *History of the Puritans*, p.
 380, &c.]

To which I shall take the Liberty of adding a Cha-
 racter of them from a Right Reverend Bishop of those
 Times. ‘ * That they were most of them not only
 ‘ justly suspected to be ill disposed to the Peace of the
 ‘ Church, and too much addicted to Innovations, to
 ‘ alter the Government, to reject and cast away the
 ‘ Book of Common-Prayer, to oppose Episcopacy,
 ‘ and to displace the grave and godly Governours of
 ‘ God’s Church; but also apparently fashioned to the
 ‘ Humours of these their own Disciples (who are the
 ‘ Judges only of their Determinations) that altho’ some
 ‘ few canonical Men, and most reverend, learned,
 ‘ and religious Bishops and others, for Fashions sake,
 ‘ to blind the World, were named among them; yet
 ‘ when, as in a Parliament, so in a Synod, the most
 ‘ desperate Faction, if they prove prevalent to be the
 ‘ major Part, will carry any thing in spite of the bet-
 ‘ ter Part, they shall stand but as Cyphers able to
 ‘ do— nothing) they might abolish our old establish-
 ‘ ed Government, erect their own new invented Disci-
 ‘ pline, and propagate their well-affected Doctrine

* The Discovery of the Mysteries, or the Plots and Practices of a prevalent Fac-
 tion in this present Parliament by *Greg. Williams* Bishop of *Ossory*, p. 42.
 printed 1643. *penes me.*

in all Churches * for you may judge of them by their Compeers, *Goodwin, Burrows, Arrowsmith,* and the rest of their *Ignorant, Factionous, and Schismatical Ministers*, that together with those intruding *Mechanicks*, (who without any calling from God or Man, doe step from their *Botcher's Board*, or *Horses Stable*, into the *Preachers Pulpit*) are the *Bellows* which blow up this Fire, that threatned the *Distruction* of our Land; like *Sheba's Trumpet*, to summon the People into Rebellion; and like the *Red-Dragon* in the *Revelations*, which gave them all his *Poyson*, and made them eloquent to disgorge their *Malice*, and cast forth *Floods of Slanders* after those that keep *Loyalty* to their *Sovereign*, belch forth their unfavoury *Reproaches* against those that discovered their affected *Ignorance*, and *seditionous Wickedness* in *Defence of Truth*; and are the *Instruments* of this *Faction* to seduce the poor People to a *Desolation* of the whole *Kingdome*, if not timely prevented by their *Repentance* and *Assistance*, to enable them, whom God hath made their *Protectors*, to defend us against such transcendent *Wickedness*. And these are the main *Ends* for which they summoned such a new *Synod* of their furious and *fanatick Teachers*, upon whose *Temper* and *Fidelity*, I believe, no wise Man that knows them, would lay the least *Weight* of his *Soul's Felicity*. And yet, after all, *Dr. Fuller* says [Ch. Hist. B. XI. p. 200.] 'That Books were dedicated unto them under the Title of the *sacred Assembly*, which because they did not disavow, by others they were interpreted to approve.

* * These inferior *Possern Teachers* (says the Author of the *Assembly Man*, p. 6.) have intoxicated *England* (for a Man sometimes grows drunk by a Glister) when they all meet they shew *Beasts* in *Africk*, by promiscuous coupling ingender *Monsters*. Mr. *Selden* visits them as *Persians* used to see wild *Adies* fight; when the *Commons* have tired him with their new Law, these *Brethren* refresh him with their mad Gospel. They lately were gravelled betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Jericho*; they knew not the *Distance* 'twixt those two Places, one cry'd twenty Miles, another ten, 'twas concluded seven, for this Reason, that *Fish* was brought from *Jericho* to *Jerusalem Market*. Mr. *Selden* smiled and said, perhaps the *Fish* was *Salt-Fish*, and to stopped their *Mouths*.

N. p. 62. *Mr. Baxter, who was better acquainted with them than his Lordship [Lord Clarendon] or than any of his Followers, adds, that they were Men of Learning, Godliness, ministerial Abilities, and Fidelity.*

Mr. Baxter's Character of them has been considered already, [Impartial Examination of the 2d Vol. of the History of the Puritans, p. 387.] and from thence the Reader may be left to judge, whether Mr. Baxter's, or Lord Clarendon's Authority in this Case is most to be depended upon.

* *Cyphers* (says a Writer in those Times) may make an *Assembly*, tho' no number, and what can we expect from an *A. B. C. Synod* but a Catechism? What have they given us for *Lawn-Sleeves*, but *Sackcloth* and *Misery*? Instead of Liturgies, they have brought upon us all those Afflictions we there prayed against! the Church, while beautiful, was the *Whore of Babylon*, their Zeal was never hot enough, till it had scorched them into *Blackamores*—And what can be pure enough with them, that dare article the Creed, and attempt to reform the Apostles? These will *shrive* the whole Bible, and have interpreted, *Our Father, &c.* so long backwards, that they have made some believe it was *Conjuring*. The Synod was the Parliaments *spiritual Block-house*, and the *Prolocutor* was the *Speaker's Echo*. All the Divines like the Priests of old, were inspired from *Vaults* and the *Lower-house*.

N. p. 67. *Pursuant to this Petition [viz. of the Assembly of Divines for a Fast] July 21. was appointed for a Fast, when the Reverend Mr. Bowles and Newcomen preached before both Houses, and the Assembly together.*

The two Houses (according to Dr. *Lightfoot's* Manuscript) appointed Mr. *Hill*, Mr. *Spurstow*, and Mr. *Vines*, to preach before themselves. And I find by the Assemblys Sermons in the publick Library at *Cambridge* (in eleven thick Volumes Quarto) that Mr.

* *Mercurius Mennipeus* : Or, *The Loyal Satyrift*, p. 8. *punns* me.

Hill and Mr. *Spurston* did preach before them that Day.

Oliver Bowles, and *Matthew Newcomen* preached before both Houses of Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines upon their solemn Fast, July 7. 1643. The Sermon of the first, intituled, *Zeal for God's House quickened*, † of the Second, *Jerusalem's Watchmen, the Lord's Remembrancers*. Which probably occasioned Mr. *Neal's* Mistake.

N. p. 68. *At this time the Parliament was so reduced, that they were § obliged to call in the Assistance of the Scots; the Conservators of the Peace of that Kingdom had appointed a Convention of States June 22, under pretence of securing the Country against the Power of the Royal Army in the North.*

And how honourably these *Conservators of the Nation* acted, ‘ ** Their Proclamation proclaimed throughout the Kingdom of Scotland, August 18. 1643. for all Persons from 16 to 60 Years old to appear in Arms,’ which was issued out in the King's Name (tho' they were going into actual Rebellion against him) plainly discovers: †† At which (says Mr. *Rusworth*) the King was much incensed, as appears by his Letter to the Council on that occasion.

N. p. 70. *The Committee for drawing up the solemn League and Covenant, delivered it into the Assembly, Aug. 17. where it was read, and highly applauded*

* Third Vol. p. 117.

† Third Vol. p. 174.

§ Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* in a Letter to the Marquess of *Ormonde*, 15. Sept. 1643. [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 170. p. 173.] makes the following Remark upon calling in of the Scots. ‘ The Rebels want Money extremely; they labour the Scots to come in to their Aid, have promised to pay them 100000*l.* the 5th of the next Month, to have an Army ready to march into England the 20th of the same, which the Scots have undertaken; whereby your Lordship may see that though there be no Money to pay or relieve the Army in Ireland, there is Money provided to draw in foreign Forces into this Kingdom by the Rebels here. In a Letter from *Arthur Trevor* to the Marquess of *Ormonde*. [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 147. p. 260.] are the following Words, If Sir *Charles Lucas* be able to keep him [*viz. Fairfax*] from making his way to the Scots Quarters, he beats him and the Scots into the Bargain; for of their Gallies and Pistols proportionable, their Brethren here are not over confident.

** *Rusworth's Collections* Vol. 5. p. 482.

†† *Rusworth* p. 483, 484.

by the Ministers and Lay Elders, none opposing it but the King's Commissioners, so that it passed both the Assembly and Convention in one Day, and was dispatched next Morning to Westminster.

* Bilhop Burnet says, * that wise observers wondered to see a Matter of that Importance carried through upon so little Deliberation, or Debate. It was thought strange to see all their Consciences of a size, so exactly to agree as the several Wheels of a Clock; which made all apprehend, there was some *First Mover*, that directed all the other Motions; this by one Party was imputed to God's extraordinary Providence, but by others to the Power and Policy of the Leaders, and the Simplicity and Fear of the rest. One Article of it was thought strange, that one Government of the Church was abjured, but none sworn to in its Place.

N. p. 70. Mr. Marshall and Nye, in their Letter to the Assembly, August 18. assure their Brethren the Scots Clergy were entirely on the side of the Parliament, against the Popish and Episcopal Faction.

The Conclusion of their *canting* Letter follows.
 † We scarce ever saw so much of Christ for us as this Day, in the Assemblies carrying of this Business, such Weeping, such Rejoycing, such Resolution, such pathetical Expressions, as we confesse hath much refreshed our Hearts, before extremely saddened with ill News from our dear Country; and hath put us in good hope, that this Nation (who set about this Business as becometh the Work of God, and the saving of Kingdomes) shall be the Meanes of lifting up distressed *England and Ireland*—§ A gain, we say, we hope you will quickly see a good Army with you, yea something done before, or as soone as these Letters come at you; continue in all Earnestness as you were wont, in seeking God, and

* Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 239.

† A Letter from Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nye to their Brethren in England, London, 1643. p. 3. Pub. Libr. Cambridge XIX, IX. 2.

§ *Id. ib.* p. 4.

be not discouraged or suffer your Spirits to languish; surely the *Arm of the Lord* in this Assistance extends itself towards you, in the Mount the Lord will be seen. We forbear to write any more, because this Bearer will acquaint you with our Affairs, (and distribute our Respects amongst you) and his Hast alloweth us no more Time, but to commit you to the Grace of God, and subscribe our selves

Your most affectionate and dear Brethren,

Stephen Marshal.

From *Edinburgh, August*
18, 1643.

Philip Nye.

N. Ib. Both Houses, with the Scots Commissioners, and Assembly of Divines, being met in Saint Margaret's Westminster, the Reverend Mr. White of Dorchester opened the Solemnity with Prayer, after which Mr. Henderson and Mr. Nye spoke in Justification of taking the Covenant from Scripture Precedents, and display'd the Advantages the Church had received from such sacred Combinations.

Lord Clarendon's Account is this, ‘ * The Lords and Commons, and Assembly of Divines met together at the Church with great Solemnity to take it on the five and twentieth of *September*; a double Holiday, by the Earl of *Essex*'s Return to *London*, and this religious Exercise. There two or three Divines went into the Pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray: Others, according to their several Gifts to make Orations upon the Work of the Day. They were by them told, “ That this Oath was such, and in the Matter and Consequence of it of such Concernment, as it was truly worthy of them, yea of those Kingdoms, yea of all the Kingdoms of the World: That it could be no other but the Result of such Prayers and Tears, of such Sincerity and Sufferings, that three Kingdoms should be thus born, or rather new born in a Day:

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 236.

“ That

“ That they were entring upon a Work of the great-
 “ est Moment and Concernment to themselves, and
 “ their Posterity after them, that ever was under-
 “ taken by any of them, or any of their Forefathers
 “ before them. That it was a Duty of the first Com-
 “ mandment, and therefore of the highest and noblest
 “ Order and Rank of Duties : and therefore must come
 “ forth attended with choicest Graces, Fear, Humi-
 “ lity, and in the greatest Simplicity and Plainness of
 “ Spirit, and Respect of those with whom they Co-
 “ venanted. That it was to advance the Kingdome
 “ of Christ here upon Earth, and make *Jerusalem*
 “ once more the Praise of the whole Earth, notwith-
 “ standing all the Contradictions of Men.” With
 “ many such high Expressions hard to be conceived,
 “ He tells us in another Place, * That Mr. *Hender-son*
 (the sole Commissioner for the Church of *Scotland*)
 “ magnified what they had done, and assured them,
 “ of great Success after it, by the Experience of that
 “ Nation ; who from the Union in their first Cove-
 “ nant found nothing hard they proposed to them-
 “ selves.” And told them, “ That were the Cove-
 “ nant now painted upon the Wall within the *Pope’s*
 “ Palace, it would doubtless put him into *Belshazzar’s*
 “ quaking Condition.” And we are told by an ano-
 nymous Writer, [*Seditious Preachers, ungodly Teach-*
ers, p. 9.] “ That one *Cant* an eminent *Presbyterian*
 “ Preacher in *Scotland*, assured the People in a Ser-
 “ mon at *Glasgow*, that he was sent to them with a
 “ Commission from Christ, to bid them subscribe the
 “ Covenant, which was Christ’s Contract. With
 which correspond those canting Expressions afterwards
 mentioned by Mr. *Neal*, (p. 78, 79.) in their Exhor-
 tation to the taking of the Solemn League and Cove-
 nant.

N. p. 77. October 29, *It was ordered by the Com-*
mittee of States in Scotland to be sworn to, and subscribed
all over that Kingdom, in Penalty of Confiscation of Goods
and Rents, and such other Punishments as his Majesty and

* *Id. lb.* p. 289.

the Parliament should inflict on the Refusers. It. Memoirs,
p. 240.

Bishop *Burnet's* Words in the Place referred to are these. ' The Covenant was carried up by those
' trusted with it to the two Houses, to be approved
' by them, and being returned to *Scotland*, † the
' Committee of Estates did by their printed Act of 22d
' of *October*, ordain it to be sworn and subscribed by all
' the Subjects, under pain of being punished as Enemies
' to Religion, his Majesty's Honour, and the Peace of
' these Kingdoms, and to have their Goods and Rents
' confiscated; and they not to enjoy any Benefit or Office
' within the Kingdom, and to be cited by the next Par-
' liament as Enemies to Religion, King and Kingdoms,
' and to receive what further Punishment his Majesty and
' the Parliament shall inflict upon them.

And how rigorous their *English* Brethren were in pressing it here in *England*, appears from Dr. *Lightfoot's* Journal, *October* the third. ' The first
' thing we did to Day was a Motion made by my self,
' for a determinate Resolution, about Womens tak-
' ing the Covenant, for that some in the City, and
' of our Assembly called Women to the taking it,
' and others did not. Therefore I desired that an
' Uniformity might be settled herein, that none of
' us might incur Prejudice. This held Debate a
' while, but nothing concluded for the present.

N, p. 84. *The Earl of Manchester* had particular
Instructions to tender the Covenant to the *Cambridge*
Scholars, and yet the Commissioners imposed it only upon
such as adhered to the King, or of whose Disaffection they
had sufficient Proof, several who behaved peaceably were
permitted to keep their Places.

* We cannot (says Dr. *Barwick*) but signify by
' the way, that seeing it must be rendred to the Uni-
' versity, as their printed Instructions told us, we
' hoped it should have been to the whole Body sta-
' tutably assembled, either to admit of, or humbly
' to shew Reasons of Denial; but they were wise

† *Rydworth*, Vol. 5. p. 484. * *Querel. Cantabrigiens.* p. 21, 22°, Printed 1647.

‘ enough to foresee what † *Entertainment such Stuff*
 ‘ was like to find from all the learned Men of so fa-
 ‘ mous an University, and were not willing it should
 ‘ be blasted with their universal Refusal: And there-
 ‘ fore contrary to our Hopes, a selected Number of
 ‘ particular Men are called out, partly as the Lot fell,
 ‘ for it much resembled a Lottery, but chiefly of such
 ‘ whom they most redoubted, and of whom by some
 ‘ petty Information, they had received a black Cha-
 ‘ racter of *Loyalty*, termed *Malignancy*, and to these
 ‘ yet severally, was tendred the *Oath of Discovery*, and
 ‘ after that the *Covenant*.

‘ And though indeed we should, by God’s Help,
 ‘ as often have refused it, as it should have bin offer-
 ‘ ed, yet after one single Denial, without a second
 ‘ Tender, contrary to the eleventh Article of the *In-*
 ‘ *structions*, a Warrant was straightway issued forth
 ‘ under the Earl of *Manchester’s* Hand and Seal, for
 ‘ our *Ejection and Banishment from the University of*
 ‘ *Cambridge for refusing to take the Solemn League and*
 ‘ *Covenant, and other Misdemeanours in the said Uni-*
 ‘ *versity*.

N. Ibid. *Mr. Baxter prevented its being much taken*
in Worcestershire.

This he told us but two Pages before. (*viz.* p. 82.)
 But Repetition is what the *Dissenters* of all Kinds are
 but too fond of.

N. Ibid. *But if the Puritan Powers bore hard upon*
the Loyalists, in imposing the Covenant, the King’s Cler-
gy were even with them at the Restoration, when they
obliged them publickly to abjure it, or quit their Livings
in the Church.

And how the Regicides and Rebels resented it, and
 exclaimed upon that Occasion, the following Instances
 sufficiently prove.

† Mr. Birkenhead (in his *Paul’s Church Yard*, Cent. iii. p. 18.) is very witty
 upon the Engagement and Covenant in the following Querie, ‘ Whether Jack Free-
 ‘ man did not take the Engagement aright, when he made it into a *Suppositer* ?’ For
 having served the Covenant so before, he conceived that this would not stick long
 behind.

* * Be astonished, O Heavens! and tremble, O Earth! Let the Sun itself be clothed in Blackness at this so horrid an Impiety! *what abjure such a Covenant, a Covenant so solemnly taken! a Covenant for the Matter of it so religious, so holy, &c. And must this Covenant be abjured now? This Covenant! is not God's own Word, and God himself too after a sort abjured in that Act, whoever are guilty of it? —* The highest of all Crimes imaginable, a Crime that murders Conscience, that murders Souls, that murders Religion itself; a Crime against the first Table, and immediately against the *Sovereign God*; and the greatest of that Nature that Men can be guilty of. [*Speeches of three Regicides, p. 5, 6.*]

O the burning of the *Covenant* in *England*, and the Causes of Wrath in *Scotland*, shall certainly be followed with such a Fire and Fierceness of Indignation, as shall make Authors, Actors, Abettors, and Rejoycers thereat, know, what it is to give such an open Defiance to the Almighty. A *Covenant* burnt, and burnt by Authority in the Sight of Heaven, with such *Hell-black-Solemnities*, where the great God is *altera pars contrahens*, for Reformation of Religion according to his Word: And Righteousness in walking before him, is such a Sin as may make every Soul to tremble at the Forethoughts of what God will doe, for vindicating his Glory from that Contempt thereby cast upon him. — I wish that the burning that City into Ashes where the *Covenant* was burnt, together with that *None such Plague* and *War*, may make them take Warning e're it be too late, who did the Wickedness, — O *England*, *England*, I fear, I fear thy Woe hasteneth; the Wrath of God is upon the Wing against thee, both for Breach of *Covenant*, and for wiping thy Mouth as if thou hadst done nothing amiss! Thou hast stood and seen thy Brother's Day; alas for thy Day, when others shall stand aloof from thee, for fear of

• sharing in thy Judgments. [*Poor Man's Cup*, &c.
• p. 19. *L'Estrange* p. 19.]

• I bear my Witness unto the *natural Covenant* of
• *Scotland*, and *Solemn League and Covenant* betwixt
• the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ire-*
• *land*. These sacred solemn publick Oaths of God,
• I believe can be loos'd, nor dispensed with by no
• Person or Power upon Earth. [*Naphtals*, p. 207.
• *L'Estrange*, p. 20.]

N. p. 85. *The Necessity of the King's Affairs* having
obliged him to arm the Papists, and commission the Duke
of Ormond to agree to a Cessation of Arms with the Irish
Catholicks, in order to draw off his Forces from thence,
his Majesty fell under the Suspicion of favouring the Ca-
tholick Religion, especially when it appeared, that not
only the Protestant Soldiers, but the Irish Rebels were
transported with them.

His Majesty gives his Reasons for arming his *Papists*
Subjects, in his *Declaration to his loving Subjects in his*
Kingdom of Scotland, 1643. “ * For the malicious
• groundless Aspersions of having an Army of *Papists*,
• though in the Condition and Strait to which we are
• brought, no Man had reason to wonder if we re-
• ceived Assistance from any of our Subjects of what
• Religion soever, who by the Laws of the Land are
• bound to perform all Offices of Duty and Allegi-
• ance to us; yet it is well known, that we took all
• possible Care, by our Proclamations to inhibit any
• of that Religion to repair to us, which was precisely
• and strictly observed (notwithstanding even all that
• Time, we were traduced as being attended with
• none but *Papists*, when in a Month together there
• had not been one *Papist* near our Court) † though
• great

* Bishop Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 323. The Duke of
Ormond's great Care against lifting *Papists* into the Army under his Command in *Ire-*
land, appears from a Letter of his to *Lentball* [Letters concerning State Affairs,
1735, No. 107. p. 105.] Sept. 4. 1642. ‘ I shall humbly advise, that none
• might be admitted into the List of this Army, but such as *shall* take the Oath of
• Supremacy, &c.—

† How much the two Houses at *Westminster* encouraged *Papists* to come into
their Service, has been already observed. And Secretary *Nicholas* in a Letter to the
Marquis

great Numbers of that Religion have been with
 great Alacrity entertained in that rebellious Army
 against us, and others have been seduced, to whom
 we formerly denied Employments, as appears by
 the Examination of many Prisoners, of whom we
 have taken twenty or thirty at a time, of one Troop
 or Company of that Religion. What our Opinion
 is of that Religion, our frequent solemn Pro-
 testations before Almighty God, who knows our
 Heart, doe manifest to the World; and what our
 Practice is in Religion, is not unknown to our good
 Subjects in that our native Kingdome. And as we
 have omitted no way, our Conscience and Under-
 standing could suggest, to be for the promoting
 and advancing the *Protestant Religion*; so we have
 professed our Readiness in a full and peaceable Con-
 vention of Parliament, to consent to whatsoever
 shall be proposed by Bill, for the better Discovery
 and speedier Conviction of *Recusants*, for the Edu-
 cation of the Children of *Papists* by *Protestants*, in
 the *Protestant* Religion, for the Prevention of the
 Preachers of *Papists* against the States, and the due
 Execution of the Laws, and the true levying of Pe-
 naltys against them; so we shall farther embrace
 any just *Christian* Means to suppress *Popery* in all our
 Dominions, of which Inclination and Resolution of
 ours, that our *native Kingdome* hath received good
 Evidence. And the King in his Letter to the Mar-
 quis of *Ormond* 2d July 1643. [Letters concerning State
 Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 162, p. 166.] makes the follow-
 ing Observation. ' And if the Money we consented
 should be raised in this our Kingdome for the Re-
 lief of *Ireland*, had not been diverted by them, and
 rebelliously employed against us here in *England*,
 we should not have been constrained to have hear-
 kened to a Cessation of Arms on that Side: But since

Marquis of *Ormond* confirms the Account. [Letters concerning State Affairs, pub-
 lished 1735, No. 166, p. 170.] 'It is most certain Truth, that at this Instant they
 have a Troop of *Walloons* that serve them, who are all *Papists*, and have *Priests*
 with them, that say Masse to them wheresoever they go. This is a real
 Truth.

* we see no other Hope during the unhappy Distem-
 * pers here, to settle the Peace of that our Kingdome
 * but by a Cessation of Armes between us and the *Irish*
 * now in Armes there: And doubt very much how
 * our Forces now in that Kingdome will be there
 * maintained, if we shall admit of a Cessation, we have
 * thought expedient by these our Letters to recom-
 * mend it to your Care and Industry, to consider se-
 * riously how our Affairs on that Side may be enabled
 * to subsist during a Cessation.

*N. p. 85. These Wretches brought hither the same sa-
 vage Disposition, as they discovered in their own Country;
 they plundered and killed People in cold Blood, observing
 neither the Rules of Honour, nor the Laws of Arms.*

This possibly may be all of it true, for the *Irish*
 Rebels were barbarous enough, it must be granted;
 but their Brother Rebels in *England* in some Instan-
 ces did not come much behind them. The Case of
 Dr. *Walter Raleigh* Dean of *Wells* is a remarkable
 one, who was villainously murdered by his Jayler.

* * He was (says Dr. *Walker*) sent Prisoner to Il-
 * chester the County Jayl, thence to *Banwell House*,
 * and from thence to the House belonging to the
 * Deanery in *Wells*, where he was committed to the
 * Custody of one *David Barret* a Shoemaker, and at
 * that Time a Constable of the City; who treated him
 * far beneath his *Quality* and *Function*, and at last
 * murdered him in the following manner: Whilst the
 * Committee of *Somerset* were sitting at *Wells*, the
 * Doctor took an Occasion of preferring a Request
 * to them for Liberty to goe to his Wife and Chil-
 * dren, in order to settle some Affairs which nearly
 * concern'd them; and at the same time a Gentleman
 * of 1000 *l. per Annum* offered to be bound for his
 * Return at the Time they should appoint him. But
 * this common Favour being inhumanly denied him,
 * the excellent Doctor seem'd moved and concerned
 * at it, and replied, It was hard he should not be

* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, Part 2. p. 71. *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* Vol.
 2. p. 96. *Echard's Hist. of England*, Vol. 2. p. 566.

' permitted to goe, who asked Leave, whilest others
 ' who had no Leave had that Liberty allowed them
 ' for a Week or a Fortnight together. This Saying
 ' of the Doctor's proved an Intimation to the Com-
 ' mittee, that *Barret* the Jayler took the Liberty of
 ' letting some of the Prisoners abroad without their
 ' Privacy; upon which they were very angry, and
 ' threatened to turn him out, if he ever should grant
 ' such a Liberty to any Prisoner for the future. Which
 ' so incensed *Barret*, that coming the next Morning into
 ' the Doctor's Chamber, who hapned to be then writ-
 ' ing to his Wife, he presently laid his Hand upon
 ' the Letter to see it; but the Doctor utterly refused
 ' to permit him, unless he had an Order from the
 ' Committee for that Purpose; and so wrested the
 ' Paper out of his Hands. Which being done, the
 ' Fellow slipt back, drew his Sword, ran it immedi-
 ' ately into the good Man's Belly, home to his back
 ' Bone; and gave him such an incurable Wound,
 ' that he tumbled out of his Chair dead; but being
 ' brought to Life again by some Help and Assistance,
 ' he lingred on about six Weeks, and then died of his
 ' Wound. Thus was the Blood of this Great and
 ' Good Man shed as the Blood of a Dog! Nor was
 ' this all: For tho' his Wife prosecuted the *vile Mur-*
 ' *therer* two Assizes together, she could not get him
 ' brought to Tryal; but she falling sick before the
 ' third time came, and not able to attend it, then the
 ' Fellow appeared, and was acquitted! And what is
 ' yet more, the Committee so much favoured the exe-
 ' crable Murder, that they sent out their Warrants to
 ' apprehend the Doctor's eldest Son, Mr. *George Ra-*
 ' *leigh*, because he carried on the Prosecution against
 ' *Barret*, insomuch that Mr. *Raleigh* was forced to
 ' fly for his Security; and then *Barret* was released,
 ' and restored again by the Committee to his Place.
 ' To which let me add this one thing more, that the
 ' Committee likewise apprehended, imprisoned and
 ' kept in Custody (till the very Hour of his Death)
 ' one Mr. *Standish* a Clergy-Vicar of this Church, be-

‘ cause he had given the Doctor *Christian Burial*;
 ‘ that is in other Words, had buried him by the Com-
 ‘ mon Prayer.’ The Day of Dr. *Raleigh*’s Death was
October 10, 1646. Such was the Justice of those *Fa-*
natical Miscreants, for a second remarkable Instance
 of the savage Disposition of the Fanaticks of those
 Times, I refer the Reader to the Case of * Colonel
Buckley, who was barbarously murdered by Major
Cheadle, as attested by the Judges, who tried and con-
 demned him. Nor would they suffer the Ashes of
 the Dead to rest undisturbed.

The Author of the *Loyal Sacrifice* informs us,
 ‘ † That Sir *Charles Lucas* being to be buried with
 ‘ his Ancestors, some of the insolent Soldiers upon
 ‘ opening the Monument, wherein divers Bodies lay
 ‘ wrapt in Lead, intending to discover their *Barbarism*
 ‘ in the highest Measure, forbore not only to cut
 ‘ away the Lead wherein those Bodies were infolded,
 ‘ but to pull off the very Hair (Oh matchless Im-
 ‘ piety!) which grew upon their Scalps, whereof di-
 ‘ vers among them made them *Hatbands* and *Brace-*
 ‘ *lets*, which they no less contemptibly, than dis-
 ‘ gracefully wore, glorying (as it seems) in their Pil-
 ‘ lage of those native Remains, and Ornaments of
 ‘ the Dead.

And that the *English* shewed great Barbarities to the
Irish Catholicks, appears from their Complaint in their
 humble Petition to the King, 1642. ‘ § Though the
 ‘ Measure offer’d to the *Catholick Natives* in the in-
 ‘ human murdering of old decrepit People in their
 ‘ Beds, Women in the Straw, and Children at eight
 ‘ Days old, burning of Houses, and robbing of all
 ‘ kind of Persons without Distinction of Friend from
 ‘ Foe, and digging up of Graves, and there burning
 ‘ of the dead Bodies of our Ancestors, in time of Cel-
 ‘ sation, and in Breach of publique Faith, hath not

* Appendix of original Papers. No. 13, 14.

† *Loyal Sacrifice*, presented in the Lives and Deaths of Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir
George Lisle, 1648. p. 87. *penes me.*

§ Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. iii. Published by Mr. *Carter*. 1735, p. 110.

deserved that Justice from us. Which unparallel'd and unprecedented Violations of all humane and Divine Laws, we ascribe not to any superior Commands, but to the savage Fury of an unbridled Multitude.' Nay, what the Barbarity of the *English* to the *Irish* were after this, the Reader may be convinced from the *Appendix* to Lord Clarendon's History of the *Irish* Rebellion.

N. p. 86. *This unhappy Management of the King alienated the Affections of great Numbers of his Friends, who had the Protestant Religion at Heart. Many who wished well to him deserted him upon this Occasion, and made their Peace with the Parliament, as the Earls of Holland, Bedford, Clare, Carlisle, Sir Edward Dering, and others.*

He is the first *Historian*, I believe, who ever called these the King's Friends. In what manner they went over to the King, and were received at *Oxford*, and how they afterwards deserted him, and in what manner they were received by the Members at *Westminster*, the Readers may be informed by the Authors cited in the † Margin.

N. Ib. *This last Gentleman [Sir Edward Dering] published the Reasons of his Conduct to the World, the chief of which were the Irish Cessation, his Majesty's preferring Popish Officers to chief Places of Trust and Honour, and the Language of the Oxford Clergy, and others, " That the King should come no other way to his Palace, but by Conquest.*

And the World had little Reason to credit him with all these Pretences, as appears from Dr. † *Nelson's* Account of his soliciting the King for the Deanery of *Canterbury*, when he had fled to avoid the Fury of those Zealots at *Westminster*. Which being refused him, he endeavoured to reconcile himself by mean Submissions to those whom he called *Rebels* and *Traytors*; but

† Lord Clarendon's Hist of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 250. Bishop Kennet's Complete Hist. Vol. 3 p. 127. Ecbard's History of England, Vol. 2. p. 435, 436, 445.

* *Nelson's* Collections, Vol. 2. p. 249.

being by them rejected also, he not long after ended his Life.

Lord *Paget*, I find, left those Lords that sat at *Westminster*, and gave the following Reason for it, *Anno* 1642. “ * It may seem strange that I, who
 “ with all Zeal and Earnestness have prosecuted ever
 “ since the beginning of this Parliament, the Reformation of all the Disorders of Church and Commonwealth, shoulde now in a time of such great Distractions desert the Cause. Most true it is, that
 “ my Ends were the common Good, and while it was
 “ prosecuted, I was ready to lay down both Life and
 “ Fortunes; but when I found a Preparation of Arms
 “ under a Shadow of Loyalty, I rather resolved to
 “ obey a good Conscience, than particular Ends,
 “ and am now on my Way to his Majesty, where
 “ I will throw my self down at his Feet, and die a
 “ loyall Subject. *Pagett.*

And Major General *Chudleigh*, and his Father Sir *George Chudleigh* forsook the Rebels, May 1643, and entered into his Majesty's Service. [*Salmon's Chronol. Hist.* p. 86.] and Sir *Hugh Chomley* had surrendred *Scarborough* Castle to the King the 26th of *March* the same Year, and deserted the Service of the Rebels. [*Salmon Id. Ib.*]

Mr. *Neal* gives us the King's *Protestation* against *Popery*, when he took the Sacrament at the Hand of Archbishop *Usher*, with this candid Observation upon it.

N. p. 87. *How inconsistent was this with his Majesty's Actions, when within a few Days, he agreed to a Cessation with the Irish Papists for a Year, and a Toleration of their Religion; all Men know that his Majesty not only connived at Popery, but indulged it as far as was in his Power. Historians are therefore at a Loss to reconcile this solemn Appeal to Heaven with the King's Piety and Sincerity of Devotion.*

Hard is the Fate of this excellent Monarch, not to be believed by Mr. *Neal*, when he makes the most solemn Appeals to Heaven; when the Appeals of his darling Members at *Westminster*, without the least Marks or Tokens of Sincerity, shall be built upon, as undoubted Truth.

But after all, I should be glad to know what *Historians* they are, *that can't reconcile this solemn Appeal to Heaven, with his Majesty's Piety, Sincerity and Devotion?* I assure him I have met with no such, and if he has, it was his Business to name them, nor could there possibly be any such, but who were sunk into the very Dregs of *Republicanism* and *Fanaticism*.

Amongst his Remarks upon the King's Reply to the Assembly's Letter to the foreign reformed Churches, in his Declaration to the foreign *Protestants*, is the following one.

N. p. 96. *As to the Synod of Dort, no Precedency was given to the Bishop on account of his Episcopal Character, but as Baron of the English Parliament.*

This is asserted without the least Proof or Authority, the contrary to which I think is very apparent from Bishop *Carlton's* own Words. And Bishop *Carlton* had Conference with diverse the best learned in that *Synod*. ‘ * I told them (says he) that the Cause of all their Trouble was this, that they had not Bishops amongst them who by their Authority might repress turbulent Spirits, &c. Their Answer was, that they did much honour and reverence the good Order and Discipline of the Church of *England*, and with all their Hearts would be glad to have it established amongst them, but that could not be hoped for in their State; their Hope was, that seeing they could not doe what they desired, God would be merciful to them, if they did what they could. This was their Answer, which I thinke is enough to excuse them, that they doe not openly aim at Anarchy and popular Confusion. The Truth is, they

* Bishop *Carlton's* Examination of the late Appeal 1626, p. 219. in the curious Collection of my most worthy Friend the Rev. Mr. *Tho. Baker*, S. T. B. of Saint *John's* College Cambridge.

groane under that Burthen, and would be eased if they could. This is well known to the rest of my Associates there, who also have conferred privately with diverse of the learnedest and most eminent amongst them.

N p. 97. *All the Episcopal Divines left the Assembly before the bringing in of the Covenant ; except Doctor Featley, who was expelled for holding Correspondence with Archbishop Usher at Oxford, and revealing their Secrets contrary to the expresse Words of the Ordinance, which obliges them not to divulge by printing, writing, &c.*

Id. ib. *Lord Clarendon says, The King sent him a Letter forbidding him to sit any longer, and the Doctor excused it, in a Letter to Archbishop Usher, which being intercepted, he was committed Prisoner to Lord Peters's House as a Spy.*

Lord Clarendon's Account uncurtailed is a remarkable one, and shews the insidious Method those pretended Saints took to betray him. * Dr. Featly (says he) upon whose Reputation in Learning they had raised great Advantages to themselves, having made many Speeches in the Assembly, in behalf of the Order of Bishops, and their Function, and against the Alienation of Church Lands, as Sacrilege, and especially inveighed against the Liberty that was taken in Matters of Religion, by which so many Sects were grown up, to the Scandal and Reproach of the Protestant Doctrine, if not Christianity itself, had so far incurred their Displeasure, and provoked their Jealousy, that an ordinary Fellow (so well confirmed in Spirit, that they feared not his Failing or Conversion) was directed to make Application to him in Cases of Conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient Credit with him, (which was no hard matter) to intimate to him, " That he had a sure and unquestionable Conveyance to Oxford, and that he was to goe thither himself, and if he had any Occasions to use

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 285. Bishop Kenner's Compleat History, Vol. 3. p. 136.

“ his Service thither, he would faithfully execute his
 “ Commands.” The Doctor believing the Messenger
 “ to be sincere, and the King’s Affairs standing then
 “ prosperous, gave him Letters for the Archbishop
 “ of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his
 “ Majesty, and by this Artifice the same Instrument
 “ received two or three Letters from him; pretend-
 “ ing they were still sent by infallible Hands; and
 “ brought them always to those Persons, by whom
 “ he was intrusted in the Work of his Imposture.

“ The Letters contain’d many Apologys for him-
 “ self, “ for being engaged in such a Congregation,
 “ to which he submitted purely out of Conscience
 “ and for the Service of the King and Church, in
 “ hope that he might be able to prevent many Extra-
 “ vagances, and to contain those unruly Spirits with-
 “ in some Bounds of Regularity and Moderation.”
 “ of his Endeavours that way he gave many Instances,
 “ and sent Copies of what he had said in Justification
 “ of Episcopacy, the Liturgy and the Established
 “ Government; and concluded with a Desire to his
 “ Grace “ to procure a good Opinion from the King
 “ towards him, and some *Bishoprick* or *Deanery* for
 “ his Recompence.” About the Time that this A-
 “ gitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this
 “ Covenant was transmitted; these Letters were pro-
 “ duced as a Charge against the Doctor “ for betray-
 “ ing the Trust reposed in him, and adhering to the
 “ Enemy,” and thereupon the poor Man was expel-
 “ led the *Assembly* of Divines, both his Livings (for he
 “ had two within a very small Distance of *London*)
 “ sequestred; his Study of Books and Estate seized,
 “ and himself committed to a common Goal, where
 “ he continued to his Death; which befell him the
 “ sooner, thro’ the extreme Wants he underwent; so
 “ solicitous was that Party to remove any Impedi-
 “ ment that troubled them, and so implacable to any,
 “ who were weary of their Journey, though they had
 “ accompanied them very far in the Way.” The Per-
 “ son that betrayed him was one *Armiger Wardner*,
 “ * a proper

* a proper Esquire, (saith the Author of his Life) ‘ a
 ‘ despicable *Felt-Maker* at that Time in *Southwark*,
 ‘ and afterwards a *Sutler* in the Army at Saint *Albans*.
 And the Doctor in his Defence observes, ‘ † That
 ‘ such a Letter could not in Reason and Justice bring
 ‘ him within the Compass of Danger, because it was
 ‘ not a *Transgression of any one known Law*; for the
 ‘ Ordinance of Parliament forbidding Correspondency
 ‘ by Letters to *Oxford*, without Leave of the Houses, or
 ‘ Warrant from the Lord General, was not then in be-
 ‘ ing; but was made on Oct. 22th 1643. which was
 ‘ a full Month after this Note or *Esript*, or pretended
 ‘ Letter was written. Again, if that Note contained
 ‘ any dangerous Intelligence or Correspondency with any
 ‘ Enemy, why did the Committee send it to *Oxford*,
 ‘ and not rather suppress it? Or why did not the
 ‘ Committee cause it to be afterward printed, that
 ‘ the World might know the Crime of the Doctor?
 ‘ But the Doctor’s Defence was not Armour-Proof
 ‘ against the malicious Resolutions of his mortal Ad-
 ‘ versaries.

Speaking of Mr. *Hampden*’s Death, he has the following Words.

N. p. 103. *Because* (says he) *he fought against the Court, Lord Clarendon says (if this be not an Interpolation of the Editor’s) “ That he had a Head to con-
 “ trive, a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute
 “ any Mischief.*

The Genuineness of Lord *Clarendon*’s History has been proved to Demonstration, by a § Reverend and Learned Person, in Answer to the Exceptions of the celebrated Mr. *Oldmixon*, and the late Mr. *Clarke*, of *Kingston upon Hull*; and I shall take the Liberty of inserting that Part of his Proof, which relates to this Passage of Mr. *Hampden*’s Character, which Mr. *Neal* suspects to be an *Interpolation*.

* The Life and Death of Dr. *Daniel Featley*, p. 49. printed 1660.

† Life, p. 54, 55.

§ *Weekly Miscellanys* by *Richard Hooker* of the Temple, Esq; No. 12. March 3. 1733. No. 14. March 17. No. 15. March 24. and No. 16. March 31. 1733.

* In the first Place (says he) it is to be remarked that the *Interpolated Clause* contains in it a Mistake ; not a very material one, yet such as would much more properly be committed by the Historian in so long a Work, attending more to the Propriety of the Application, than Exactness in Citations, than by Mr. *Smith*, or the Reverend *Interpolators*, who deliberately foisted it in. If Mr. *Ducket* could err in citing the Words of the Historian, which he, for a special Reason was concerned to quote exactly. And if Mr. *Oldmixon* could err in a remarkable Matter of Fact, mistaking *Herodotus*, for *Thucydides*. Surely this Inaccuracy might appear pardonable in Lord *Clarendon*. And Lord *Clarendon* citing *ex Memoria*, a Passage from a Classical Author, to illustrate his Sentiment of the Person he characteriz'd, might merely remember the Notion, forgetting the Person to whom it was applied ; and this he had less reason to be nice about, as he did not himself publish his Work : On which Foot we may account for several other Inaccuracies of like kind, which himself doubtless upon a more exact Review, which the Publication of this Work required, would have discovered and rectified. But the *Interpolators*, Men so remarkably conversant in *Classical* reading, supervising one another, and attending to one point of View, could not well be guilty of such an Inaccuracy, as to mistake *Cinna* for *Catiline*, for the Words of which the interpolated Clause is a Paraphrase, occur in *Tully's* third Oration against *Catiline*, where he thus describes that Rebel. *Erat illi Consilium ad Facinus aptum, Consilio autem neque Lingua, neque Manus deerat.*

Had our profound Critick a Stock of Reading equal to his Sagacity, had he been as conversant in polite Literature, and *Tully's* Orations, as he appears to be in the *modern Art of Slander* and *secret History*, he would greedily have embraced the Opportunity of exposing such a palpable Blunder in the Historian, whom he continually labours to discredit ; and

† *Weekly Miscellany*, No. 16.

perhaps such a Triumph over my Lord *Clarendon's* Ignorance, might have diverted him from this dangerous Accusation of the *Oxford* Editors.

Secondly, as it was improbable that they should industriously, or ignorantly insert a Blunder, so it is moreover certain that they did not.

For the controverted Clause is now to be seen in Lord *Clarendon's own Hand*, written in a smaller Work entitled, *The History of his Life*, from which he transcribed the most considerable Part into his other larger Work. In this Piece the *Latin* Words are cited, and applied to Mr. *Hampden*, and afterwards follows the Paraphrase of them without any mention of *Cinna* as in the printed History. This Manuscript is now lodged in Dr. *George Clarke's* Hands, and the Sheet containing this Passage is every Day to be seen in the *Bodleian* Library.

But thirdly, contrary to the Expectation of the Objectors, there are still extant the seven first Books of the History of the Rebellion in Manuscript, written in the Earl's own Hand, in which the controverted Clause has been read by several Persons of Distinction, (Lord *Chancellour*, *Speaker of the House of Commons*, Dr. *G. Clarke*, &c.) this Manuscript is now in the Possession of Mr. *James Ratcliff*, now living in *Bartlet's-Buildings* in *Holborn*, one of the Executors to *Edward* late Earl of *Clarendon*. These are plain and direct Proofs of the Genuineness of the Clause specified, and the Falseness of the Charge. They who would never be persuaded by probable Arguments, and moral Evidence, perhaps will be convinced by ocular Demonstration. And now I have done something for which Mr. *Oldmixon* has promised me his sincere Thanks (*vide Preface*) having set him right where he was wrong. He has indeed proved, that there is a Forgery somewhere, but on whom will the Imputation rest?—Not on the three successive Deans—This I have proved. Let Mr. *Oldmixon* answer for himself and Correspondent,

dent. In the mean while, if he'll allow others the Liberty of probable Conjectures, in which he has so largely indulged himself, from the Circumstances attending the Management of the Charge, we may be allowed to suspect, that the Measures taken were previously concerted between the *Collector* (viz. Mr. *Oldmixon*) and the *Commissioner* of the Excise (viz. Mr. *Ducket*) in order to blast the Credit of Lord *Clarendon's* History. That this is no groundless Surmise, will appear from the following Considerations.

The History of the Rebellion had in fact given unpardonable Offence, its Authority at all Hazards was to be demolished. This was confessedly the great End aim'd at, and to this, all the means used have a direct tendency. The first Attempt was to cavil against the Assertions which could not fairly be disproved. Accordingly Mr. *Oldmixon* published his *Critical History*, and then his *Clarendon* and *Whitlock* compared; but still Lord *Clarendon's* Credit subsisted, and triumphed over this weak Opposition. There remained one decisive and compendious Method (viz.) to deny the Genuineness of the *Oxford* Edition. This, by fixing the Charge of Forgery on the Editors, at once destroyed the Authority of the History, without affecting the Reputation of Lord *Clarendon*. But this of Course would appear strange and astonishing, therefore there must be the shew of some particular Proof to support it. Here indeed was the Difficulty: But distance of time gave room for Fiction; while it made the means of disproving the Charge less easy to be come at;—And that the Boldness of that Assertion in a Case so very plain might pass for Evidence, the *Christ-Church* Men, whom he had before suspected to have fixed the Title to the Book, are to be reputed the proper Editors, and amongst these, the three successive *Deans*, as the most considerable Persons, are pitched upon as the guilty Parties; and the Evidence of an ingenious *Christ-Church* Man must be presumed to have the greatest Weight in

such a Case.— And such by a lucky Accident offered: For the ingenious Mr. *Edmund Smith*, who was let into the Knowledge and Management of all the Secrets of that College, lived at Mr. *D——t's* House about six Weeks, where he died in *June* 1710. What Discoveries might not be made in the private Conversation of these Friends? What Evidence might not be alledged from a Person dead about 20 Years before? And what Circumstances might not be affixed to give Weight and an Air of Solemnity to the Representation? And all this might be done with Security, while the Author of the Report lay concealed and unknown. Such we may suppose the Motives, such the Methods of conducting the Design; upon which, I shall only further remark, that the *Commissioner* and *Collector* have, by representing Mr. *Smith* so ignorant as not to know the Persons who conducted the Edition, betrayed their own Ignorance. Mr. *Smith* could not but know, that *Atterbury* and *Smalridge*, who had left *Oxford*, were no ways concerned in the Affair; but Mr. *Oldmixon's* Correspondent did not know this; but by knowing the *Author of an excellent Tragedy*, he thought he knew every thing; and thus, while he introduces him as asserting a Fact, which was contrary to his Knowledge, he has virtually raised up an Evidence against himself, and justified the Suspicion of a concerted Fraud.

Your humble Servant,

Oxonienfis.

To the last Edition of Lord *Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, I find the following *Advertisement* prefixed. December 1st, 1732.

* Tho' the improbable Story handed into the World by one *Oldmixon*, in the Preface, Pages 8th

* *History of the Rebellion*, &c. printed at *Oxford*, 1632. in one Vol. Folio with Cuts. To this Edition is likewise prefixed, The late Bishop of *Rockester's* Vindication of Bishop *Smalridge*, Dr. *Aldrich*, and himself, from the scandalous Reflections of *Oldmixon*, relating to the Publication of Lord *Clarendon's History*. Dated from *Paris*, Oct. 26, 1731.

9th, and in p. 227 of his Book, called, *The History of England, during the Reign of the Royal House of Stuart*, deserves no further Notice, after that which has been taken of it, by the late Bishop of *Rocheſter*, in the foregoing *Vindication*; yet to prevent any Perſon's being impoſed upon by ſo groſs and bold a Fiction, there is part of the Life of Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, written all in his Lordſhip's own Hand, lodged in the *Bodleian Library* to remain there for twelve Months after *Chriſtmaſs* 1732, where any one may be ſatisfied, that his Lordſhip concluded Mr. *Hambden*'s Character in theſe Words, "He had a Heade to contrive, and a Tongue to perſwade, and a Hand to execute any Miſchieve, and his Death appeared to be a great Deliverance to the Nation."

There are alſo ſome Parts of his Lordſhip's Hiſtory preſerved in his own Hand Writing, which have been ſeen by ſeveral Perſons of Quality, and others, in Poſſeſſion of Mr. *Radcliffe* of *Bartlet's* Buildings in *Holborn*, one of the Executors of the laſt Earl of *Clarendon*, wherein are the very ſame Words of Mr. *Hambden*'s Character, that are in the printed Hiſtory, which the aforeſaid *Oldmixon* pretends were ſoiſted in by Mr. *Edmund Smith*.

By this Manuſcript, it does likewise appear, that the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, was ſo named by the Noble Author himſelf.

Speaking of Mr. *Pym*'s Death, he gives this as part of his Character.

N. p. 103. *That in his private Life he was a Perſon of true Piety, and Exactneſs of Manners.*

How far this is true, the Reader will be able to judge from the following Account given of him by Lord *Clarendon*. "In the Proſecution of the Earl of *Straſford*, his Carriage and Language was ſuch, as expreſſed much perſonal Animofity, and he was accuſed of having practiſed ſome Art in it not worthy a good Man, as an *Irishman* of very mean and low Condition afterwards acknowledged, that being

* Hiſtory of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 354, 355. *Richard's* Hiſtory, Vol. 2. p. 463.

' brought to him as an Evidence of one Part of the
 ' Charge against the *Lord Lieutenant*, in a Particular,
 ' of which a Person of so vile Quality would not be
 ' reasonably thought a competent Informer, Mr.
 ' *Pym* gave him Money to buy him a *Sattin Suit* and
 ' *Cloak*; in which Equipage he appeared at the Trial,
 ' and gave his Evidence; which if true, may make
 ' many other things which were confidently reported
 ' afterwards of him to be believed, † as that he had
 ' received a great Summ of Money from the *French*
 ' *Embassadour*, which hath been before mentioned)
 ' to hinder the Transportation of those Regiments of
 ' *Ireland* into *Flanders*, upon the disbanding that
 ' Army there; which had been prepared by the Earl
 ' of *Strafford* for the Business of *Scotland*; in which if
 ' his Majesty's Directions and Commands had not been
 ' diverted, and contradicted by the Houses, many
 ' doe believe the Rebellion in *Ireland* had not hap-
 ' pened.

' Certain it is, that his Power of doing shrewd
 ' Turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good
 ' Offices for particular Persons; and that he did pre-
 ' serve many from Censure, who were under the severe
 ' Displeasure of the Houses, and looked upon as emi-
 ' nent Delinquents; and the Quality of many of them
 ' made it believed, that he had sold that Protection
 ' for valuable Considerations.

Mr. Neal observes,

*N. p. 104. That the Royalists spread a Report, that
 he died of the Morbus Pediculofus, to confute which
 his Body was exposed to publick View for many Days,
 and at last entered in a most honourable manner in West-
 minster Abbey.*

* Lord Clarendon, and Dr. Bruno Ryves, who lived
 in those Times, give in to this Opinion. Tho' after

† Mr. *Pym* as he was a Corrupter of others, so 'tis to be suspected, that he him-
 self was not Proof against Corruption. See Appendix, No. 15, the King charged
 him with taking a Bribe of 30 l. for saving a *Papist*. [See Impartial Examination of
 Mr. Neal's 2d Vol.]

* History of this Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 353. *Mercur. Rustic.* p. 155, 156. see
 likewise *Ecbard's History of England*, Vol. 2. p. 463.

all, if any Credit is to be given to Mr. *Stephen Marshall*, who preached his Funeral Sermon, the Story was not well grounded.

‘ † It may be (says he) some of you expect I should confute the Calumnies and Reproaches which that Generation of Men who envied his Life, do already begin to spread, and set up in Libels concerning his Death; as that he died raving, crying out against that Cause, wherein he had been so great an Instrument, charging him to die of that loathsome Disease, which that accursed *Balsack*, in his Book of Slanders against Mr. *Calvin* charged him to die of. But I forbear to spend Time needlessly, to wipe off those reproaches which I know none of you believe. And this will satisfy the World against such Slanders, that no less than eight *Doctors* of Physick, of unspotted Integrity, and some of them Strangers (if not of different Religion from him) purposely requested to be present at the opening of his Body; and well neer a thousand People first and last, who came many of them out of Curiosity, and were freely permitted to see his Corps can, and doe abundantly testify the Falseness and Foulness of this Report; the Disease whereof he died, being no other than an Imposthume in his Bowels.

C H A P. III.

N. p. 105. **T**HE Parliament experiencing the Want of a great Seal for many Purposes, gave Orders that one should be made. They continued to list Soldiers, to levy Taxes, to use every Method they thought proper to support their Cause.

† ΘΡΗΝΩΔΙΑ. The Churches Lamentation for the Good Man's Loss: Delivered in a Sermon to the Right Honourable the two Houses of Parliament, and the Reverend Assembly of Divines, at the Funeral of that excellent Man *John Pym* Esq; &c. Preached in the Abbey Church of *Westminster* by *Stephen Marshall*. B. D. &c. 1644, p. 27. Assemblys Sermons, Vol. 3. p. 881. Publ. Libr. Cambridge. See *Ladlow's Memoirs*, Vol. 1. p. 80.

And what was all this but High Treason. (I don't know whether he will allow that *Remnant* of the two Houses, which continued at *Westminster*, after they had driven away the King, and a great Majority of the Lords, and almost an equal Number of the House of Commons, could be guilty of High Treason.)

Sure I am, that by the 25th of *Edward* the 3d, Cap. 2. it is made Treason ' to levy Warr against our Lord the King in his Realm, or be adherent to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving to them Aid and Comfort in his Realm or elsewhere, and thereof be probably attainted of open Deed by the People of their Condition: And if a Man counterfeits the King's Great or Privy Seal, or his Money. Nay, Dr. *Wood* informs us as to the first Case, * That not only by rebelling and taking up Arms, to dethrone the King, but to reform Religion or the Laws, to remove Persons from the Ministry, to resist the King's Forces, by defending a Castle, a Man might be guilty of Treason.

That as to the second, † That even counterfeiting the Sign Manual, or Privy Signet is Treason, by 1st and 2d *Phi.* and *M.* Chap. 6.

And I leave it to Mr. *Neal* to judge, whether those Members that staid at *Westminster*, were not notoriously guilty of all these Branches of Treason. But he probably may be of the Opinion of that § *Rebel Committee* at *Lincoln*, who solicited the Members at *Westminster*, that some of the King's Soldiers taken Prisoners by * *Rossiter*, a Colonel of the Rebel's Army, might be tryed at *Lincoln* Assizes, as Rebels, for levying War against the Parliament.

* Institute of the Laws of *England*, p. 342. 3d Edit. *Whitlock* informs us, (*Memorials*, p. 187 alias 365.) " That the Anti-Parliament at *Oxford* declared the Commissions of the Judges under the Great Seal at *Westminster*, and their Lawyers pleading there, to be high Treason, and that great Seal to be void. The Marquis of *Ormond's* Remark [in a Letter to Sir *James Montgomery*, Dublin 20 December, 1643, Letters concerning State Affairs, &c. Vol. 3. No. 210. p. 222.] upon this Ordinance of Parliament for constituting a new Broad Seal, is this, ' That it is the highest Invasion upon Monarchy that ever was attempted.

† Institut. p. 343. § Appendix No. xvi. xvii.

* *Rossiter* (says the Loyal Satyrift, p. 11. I can't tell his Reason for calling him so) is a Jew, extraordinarily circumcised Root and Branch.

N. Ib. *On the other hand the King raised Contributions without Form of Law.*

And pray, *what Form of Law* had the Rebels for raising of Contributions? I am ashamed to find so much Partiality in any Person, who assumes the Title of an Historian.

N. Ibid. *And that he might seem to act in a Parliamentary way, he summoned the Members who had been expelled the Houses, and all others willing to withdraw from the rebellious City of London, to meet him at Oxford, Jan. 22, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$.*

Here again the Question recurs, Whether he really thinks, that the Members who staid behind at *Westminster* acted in a Parliamentary Way without the King? If he does, the Reader may be left to judge, how well qualified he is to write History.

N. Ibid. *In Obedience to the Proclamation, there appeared forty nine Peers, and one hundred and forty one of the House of Commons, not reckoning those employ'd in his Majesty's Service, or absent with Leave.*— Ib. p. 106. *However, the Oxford Members stiled themselves the Parliament, Lord Littleton being Speaker for the Peers, and Serjeant Evers for the Commons. Their first Step was to satisfy the World, that they desired Peace, such a Peace to use the King's own Words, "Wherein God's true Religion may be secured from the Danger of Popery, Sectaries and Innovations. The Crown may possess those just Prerogatives, which enable me to govern my People according to Law, and the Subjects be confirmed in those Rights which I have granted them in Parliament, to which I shall be ready to add such new Graces, as I shall find may most conduce to their Happiness.*

And admitting all this to be true, what was there in the Offer, but what any one that was not deep in the *Republican Scheme*, might have thankfully complied with?

But I will take the Liberty of giving the very Words of the *Oxford Parliament*, with the Names of the Members (what ought to be had in Remembrance by every

every true Lover of our Constitution) and then leave the Reader to judge for himself.

* My Lord, his Majesty having by his Proclamation of the 22d of *December* (upon the Occasion of the Invasion threatned, and in part begun by some of his Subjects of *Scotland*) summoned all the Members of both Houses of Parliament to attend him here at *Oxford*: We whose Names are underwritten are here met and assembled in Obedience to those his Majesty's Commands. His Majesty was pleased to invite us in the said Proclamation by these gracious Expressions; [that his Subjects should see how willing he was to receive Advice for the Preservation of the Religion, Laws, and Safety of the Kingdome, and as far as in him lay to restore it to its former Peace and Security (His Chief and only End) from those whom they had trusted, tho' he could not receive it in the Place where he appointed]. This most gracious Invitation hath not only been made good unto us, but seconded and heightened by such unquestionable Demonstrations of the deep and Princely Sense which possesses his Royal Heart, of the Miseries and Calamitys of his poor Subjects in this unnatural Warre, and of his most intire and passionate Affections, to redeem them from that sad and deplorable Condition, by all ways possibly consistent either with his Honour, or the future Safety of the Kingdome. That, as it were Impiety to question the Sincerity of them, so were it great Want of Duty and Faithfulness in us, (his Majesty having vouchsafed to declare, that he did call us to be Witnesses of his Actions, and privy to his Intentions) should we not testify and witness to all the World, the Assurance we have of the Piety

* A Copy of a Letter from the Members of both Houses assembled at *Oxford*, to the Earl of *Essex*, dated the 27th *January* 1643, with the Names of those who signed it, desiring a Treaty of Peace. Printed by Order, to be published to the whole Kingdom. *Edw. Norgate*. Printed at *Oxford*, *Jan.* 30. By *Leonard Litchfield*—1643. Publick Lib. *Cambridge*, 19, 9, 2. The List printed amongst the Original Papers in Lord *Clarendon's* 2d Vol. of the Hist. of the Rebellion. Part 2d. 8vo. 1717. P. 53.

and Sincerity of both ; we being most entirely satisfied of this Truth, we cannot but confess, that amidst our highest Afflictions, the deep and piercing Sense of the present Miserys and Desolations of our Country, and those further Dangers threatned from *Scotland*, we are at length erected to some chearful and comfortable Thoughts, that possibly we may yet (by God's Mercy, if his Justice have not determined this Nation for its Sins to total Ruine and Desolation) hope to be happy Instruments to our Country's Redemption, from the Miserie of War and Restitution to the Blessings of Peace ; and we being desirous to think your Lordship (howsoever engaged) * a Person likely to be sensibly touch'd with these Considerations, have thought fit to invite you to that Part in this blessed Work, which is only capable to repair all our Misfortunes, and to boye up the Kingdome from Ruine ; that is, by conjuring you, by all the Obligations that have Power upon Honour, Conscience, or publick Piety, that laying to Heart, as we doe, the inward Bleeding Condition of your Country, and the outward menacing Destruction by a foreign Nation, upon the very Point of invading it, you will cooperate with us to its Preservation, by truly representing to, and faithfully and industriously promoting with those by whom you are trusted, this following most sincere and most earnest Desire of ours ; that they joining with us in a right Sense of the past, present and more threatning Calamities of this deplorable King-

* *Daniel O Neil* in a Letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, 13 Aug. 1644. [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 329. p. 343.] gives him the following Information. ' The King lately offer'd at a Treaty with the Earl of *Essex*.— Unto it there was no Answer returned, but that he had no Power to treat, and not that in Writing. The Officers of the Army— writ another Letter to the same Effect to the inconsiderate Earl, but had the same Answer, yet in Writing. He was sent to, to demand what he would for himself, his Army, and the Commonwealth, and it should be granted. Nay more, that he should command our Army, That his Majesty would go under his Protection to *London*. But God who intends some strange Alteration in this Kingdom, would not give him Understanding to lay hold on an Offer, that would make himself the most glorious Subject that ever was in the Kingdom ; or save his Country from the Slavery and Misery it is likely to fall into under the Government of the *Scots*, and their Party, who at this instant endeavour to study that *Fool's* Ruine as much as his Majestie's.

‘dome, some Persons be appointed on either Part,
 ‘and a Place agreed on, to treat of such a Peace, as
 ‘may yet redeem it from the Brink of Desolation.

‘This Addresse we should not have made, but that
 ‘his Majesty’s Summons, by which we are met, most
 ‘graciously proclaiming Pardon to all without Excep-
 ‘tion, is Evidence enough that his Mercy and Cle-
 ‘mency can transcend all former Provocations, and
 ‘that he hath not only made us Witneses of his
 ‘Princely Intentions, but honoured us also with the
 ‘Name of being Security for them.

‘God Almighty direct your Lordship, and those to
 ‘whom you shall present these our real Desires, in such a
 ‘Course as may produce that happy Peace and Settlement
 ‘of the present Distractions, which is so heartily desired
 ‘and prayed for by us, and which may make us

From Oxford the 27
 January 1643.

Your Affectionate Friends.

* *A List of the Lords and others who signed the Let-
 ter to the Earl of Essex, dated at Oxford, 27 Ja-
 nuary 1643.*

Charles P.
 Yorke.
 Cumberland.
 Ed. Littleton. C. S.
 Fra. Cottington.
 D. Richmond.
 M. Hertford.
 E. Lindsey.
 E. Dorset.
 E. Shrewsbury.
 E. Bath.
 E. Southampton.
 E. Leicester.
 E. Northampton.
 E. Devonshire.
 E. Carlisle.

E. Bristol.
 E. Barkshire.
 E. Cleveland.
 E. Rivers.
 E. Dover.
 E. Peterborough.
 E. Kingstone.
 E. Newport.
 E. Portland.
 V. Conway.
 L. Digby.
 L. Moubray & Maltravers.
 L. Wentworth.
 L. Cromwell.
 L. Rich.
 L. Paget.

* See Rushworth's Collections, Vol. 5. p. 572, 573, 574, 575.

L. Chandois.
 L. Howard of Charlton.
 L. Lovelace.
 L. Savile.
 L. Mobun.
 L. Dunsmore.
 L. Seymour.
 L. Percy.
 L. Wilmott.
 L. Leigh.
 L. Hatton.
 L. Jermin.
 L. Carrington.
 John Fettiplace.
 Alex. Denton.
 John Packington.
 Tho. Smith.
 F. Gamul.
 Jo. Harris.
 Joseph Fane.
 Rich. Edgcombe.
 Jonathan Rashleigh.
 G. Fane.
 P. Edgcombe.
 Will. Glanvill.
 Ro. Holborne.
 Ra. Sydenham.
 Fr. Godolphin.
 Geo. Parry.
 Amb. Manaton.
 R. Vyvyan.
 Jo. Polewheile.
 John Arundell.
 Tho. Lower.
 Edw. Hide.
 Will. Allestree.
 Geo. Stonehouse.
 Ed. Seymour.
 Peter Saintbill.
 Will. Poole.

Roger Mathew.
 Rich. Arundel.
 Robert Walker.
 Giles Strangwaies.
 John Strangwaies.
 Tho. Hele.
 Ger. Naper.
 Sam. Turner.
 Will. Constantine.
 Hen. Killigrew.
 Rich. King.
 John Dutton.
 Hen. Bret.
 Will. Chadwell.
 Theobald Gorges.
 John George.
 Tho. Fanshaw.
 Ham. Conningesby.
 Rich. Seaborne.
 Arth. Ranelagh.
 Thomas Tomkins.
 Sampson Evers.
 John Culpeper.
 Jeffrey Palmer.
 John Harrison.
 Tho. Fanshaw.
 Rog. Palmer.
 Orlando Bridgman.
 Wil. Watkins.
 John Smith.
 Tho. Bladder.
 Ed. Littleton.
 Harvie Bagot.
 Rich. Levejon.
 Rich. Cave.
 Rich. Weston.
 Rich. Lee.
 Tho. Whitmore.
 Ed. Aston.
 C. Baldwin.

R. Goodwin.
Tho. Howard.
Tho. Littleton.
Ro. Howard.
John Meux.
Matthew Davis.
F. Cornwallis.
Tho. Fermyn.
John Tayler.
William Bassett.
William Portman.
Edw. Rodney.
Tho. Hanham.
Ed. Philipps.
John Digby.
Ed. Kirton.
Cha. Leuknor.
Edw. Alford.
John White.
John Ashburnham.
Will. Smith.
Tho. Leedes.
John Thynne.
Will. Pleydell.
Ro. Hide.
Ed. Griffin.

Walter Smith.
Geo. Lowe.
Rich. Harding.
Hen. Herbert.
End. Porter.
Sam. Sandys.
John. Bodvill.
Will. Morgan.
Will. Thomas.
Jo. Mostyn.
Hen. Bellasis.
Geo. Wentworth.
Will. Mallory.
Ri. Alburgh.
Jo. Salisbury.
Will. Herbert.
Will. Price.
John Price.
R. Herbert.
Cha. Price.
Phil. Warwick.
Tho. Cooke.
Rob. Crooke.
Herb. Price.
John Whistler.

To which List, in the Original Papers referred to by Lord Clarendon, and printed at the end of his second Vol. Second Part of his History of the Rebellion, p. 55, 56. and in *Rushworth*, Vol. 5. p. 574, 575.

These are added: Peers following being disabled by several Accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service, and concurred with us.

Viscount Camden.
Lord Abergavenny.
Lord Arundel.

Lord Capel.
Lord Newport.

Peers employed in his Majesty's Service, or absent with Leave.

<i>Marquis of Winchester.</i>	<i>Lord Evers.</i>
<i>Marquis of Worcester.</i>	<i>Lord Daincourt.</i>
<i>Marquis of Newcastle.</i>	<i>Lord Pawlet.</i>
<i>Earl of Derby.</i>	<i>Lord Brudenell.</i>
<i>Earl of Huntingdon.</i>	<i>Lord Powis.</i>
<i>Earl of Clare.</i>	<i>Lord Herbert of Cherbury.</i>
<i>Earl of Malborough.</i>	<i>Lord Hopton.</i>
<i>Viscount Falconbridge.</i>	<i>Lord Loughborough.</i>
<i>Lord Morley.</i>	<i>Lord Byron.</i>
<i>Lord Darcy and Conyers.</i>	<i>Lord Vaughan.</i>
<i>Lord Stourton.</i>	<i>Lord Withington.</i>

Peers absent in the Parts beyond the Seas.

<i>Earl of Arundell.</i>	<i>Lord Coventry.</i>
<i>Earl of Saint Albans.</i>	<i>Lord Goring.</i>
<i>Viscount Montague.</i>	<i>Lord Craven of Hamsted.</i>
<i>Viscount Stafford.</i>	<i>Lord Craven of Ryton.</i>
<i>Lord Stanbope.</i>	

Peers in Prison for loyalty to his Majesty.

Earl of Chesterfield. *Lord Montague of Boughton.*

‘ Whoever views these Numbers, and considers how many Peers at this time are under Age, will quickly know who, and how many are privy or consenting to the Counsels at *Westminster*.

‘ These Members following being disabled by several Accidents to appear sooner, have since attended the Service and concurred with us.

<i>Peter Venables, Esq;</i>	<i>Antony Hungerford, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir John Pawlet.</i>	<i>John Russel, Esq;</i>
<i>Edward Bagshaw, Esq;</i>	<i>Thomas Chicheley, Esq;</i>
<i>Sir John Burlasey.</i>	<i>Earl of Cork.</i>
<i>Francis Newport, Esq;</i>	<i>Sir Gervase Clifton.</i>

Sir

Sir Guy Palmes.
Robert Sutton, Esq;
Gervase Hollis, Esq;
Sir Patricius Curwen.
Sir Henry Bellingham.
Sir George Dalston.
Sir Thomas Sandford.

Sir William Dalston.
Michael Wharton, Esq;
Sir Robert Hatton.
James Scudamore, Esq;
Sir John Brooke.
Sir John Stepney,

Imployed in his Majesty's Service, or absent with
 Leave, or by Sickness.

Sir John Fenwick.
Hugh Potter, Esq;
Walter Kirle, Esq;
William Stanhope, Esq;
Sir William Carnaby.
Sir Thomas Danby.
John Fenwick, Esq;
John Bellasis, Esq;
Sir Thomas Ingram.
Lord Mansfield.
Tho. Heblethwait, Esq;
Sir Hugh Cholmeley.
Sir George Wentworth.
Sir Walter Lloyd.
Ralph Sneade, Esq;
Sir William Ogle.
Sir Thomas Jermyne.

Sir John Stowel.
Sir Robert Strickland.
Sir Philip Musgrave.
John Cowcher, Esq;
John Coventry, Esq;
Sir Henry Slingsby.
Sir John Mallory.
Sir Henry Vaughan.
Francis Lloyd, Esq;
John Vaughan, Esq;
Richard Ferrers, Esq;
George Hartnol, Esq;
Sir William Udal.
Robert Hunt, Esq;
Thomas May, Esq;
Sir Thomas Bowyer.
Sir Tho. Roe.

Peers in Number 83.
 Commoners— 176.

‘ Whoever now considers how many have retired
 ‘ themselves into several Counties, and so are absent
 ‘ from *Westminster*, and yet cannot through the Dan-
 ‘ ger of travelling be present at *Oxford*; how many
 ‘ have withdrawn themselves into the Parts beyond the
 ‘ Seas; how many of their own principal Instruments
 ‘ are voted out of the House by themselves, as Sir
 ‘ *John Hotham*, and his Son, Sir *Alexander Carew*,
 ‘ Mr.

Mr. *Martin*, Mr. *Fiennes*, and many others ; and how many now are imprisoned by them ; how many Members from the Beginning have been factiously kept from the House upon Questions of Election ; and how many without any Colour kept in, by not suffering their Elections to be reported, and that there are thirty five Members dead, into whose Rooms no new Persons are chosen ; how many since are become Barons by Descent, or Creation, will easily conclude, * how small the Number is which remains, and of those, how few in Truth have Right to sit there.

N. p. 106. *If there had been but forty (viz. Members in the House at Westminster) the King could not have prorogued or dissolved them.*

Why so? Does it appear by the Act to make them perpetual, that they were always to sit at *Westminster*. The King, 'tis plain, had a very great Majority of the House of Lords with him at *Oxford* (but few, in Comparison, staying behind at *Westminster*) with the Lord Keeper their proper Speaker. And granting that the Members of the Commons House, that staid at *Westminster*, exceeded in Number those that removed to *Oxford*, yet as the King and the Lords were two constituent Parts of the Parliament, the Majority of Commons with no manner of Propriety could be called the *Parliament*.

N. p. 107. *On the nineteenth of January 1643-4. the Scots Army consisting of twenty one thousand Men, under the Command of General Leven, crossed the Tweed at Berwick, and entred England.*

* The Peers who staid behind at *Westminster* (some of which afterwards went over to the King) were the Earl of *Northumberland*, Earl of *Bedford*, Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, Earl of *Essex* and *Erwe*, Earl of *Lincoln*, Earl of *Suffolk*, Earl of *Leicester*, Earl of *Warwicke*, Earl of *Holland*, Earl of *Bullingbroke*, Earl of *Peterborough*, Earl of *Stamford*, Earl of *Manchester*, Lord Viscount *Say* and *Seale*, Lord *Dacres*, Lord *Hastings*, Lord *Cromwell*, Lord *Paget*, Lord *North*, Lord *Cbandois*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parbam*, Lord *Wharton*, Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord *St. John*, Lord *Spencer*, Lord *Stanbope*, Lord *Grey* of the *North*, Lord *Roberts*, Lord *Mandewile*, Lord *Edward Howard*, Lord *Brooke*, Lord *Fielding*. (See Catalogue of the Peeres who did notabent themselves from the High and Hon. House of the Peeres of Parliament, printed by order of *Elfing*, Cler. Parl. D. Com. 1642. June 8. penes me) there are 12 more mentioned not of Age, &c. most of which attended the King afterwards at *Oxford*.

And these Rebels had for the Assistance of their Brother Rebels 30000*l.* per Month, and would not march without the Advance of one hundred thousand Pounds in ready Money (*Heylin's Hist. Presbyter.* p. 453, 1st Edit.) ' the Army to be kept both with Pay ' and Plunder, the chief Promoters to be rewarded ' with the Lands and Houses of the *English* Bishops, and ' their Commissioners to have as great an Influence ' both in Peace and Warr, as the Lords and Com- ' mons.

N. ibid. The two Houses sent a Committee to meet them, which being joyned by another of that Nation, were called the Committee of both Kingdomes, and were a sort of a Camp Parliament to direct the Motion of the Army.

And there was a remarkable Oath taken by them, which I don't remember to be mentioned by our Historians. ' * I *A. B.* doe in the Presence and in the ' Name of God Almighty, promise to be faithful in ' this Trust committed unto mee; and that I will not ' reveale or disclose any thing in whole or in part, ' directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or re- ' solved upon by this Committee, without the Com- ' mand or Direction of those by whom I am en- ' trusted, or without the Order and Consent of the ' major Part of the Committee, which shall bee pre- ' sent at such Debates, or Resolutions, so help me ' God.

Feb. xx°. 1643.

' Resolved, that this House doth agree to this Oath, ' and doe injoyne the Members of both Houses, that ' are of this Committee of both Kingdomes to take ' it, and the Chairman of that Committee for the time

* Manuscript Collections of the Rev. Dr. Philip Williams. Vol. 13. No. 197. Much like this was the Oath given by Gerard the Jesuite, to those Gun-powder Traitors, *Catesby, Percy, Christopher Wright, and Thomas Winter.* [Proceedings against the late Traitors, published 1606.] ' You shall swear by the blessed Trini- ' ty, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose directly ' nor indirectly, by Word or Circumstance, the Matter that shall be proposed to you ' to be kept secret, nor desist from the Execution thereof, untill the rest shall give ' you Leave.' See likewise the Form of the Catholick League in France, with the Oath, Anno 1576. *Davila's History of the Civil Wars of France*, Edit. 1673. p. 222, 223.

being doe tender it to the rest of that Committee,
and afterwards that Committee to the Chairman.

Indorsed 2^o. February 1643.

Oath of the Committee of both Kingdomes.

And what Reason there was for an over Fondness for the *Scottish* Army, their subsequent Behaviour abundantly discovered. Take some Instances of this kind from the Complaints of those Counties which were the most harassed by them, from Original Papers in the * *Appendix* from which the Reader will be enabled to judge of the Falshood in the close of the Exceptions made by the *Scots* to the State of their Account, reported to the Members at *Westminster*, August 1646. "† And we dare confidently say, that far greater Care hath been taken for restraining such Disorders in the *Scottish* Army within this Kingdom than hath been in the Armies within *Scotland*, and stricter Justice hath been used, when any Complaints have been made and proved to the Committee, and General Officers of the Army, &c.

N. p. 108. Upon the Defeat of the Earl of Essex, his Majesty resolved to march directly to London, and upon the Road issued out a Proclamation, Sept. 30. requiring all his loving Subjects to appear in Arms and accompany him in his present Expedition. This gave rise to a Combination of Men distinguished by the Name of *§ Clubmen*, who got together in *Worcestershire* and *Dorsetshire*, and agreed to defend themselves against the Orders of the King and Parliament. The Reader is referred to the *Appendix* for a List of their Leaders.

N. Ibid. His Majesty had better Success in the West, where being strengthened by Prince Maurice, he followed the Earl of Essex, and shut up his Army within the narrow Parts of *Cornwall*, so that he could neither fight nor retreat. Here the King invited the Earl to make his Peace, but he chose rather to retire in a Boat to *Plymouth*, leaving his Men to the Fortune of War.

* *Appendix*, No. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33.

† Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 14. No. 173.

§ *Appendix*, No. 34.

And was not this a great Piece of Condescension in his Majesty, when he had his Enemy (as he imagined) at Command, to offer him such honourable Terms of Accommodation? The Earl's Letter upon this Occasion to the Members of the two Houses remaining at *Westminster*, (the Original still in being) is as follows.

* *Right Honourable,*

‘ **M**Y Lord *Beauchamp* going for *Fraunce* desired
 ‘ to see mee before he went, and at his com-
 ‘ ming brought me this inclosed Letter from the
 ‘ King: To which I answered, That as I had received
 ‘ my Trust from both Houses of Parlyament, so I
 ‘ could not give any Answer without their Direction;
 ‘ and touching that Passage of his Majestie’s for Pre-
 ‘ paration by my Lord of *Hertford*’s Letter, I re-
 ‘ ceaved none. But when my Sister *Hertford* wrote to
 ‘ mee about her Sonnes Journey, shee sent me the
 ‘ Copy of that which the King sent to the Parlyament
 ‘ by the *French* Agent, and was sent mee by my Lord
 ‘ of *Forth*, which I also sent up to the Committee of
 ‘ both Kingdomes. I have not time to write more,
 ‘ wee having the Force of the King, Prince *Maurice*,
 ‘ and Sir *Ralph Hopton* before us, and Sir *Richard*
 ‘ *Grenvile* behind us, and may be joyned ere this
 ‘ come to *Foy*. As there shall any Thing happen,
 ‘ I shall give your Lordships Advertisement. My
 ‘ Lords, I am

Your Lordship’s humble Servant,

Essex

Lisibihell, Aug. 8. 1644.

I have sent you heere inclosed a Letter we cannot
 desipher.

For the Right Honourable the Lord *Grey* of *Warke*,
 Speaker of the House of Peers, and *William Lentball*
 Esq; Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons
 Haste.

* Manuscript Collections of Dr. *Philip Williams*. Vol. 3. No. 126. A
 Original.

N. p

N. p. 109. *Prince Rupert was a fiery Youth, and with flying Squadrons of Horse burnt Towns and Villages, destroyed the Countrys where he came, and indulged his Soldiers in Plunder and Blood. In Wales he drove away People's Cattle, rifled their Houses, spoyled their standing Corn, aged and unarmed People were stript naked, some murdered in cold Blood, and others half hang'd and burnt, and yet suffer'd to live.* Whitlock, p. 87.

A dismal Character this indeed, had we not Reason to call the Truth of it in question. This *barbarous Prince* (as here represented) was of the *Electors Palatine's* Family, Brother to *Charles Lodovic*, Elector Palatine, (and if I mistake not of *Princess Sophia*) and Mr. Neal, as he speaks much of the Regard the Puritans had to that *illustrious House*, should not have printed such Things without an absolute Certainty, grounded upon the very best Authorities, or loaded his Memory more than his Authors would bear him out in. Prince *Charles*, the Elector, had no doubt his Failings, but these are all covered over with a Veil, because *he took the Covenant, and honoured the Assembly of Divines with his Presence.* (Enough sure to cancel all Blots and Miscarriages for ever.) But poor Prince *Rupert*, the younger Brother, was a *Malignant*. He never took the Covenant, he never sat in the Assembly of Divines, he now and then beat their Army of Covenanted, Pretended Saints, which was enough to raise all the frightful Ideas imaginable, in Mr. Neal's Head, who when his Imagination was once heated, could not so easily stop short, or be contented with a bare Narration of Fact, as he found it in Mr. *Whitlock*, whose Words follow:

' Prince *Rupert* took in *Liverpoole* a Garrison of the Parliament's in *Lancashire*, but they first shipp'd all their Arms, Ammunition, and portable Goods, and most of the Officers and Soldiers went on Ship-board, whilst a few made good the Fort, which they rendred to the Prince upon Quarter, yet were all put to the Sword.' This indeed was bad enough, but not quite so bad as Mr. *Neal* has represented it.

Not one Word of *stripping aged and unarm'd People naked, or Murdering People in cold Blood, or of half hanging or burning others.*

N. p. 109. *Wilmot the Lieutenant General was as great a Debauchee as the other, (viz. Lord Goring) and had no more Regard to his Promises, or any Rules of Honour or Integrity.*

This Character he pretends to give us from Lord Clarendon; and that it is not true, I have some Reason to believe, from the following Account given of him by Lord Clarendon. ‘ * That his Majesty sent a strong Party of Horse, Foot and Dragons under the Command of Mr. *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of his Horse to visit the Town of *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, who coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the Place strongly mann’d. For besides the Garrison, it being Market Day, very many Country People came thither to buy and sell, and were all compelled to stay, and take Arms for the Defence of the Place. Which for the most part they were willing to doe, and the People peremptory to defend it. Tho’ there was no Line about it, yet there were some Places of great Advantage, upon which they had rais’d Batteries and Cannon, and so barricaded all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horses could doe little Service.

‘ When the Lieutenant General was with his Party near the Town, he apprehended a Fellow, who confessed upon Examination, “ That he was a Spy, and sent by the Governour to bring Intelligence of their Strength and Motion.” When all Men thought, and the poor Fellow himself fear’d he should be executed; the *Lieutenant General* caused the whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient Place, and bid the Fellow look well upon them and observe, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell those that sent him what he had seen, and withall that he should acquaint the Magistrates, “ That

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 62.

" they should doe well to treat with the Garrison, to
 " give them leave to submit to the King ; that if they
 " did so, the Town should not receive the least Pre-
 " judice ; but if they compell'd him to make his Way,
 " and enter the Town by Force, it would not be in
 " his Power to keep his Soldiers from taking that
 " which they should win with their Blood." And
 " so dismissed him. This *generous Act* proved of some
 " Advantage : For the Fellow transported with hav-
 " ing his Life given him, and the Numbers of the Men
 " he had seen, besides his no Experience in such Sights,
 " being multiplied by his Fear, made notable Relations
 " of the Strength, Gallantry and Resolution of the
 " Enemy, and of the Impossibility of resisting them ;
 " which tho' it prevailed not with those in Authority
 " to yield, yet it strangely abated the Hopes and Cou-
 " rage of the People : So that when the King's
 " Soldiers fell on after a Volley or two, in which
 " much Execution was done, they threw down
 " their Arms, and run into the Town, so that the
 " Foot had Time to make Room for the Horse, who
 " had now entred both Ends of the Town, yet were
 " not so near an End as they expected ; for the Streets
 " were in many Places barricadoed, which were ob-
 " stinately defended by some Soldiers and Towns-
 " men who killed many Men out of the Windows
 " of the Houses ; so that it may be, if they had trust-
 " ed only to their own Strength, without compel-
 " ling the Country Men to increase their Number, and
 " who being first frightened and weary, disheartned their
 " Companions, that Place might have cost more
 " Blood. *Ramsfey* the Governour was himself retired
 " into the Church with some Officers, and from thence
 " did some Hurt : Upon this, there being so many
 " kill'd out of Windows, Fire was put to the next
 " Houses, so that a good part of the Town was burn'd ;
 " and then the Soldiers enter'd, doing less Execution
 " than could reasonably be expected ; but what they
 " spared in Blood, they took in Pillage, the Soldiers
 " enquiring

enquiring little who were Friends or Foes. This was the first Garrison taken on either Side.

I should be thankful if Mr. Neal would produce one single Instance of the like Honour and Generosity from any one commanding Officer of the Rebels Army during the Rebellion.

N. 109. *The Licentiousness of the King's Soldiers was not inferior to that of the King's Officers, for having no regular Pay, they committed Rapines and Plunders without any Distinction of Friends or Foes.*

Lord Clarendon informs us *, ' That the Reports and Infusions that diligent Party [viz. the Rebels] had wrought into the Peoples Belief, " That the Cavaliers were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious Disposition, and that they committed all manner of Cruelty upon the Inhabitants of those Places where they came, of which Robbery was the least : " So that the poor People thought there was no other way to preserve their Goods, than by hiding them out of the way, which was confessed by them, when they found how much that Information had wrong'd them, by making them so injurious to their Friends : And therefore where the Army rested a Day, they found much better Entertainment at parting than when they came : For it will not be denied, that there was no Person of Honour or Quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had ; and there was not the least Violence or Disorder among the common Soldiers in their March, which scaped exemplary Punishment, so that at Bromicham a Town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small Parties of the King's, and killed or taken them Prisoners, and sent them to Coventry, declaring a more peremptory Malice to his Majesty than any other Place, two Soldiers were executed for having taken some small Trifle of no Value, out of a House, whose Owner was at that Time in the Rebels Army, so strict was the Discipline in this Army : When the others without Controul, practiced all the Dissoluteness

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 35, &c.

‘ *imaginable*. But the March was so fast, that the
 ‘ leaving a good Reputation behind them was no
 ‘ *Harbinger* to provide for their better Reception in
 ‘ the next Quarters. So that their Wants were so
 ‘ great at the Time when they came to *Edgehill*,
 ‘ that there were very many Companies of the Com-
 ‘ mon Soldiers, who had scarce eaten Bread in eight
 ‘ and forty Hours before.

‘ * It was an Observation at that Time (says Lord
 ‘ *Clarendon* in another Place) ‘ That the Men of most
 ‘ licentious Lives, who appeared to be without any
 ‘ Sense of Religion, or Reverence to Virtue, and the
 ‘ most unrestrain’d by any Obligations of Conscience,
 ‘ betook themselves to that Party [*viz.* the Rebels]
 ‘ and pretended an † *Impulse of Religion*, out of fear
 ‘ of *Papery*. And on the other Side, very many
 ‘ Persons of Quality both of the Clergy and Laity,
 ‘ who had suffered under the Imputation of *Puritan-*
 ‘ *ism*, and did very much dislike the Proceedings of
 ‘ the Court, and opposed them upon all Occasions,
 ‘ yet were so scandalized at the very Approaches to
 ‘ Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends,
 ‘ and applied themselves with great Resolution, Cou-
 ‘ rage and Constancy to the King’s Service, and con-
 ‘ tinued in it to the End, with all the Disadvantages
 ‘ it was liable to.

N. p. III. *As the Royal Army was little better than
 a Company of Banditti or publick Robbers; the Parlia-
 ments were kept under the strictest Discipline, and grew
 up for the most part into great Diligence and Sobriety, which
 (says Lord Clarendon) begot Courage and Resolution in
 them, and notable Dexterity in Atchievements and Exercises.*

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 42.

† The Writer of the *Loyal Satyr* (p. 5.) in the following manner describes the
 sanctified *Sisterhood* amongst the Rebels. ‘ What a devout Company of Saints are
 ‘ *Rebecca*, her Book, her Pattens, and her Stool; for all must go together. Nor
 ‘ would you think her going to Church, but removing Houfe. I wonder she is ne-
 ‘ ver apprehended for carrying Burthens on the Sabbath Day. Well, This Coif and
 ‘ Cross Cloth, this Blue-Apron’d Saint is as much in the Church as the Parson’s
 ‘ Hour-Glass—Nor will she tire with a single Hearing, but trudge from *Tant-lin’s*
 ‘ to *Tellin’s*, and hold out the killing of a Brace or two, and all long Courses. Thus
 ‘ are they carried from Ordinance to Ordinance, like Beggars, from one Church to
 ‘ another, that they may ply at both Places.

How far this agrees with the forementioned Account given by Lord *Clarendon*, I leave Mr. *Neal* to judge. And how far it is true, the Reader will be able to discover, from the several Instances of Sacrilege and Profaneness, before mention'd.

Id. ib. *Most of their * Officers were Men of Religion.*

For pretended Sanctity none could exceed them. They were praying and preaching when the Enemy was at a distance, and literally *made long Prayers to devour Widows Houses*. Some Instances of their great Probity I have already produced [Impartial Examination of Mr. *Neal*'s second Volume, p. 376, 377, 378.] another Instance of Fanatical Honour he will meet with in the § *Appendix*, and whenever he calls for more, I will endeavour to furnish him with them.

N. Ib. *Their Soldiers were possess'd with a Belief that their Cause was the Cause of God.*

Lord *Clarendon* (as has been already observ'd) takes notice, † “ That the Men of most licentious Lives, “ who appeared to be without any Sense of Religion “ or Reverence to Virtue, and the most unrestrained “ by any Obligations to Conscience, betook them to “ that Party, and pretended an Impulse of Religion “ out of the Fears of *Popery*”. Nay, how contrary is this to Mr. *Neal*'s Character of them from Mr.

* From Mr. *Neal*'s Representation, the Reader might be induced to think all the King's Officers were *Debauchees*, and the Rebel Officers *Saints*, had we not abundant Proof to the contrary. And I can see no Reason why *Harry Martin* should not be entred into his Kalendar of Saints, tho' he was a notorious *Debauchee*, and was not afraid to do that openly, which others did more slyly and covertly. Mr. *Birkenhead* (*Paul's Church Yard Cent.* iii. Class. 10.) said of him, ‘ That he was able to shew a new Face of his own begetting, for every Day in the Year. And in *Bibliotheca Parliamenti* 1653. p. 5. 'tis ordered that a convenient Place be nominated, where *Henry Martin* may keep a Regiment of Whores for the better propagating of the Saints. *Martin's Paradise* (says the *Loyal Satyrists*, p. 11.) is the same with *Mahomet's*, his Heaven is only in a *Sraglio*.

§ *Appendix*, No. 35, 36, 37.

† History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 42. in a Letter from Secretary *Nicholas* to the Marquis of *Ormonde* [Letters concerning State Affairs, 1735, No. 131. p. 130.] are the following Words. ‘ At London they are in very great Distraction by reason of the outrageous Exactions there exercised, by plundering of Mens Houses, and selling their Goods, (which the Londoners would not buy) to Dutchmen Factours, (as it is credibly said) ‘ for Jews at *Amsterdam*.

Baxter,

Baxter, (N. p. 371.) *That the greatest Part of the common Soldiers were ignorant Men of little Religion, I leave to himself to consider.*

* Is there (says a late Reverend, and Admirable Divine of our Church) a Spirit of *Infidelity* and *Atheism* sprung up to some Height, and daily spreading among us? Is it become almost a Fashion to entertain Doubts concerning the Truth of all Religion, and to treat the Name of it, and its Ministrations too, with as much Levity and Scorn, as if it was discovered to be all a religious Cheat? For this also we are indebted to those pious Times, when Religion was made the Watchword to Rebellion, and a Warrant for Sacrilege and Murder: And what wonder if the *Hypocrisy* of those Days, which was but *Religion* in Disguise, hath in a less demure Age ventured to pluck off the Mask, and appear like itself, no better than bare-faced Profaneness.' The Hypocrisy of these Times is properly enough described by the *Anabaptists* in their Address to King Charles the second. '† What have we done, nay, what have we not done, which either *Hellish Policy* was able to contrive, or *Brutish Power* to execute? We have trampled under Foot all Authorities; we have laid violent Hands upon our Sovereign; we have ravished our Parliaments, we have deflowered the Virgin Liberty of our Nation; we have put a Yoke, a heavy Yoke upon the Necks of our own Countrymen; we have thrown down the Walls and Bulwarks of the Peoples Safety; we have broken often repeated Oaths, Vows, Engagements, Covenants, Protestations; we have betrayed our Trusts, we have violated our

* Dr. R. Mox's Sermon before the House of Commons, Jan. 30. 1706-7. p. 25.

† Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol 3. p. 492. Mr. Echard's Hist. of England, Vol. 2. p. 319. *Hugh Peters* indeed spoke in a different Strain of the Army in a Sermon 1648, and told his Audience, 'That he had found upon a Strict Scrutiny, that there were in the Army 5000 *Saints*, no less holy than those that now conversed in Heaven with God Almighty. (*Salmon's* Chronological Historian, p. 99.) A Writer in those Times (*The Loyal Satyrist*, p. 11.) lessens the Number, but gives them the following severe *Gird*. 'The Soldiers are not good enough for *Gibbets*, in their Reformation, the Gallows is under Persecution, and *Tyburn* suffers Martyrdom. Not one of *Peters's* 1500 *Saints*, but may with St. Francis give Place to the Devil.

' Faiths : We have lifted up our Hands to Heaven
 ' deceitfully ; and that these our Sins might want no
 ' Aggravation to make them exceeding sinful ; we
 ' have added *Hypocrisy* to them all ; and have not only
 ' like the audacious Strumpet, wiped our Mouths, and
 ' boasted, that we *have done no Evil*, but in the midst of
 ' all our Abominations, (such as are too bad to be named
 ' amongst the worst of *Heathens*) we have not wanted
 ' Impudence enough to say, Let the Lord be glorified,
 ' let Jesus Christ be exalted, let his Kingdome
 ' be advanced : Let the Gospel be propagated, let
 ' the Saints be dignified : Let Righteousness be established.
 ' Mr. *Whitlock* informs us, ' That in September
 ' 1649 * a Day of Humiliation was kept by the Officers
 ' of the Army, for the *Atheism* and *Profaneness*
 ' which was crept into the Army. And that in † 1650,
 ' A Letter was sent from the Officers of the head Quarters,
 ' to the Colonels and Governours of the respective
 ' Regiments, and Garrisons in *England* and *Wales*, exhorting
 ' to Prayer and to Unity, and to join in keeping a Day
 ' of Humiliation set apart to seek God for Assistance to
 ' them in all Services, whereunto they shall be called, and
 ' to reform *Drunkennes*, *Swearing*, *Profanation of the Lord's Day*,
 ' *Contempt of the Ordinances of Christ*, and all Sins in their
 ' several Charges, and to sanctify the Camp.

N. Ib. *But still there were among them Men of dissolute Lives, who fought for nothing but Plunder and Pay.*

This is the Truth, and all the Truth contained in this Paragraph ; and if Mr *Neal* wants more Instances than what he refers to in *Bedfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire* and *Sussex*, of which he gives no Particulars, I refer

* *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 411.

† *Id.* p. 440. The *Loyal Satyr* (p. 31.) says, ' There is not a Soldier but changes his Religion as often as his Shirt.— They void their Principles at every Sermon.— And well may they part with them so easily, since their Religion is no better than toasted Cheese, every Man is his own Cook, each Trooper like a Knight of *Malta*, is both Priest and Soldier. Revelations are so common, that the Spirit is become a meer Familiar. You may be of all Religions but the Protestant, as the Pagans worship all Gods but the true one ; as if Uniformity did not become the Church as well as Confusion ; and the Surplice were not as handsome as the Beggar's Coat.

him for particular Proof from original Letters copied into the * *Appendix*, that he may have authentick Vouchers, whenever his Book comes to a second Impression.

N. Ib. *And as the Parliament were enabled by the inexhaustible Treasure of the City of London, to give their Soldiers regular Pay, they had them under such strict Government, that they were little or no Burden to the Towns and Villages where they quarter'd.*

No question but in Mr. Neal's Opinion, these Pretenders to Sanctity, acted in every Instance consistently with their Duty to God and Man, being regularly paid, if we may take his Word for it. But the contrary is but too evident from original Letters already referred to; to which I shall take the Liberty of adding some other remarkable ones from a Colonel of the Rebels Army, and the Committes at *Cambridge* and *Yorke*, in Disproof of his Assertion. For which I refer the Reader to the † *Appendix*.

N. p. 113. *The Town of Cambridge was in the Interest of the Parliament, but the Colleges were so many little Garrisons for the King, and Sanctuaries of Disaffection. Id. ib. Frequent Quarrels happened between the Townsmen and Scholars, which would have ended in the Ruine of the University, had not the Parliament forbid the offering any Violence to the Colleges, Chapels, Libraries, and Schools under severe Penalties.*

And how much even the Sequestrators went beyond their Commission, the following original Letter of the Earl of *Manchester*'s plainly proves.

§ *My Lord,*

‘ By Virtue of the Ordinance of Sequestration, the Sequestrators for the Town of *Cambridge* have sequestred all the Lands and Proffits belonging to those Colledges, which did convey their Plate to the King. This is likely to breed a great Distraction

* *Appendix* No. 38, 39, 40, 41.

† *Appendix* No. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.

§ Dr. P. *Williams*'s Manuscript Collections, Vo'. 3. p. 99. An Original.

‘ in the University, by reason that the Fellowes and
 ‘ Scholars of those Colledges must be driven to very
 ‘ great Extremitys, having no other Livelihood or
 ‘ Subsistance.

‘ I shall not take the Boldness to offer any thing of
 ‘ my own Sence to your Lordships, for I doubt not
 ‘ but your Lordships in your Wisdomes will think
 ‘ it better to endeavour the Reforming of the Univer-
 ‘ sity, rather than to hazard the Dissolving of it. I
 ‘ have made stay of any farther Proceeding, until I
 ‘ receive Directions from your Lordships, and the
 ‘ House of Commons, which I shall be ready to obey
 ‘ in this and all things else, as

Your Lordships most humble Servant,

Cambridge 27th
 Novem. 1643.

E. Manchester.

For the Right Honourable the Speaker
 of the Houle of Peers in Parliament.

N. Ibid. *Indeed the Committee enjoyned the proper Officers of the Parish to put in Execution the Ordinance for destroying the Relicks of Superstition, whereby the Paintings in Windows, Images of the Deity, and a great deal of carv'd Work was demolished, at which the Masters and Fellows were so incensed, that when they were ordered to repair the Damages, they peremptorily refused, and were fined forty Shillings a College, as the Ordinance directed.*

Dean Barwick's Account, who was then in the University, and was a competent Witness, is as follows.

‘ * And now to tell how they have profaned and
 ‘ abused our several Chappels, though our Pens
 ‘ flowed as fast with Vinegar and Gall, as our Eyes
 ‘ doe with Tears, yet were it impossible sufficiently
 ‘ to expresse it: When Multitudes of enraged Soldiers
 ‘ (let loose to reform) have torn down all carved
 ‘ Work, not respecting the very Monuments of the
 ‘ Dead: and have ruined a beautiful carved Structure

* *Querel. Cantabrigiens. Anno 1647, p. 17, 18.*

' in the *University-Church* (though indeed that was not
 ' done without Direction from a great one (*Cromwell*)
 ' as appeared after upon Complaint made to him)
 ' which stood us in a great Summ of Money, and
 ' had not one Jot of *Imagery* or *Statue-Work* about it.
 ' And when that Reverend Man the then Vice-Chan-
 ' cellour [*D. Ward*] told them mildly, *That they might*
 ' *be better employed*, they returned him such Language,
 ' as we are ashamed to express.

' Nor was it any thing strange to find whole Bands
 ' of Soldiers training and exercising in the Royal
 ' Chappel of King *Henry the Sixth*: Nay, even the
 ' Commanders themselves, being commanded to shew
 ' their new Major General [*Crawford*] how well they
 ' understood their Trade, chose that place to train in
 ' (whether in Policy to conceal their Mystery, or out
 ' of Fear to betray their Ignorance, or on purpose to
 ' shew their Soldiers how little God's House was to be
 ' regarded, let the World conjecture) and one who
 ' calls himself *John Dowling*, and by Vertue of a pre-
 ' tended Commission, goes about the Country like
 ' a *Bedlam*, breaking Glass-Windows, having bat-
 ' tered and beaten down all our painted Glasse, not
 ' only in our Chappels, but contrary to Order in our
 ' publick Schools, College-Halls, Libraries, and
 ' Chambers, mistaking perhaps the *Liberal Arts* for
 ' *Saints*, which they intend in time to pull down too,
 ' and having, against an Order, defaced and digged
 ' up the Floors of the Chappels, many of which had
 ' lien for two or three hundred Years together, not
 ' regarding the Dust of our Founders and Predeces-
 ' sors, who likely were buried there; *compelling us by*
 ' *armed Soldiers, to pay forty Shillings a Colledge, for*
 ' *not mending what had been spoiled and defaced, or forth-*
 ' *with to goe to Prison.* We shall need to use no more
 ' Instances then these two to shew, that neither Place,
 ' Person, nor Thing hath any Reverence or Respect
 ' amongst them. A Fellow of one of our Colledges
 ' [*Master Pawson of Sidney*] was violently plucked
 ' from the Communion, as he was ready to receive
 ' that

• that holy Sacrament, before a solemn Election of a
 • Master of that Colledge, and thrown into Gaole to
 • the great Disturbance of the Election; and at ano-
 • ther Colledge [*S. John*] * the *Communion Plate* was
 • most sacrilegiously seized upon and taken away
 • from the very Communion-Table, notwithstanding
 • it was (upon a former Plunder) restored to the said
 • Colledge, by an Order from the close Committee,
 • of the 18 of *September 1643.* under the Hands of
 • the Earle of *Pembroke*, the Earle of *Denbigh*, Lord
 • *Say*, Lord *Howard*, Sir *William Waller*, and Ma-
 • ster *Pym*.

Speaking of the Ordinance which empowered the
 Earl of *Manchester* to visit the University of *Cam-*
bridge, he makes the following Observation upon it.

N. p. 115. *The Ordinance makes no mention of Doc-*
trine or Discipline of the Church, but seems to be levelled
only against those who took part with the King in the
War. Take Dr. *Barwick's* Words in answer. † They
 • think (says he) they can stop the Noise of all these
 • just Complaints, with their usual grinning Objection,
 • that *Sundry of our Students are in the King's Army:*
 • making that to be their Crime, to which if their
 • own innate Loyalty did not draw them, yet *their*
 • *baughty*, and *beathenish* Usage would of Necessity
 • drive them; for who had not rather fall upon the
 • Bed of Honour, and assert with his dearest Blood, his
 • Religion, Loyaltie, and Liberty then live a Slave
 • under them, to set his surviving Footsteps upon
 • the Graves and Ashes of expired Loyalty, Nobility,

* Amongst Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections* is the following remarkable one
 [Vol. 14. No. 214.] " At the Committee of Lords and Commons for his Ma-
 " jesties Revenue sitting at *Westminster*, on Friday the fifth Daie of *Februarie 1646.*
 " It is this Day ordered, and we doe desire the Right Honourable the Earle of
 " *Northumberland*, to propose to the Howses the Particulars following, That the
 " *Alter-Plate* usually heretofore left upon the Alter in the Chappel of *Whitehall*,
 " (the Particulars whereof are written down in the Paper annex) may be melted
 " to make Plate serviceable for his Majesties use at *Holdenby*, in regard there is no
 " Plate now remaining in the Office of the Jewel-House, fitt for that Service.
 " *Vestrie Plate* which was usually heretofore set upon the Alter of his Majesties
 " Chappel at *Whitehall*, viz. a Pair of great Candlesticks, one gilt Shipp, two
 " gilt Vases, two gilt Layres, a square Bason and Fountaine, a silver Rod. Printed in Mr.
Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. 2. B. 9. p. 37.

† *Querel. Cantabrig.* p. 16.

Gentry, Clergy, and Civility itself. * They pursued with equal Hatred at least, if not with equal Madneſs all in general, whether *Cantabrigians* or *Oxonians*, who paid an equal Duty to their moſt excellent Prince, and regard to our ancient Conſtitution, and with an equal Degree of Piety and Affection, were not afraid to aſſert the Cauſe of the Church of *England*, the pureſt Part of the Catholick Church, according to the different Conjunction of Time, with the Loſs of their Liberty, and even the Effuſion of their Blood, but certainly with the inevitable Forfeiture of their Eſtates.

N. *ibid.* *The Earl repaired in Perſon to Cambridge, about the Middle of February with his two Chaplains, Mr. Aſhe, and Mr. Good, and by his Warrant the 24th Inſtant, required the Heads of the ſeveral Colleges and Halls, to ſend him their Statutes, with the Names of all their Members, and to certify who were preſent, and who abſent, with the expreſs Time of their Diſcontinuance.*

The Warrant as follows :

“ † Whereas by Vertue of an Ordinance of Parliament I am authorized to endeavour the Reformation of this Univerſity, theſe are to require you forthwith by this Bearer, to ſend unto me the Statutes of your College, together with the Names of all the Members of your Society, whether Fellowes, Schollars, or other Officers, and alſo now to certifye me who are now preſent, and who abſent, and to give me Notice of the expreſſe time of their Diſcontinuance, who are now abſent.

To the Maſter of *Bennet Colledge*,
and in his Abſence to the Preſident thereof.

E. Manchester.

N. *ibid.* *Two Days after, the Officers of each College or Hall, were ordered to give ſpeedy Adverſement to the Maſters, Fellowes, Schollars, &c. to repair to Cambridge by the 10th of March, in order to answer ſuch Enquiries, as ſhould be made by himſelf or by his Commiſſioners.*

* Life of Dr. *Bartwick*, p. 44.

† Original Warrant *Corp. Chriſti Coll. Cantabr.* See likewiſe Manuſcript Viſitation Book of the Univerſity of Cambridge, penes Rev. P. *Williams*, S. T. P.

The Warrant.

“ * These are to will and require you upon Sight
 “ hereof; to give speedy Advertisement *Viis, Mediis*
 “ & *Modis*, to the Fellowes, Schollars, and Officers
 “ of your Colledge, to be Resident at your said Col-
 “ ledge the tenth Day of *March* next ensuing, to give an
 “ Account wherein they shall be required, to answer
 “ such things as may bee demanded by mee, or such
 “ Commissioner as I shall appoint, given under my
 “ Hand and Seale, this 26th of *February* 1643.

E. Manchester.

To the Master of *Bennet* Colledge, or in
 his Absence the President, or *Locum*
Tenens thereof.

Dr. *Barwick's* Observation upon this Order is very
 good. † The first thing that was attempted was to
 summon all those that were absent to return in *ten*
Days. But then they were so far to seek for Rea-
 sons of Ejection, as that after almost half ten Days
 more Study, all they could insert in their Writ was,
 “ For opposing the Proceedings of the *Parliament*,
 “ and other scandalous Actions in the University.”
 Their Tongues thereby testifying their Minds, tho’
 perhaps out of Incogitancy, which are so furiously set
 upon their great Worke of Reformation as to punish
 the *opposing scandalous Actions*, with the Loss of all
 a Man’s Livelyhood, whether they were ashamed of
 the Phrase, or not, we know not; but they had very
 good reason to be ashamed of the Act, being so dif-
 ferent from all Shewe of Justice, as to impose Im-
 possibilitys, in commanding Men to returne with-
 in twelve Days after issuing the Summons, which at
 that time were above two hundred Miles distant,
 and had two Armies to pass through all the Waies;
 or enjoying them to be Resident at *Cambridge*,
 whom themselves at the same Time kept fast Pri-
 soners at *London*, and yet for non Appearance, for

* Orig. Warrant Corp. *Cbrist. Coll. Cantab.* Visitation Book, penes Rev. P.
Williams. The Form printed *Querel. Cantabrig.* Pref. p. 6.

† *Querel. Cantabrig.* p. 19.

' no Man knowes any other Cause, these must be
' ejected.

N. *ibid.* But the Earl being informed that this Notice
was too short, the Time was prolonged to the third of April.

When the Earl summoned Mr. Tunstall, and Mr.
Palgrave, Fellows of Corpus Christi College to appear
before the Commissioners at the Bear-Inn in Cambridge, on
penalty of Ejectionment.

The Warrant.

' * Whereas by Vertue of an Ordinance of Parlia-
' ment for regulating the Univerfity of Cambridge, &c.
' there was a Warrant iffued forth in my Name, Feb.
' 26th laft paft, fummoning all the Fellowes of your
' Colledge to repair unto the faid Colledge to be there
' Refident on the tenth of *March* following. " I doe
" hereby declare that if Mr. *Tunstal* and Mr. *Palgrave*
" doe not appear personally upon *Friday* Morning
" next, at the Signe of the *Beare* in *Cambridge* before
" thofe Commissioners whom I have authorized to
" tranfact Buſineſſes committed to my Care, in the
" aforeſaid Ordinance, or if ſome Perſon or Perſons
" appearing in their behalfe give not in ſufficient Rea-
" ſons for their Abſence, I ſhall proceed to execute
" ſuch Sentence by Ejectionment, or otherwiſe, as by
" the fore-mentioned Ordinance I am authorized to
" doe. Given under my Hand this 3d Day of *April*
" 1644.

" To the Maſter and Fellowes of *Benedict*, *Corpus Chriſti*
" Colledge in *Cambridge*, who are required to make
" due Publication hereof, and alſo to deliver in on *Fri-*
" *day* next unto the above-mentioned Committee, a par-
" ticular Account in Writing, of the ſeverall Fellowes
" of your Colledge haveing Cure of Soules, together with
" the Names of the Pariſh, or Pariſhes, and the Va-
" lue of the Benefice.

The other Original Warrants for their Ejection,
and the putting two other Perſons into their Fellow-
ſhips, are ſtill (or were very lately) in being, and are
as follow.

* MS. Viſitation Book of the Univerſity of Cambridge, penes Rev. P. Williams,
S.T.P.

“ * Whereas by an Ordinance of Parliament, en-
 “ titled, An Ordinance for regulating the University
 “ of *Cambridge*, &c. Power is given to me to eject
 “ such Fellows of Colledges, as are scandalous in
 “ their Lives and Doctrines, or such as have forsaken
 “ their ordinary Places of Residence within the said
 “ University, or that doe or have opposed the Pro-
 “ ceedings of Parliament, by Vertue of the Authority
 “ given unto me, I do eject Mr. *Tonstall* and Mr.
 “ *Palgrave* from being Fellowes of *Corpus Christi*
 “ Colledge within the said University of *Cambridge*,
 “ for not being resident in their said Colledge, and
 “ not returning to the Place of their usual Residence
 “ there; upon one Summons given to that Purpose,
 “ and for severall other Misdemeanours committed
 “ by them, which Parties are hereby required upon
 “ their Return to *Cambridge*, whensoever, not to con-
 “ tinue in the said University above the Space of
 “ three Daies, upon Payne of Imprisonment and Se-
 “ questration of their Goods; and doe hereby require
 “ you to sequester and collect all and singular such
 “ Profittes as belong to their severall Fellowships,
 “ or other Places to be disposed of to such Persons
 “ as I shall appointe in their roomes, and further to
 “ cutt their Names out of the Butteryes, and to cer-
 “ tifye me within one Day after the Receipte hereof
 “ what you have done therein. Given under my Hande
 “ and Seale the 8th Day of *April* 1644.

To the Master and Fellowes resident
 in *Corpus-Christi* Colledge *Cam-*
bridge, and to every of them.

E. *Manchester*.

It must have been a great Mortification sure to the
 Earl of *Manchester* to have been obliged to restore
 Mr. *Tonstall* to his Fellowship, as I find he was at the
 “ Restoration, by the following Original Warrant.
 “ * Whereas *Robert Tonstall* Baccalaure in Divinity
 “ and senior Fellow of *Corpus-Christi* Colledge in
 “ *Cambridge* hath been put out of his Fellowship.
 “ These are by Vertue of an Authority given to me

* Orig. Warrant *Corp. Christi Coll. Cantabr.*

“ by

“ by the Lords assembled in Parliament, to require
 “ you upon Sight hereof to restore him to his said
 “ Fellowship and Seniority therein, by the Removal
 “ of the same Person, who was immediately put in
 “ his Place, if he yet remains one of the Fellowes
 “ of the said Colledge; but if not, then of the Junior
 “ Fellow. From thenceforth to enjoy all Profitts,
 “ Rights, Priviledges, and Advantages thereunto be-
 “ longing, unless you shall shew me just Cause to the
 “ contrary within ten Daies after your Receipt hereof.
 “ Given under my Hand the 17th Day of *August*
 “ 1660. in the 12th Yeare of the Reigne of our So-
 “ vereigne Lorde the King.

E. Manchester.

To the Master and Fellowes of *Corpus*
Christi Colledge in Cambridge.

The Earl's Warrant for placing Mr. *Johnson* and
 Mr. *Kennet* in the Room of Mr. *Tonstall* and Mr.
Palgrave.

“ * Whereas in pursuite of an Ordinance of Par-
 “ liament, for regulating and reforming the Univer-
 “ sity of *Cambridge*, I have ejected Mr. *Tonstall* and Mr.
 “ *Palgrave*, late Fellowes of *Bennet* Colledge and where-
 “ as Mr. *Daniel Johnson* and Mr. † *Richard Kennet*
 “ have been examined and approved by the *Assembly*
 “ of *Divines*, now sitting at *Westminster*, according
 “ to the said Ordinance, as fitt to be Fellowes, these

* Original Warrant, *Corp. Christi. Coll. Cantabr.*

† This Mr. *Kennet* was recommended by Archbishop *Laud* to the Society of
Bennet Colledge, for a Schollarship, as appears from an Original Letter of the Arch-
 bishop's in that Colledge, which is as follows.

S. in X^{to}.

S I R,

“ I Have acquainted the Deane and Chapter of *Canterbury*, according to the In-
 “ formation I received from you, with the Schollar's Place now voide in your
 “ Colledge, given by my worthy Predecessor Archbishop *Parker*. And they
 “ commend to me one *Richard Kennet*, for a studious, towardly young Man, as
 “ fitt for that Place. He is now Student of your own Colledge (as they tell me)
 “ and was some time a Schollar at the Schoole of *Canterbury*: I pray therefore
 “ if upon Triall he shall acquitt himselfe to you, admitt him into the vacant
 “ Place according to the Rule of your Benefactour. So to God's blessed Protection
 “ I leave you, and rest your loving Friend.

Lambeth, July 7. 1640.

W. Cant.

To my loving Friend Dr. *Leue*, Master of *Corpus Christi* Colledge in Cambridge,
 These,

“ are therefore to require you, and every of you,
 “ to receive the said Mr. *Johnston* and Mr. *Kennet*
 “ as Fellowes of your Colledge, in room of Mr. *Ton-*
 “ *stall* and Mr. *Palgrave* formerly ejected; and to give
 “ them place according to their Seniority in the Uni-
 “ versity, in reference to all those that are or shall
 “ hereafter be put in by me according to the Ordi-
 “ nance aforesaid. Given under my Hand and Seale
 “ this 12th Day of July 1644.

E. Manchester.

To the Master and Fellowes of
Bennet Colledge Cambridge.

N. p. 115. *Warrants of the same Nature were sent to several of the Fellows of Caius, Saint John's, Queen's, Peterhouse, Sidney, Trinity, Christ's, Magdalen, and Jesus Colleges, and to Pembroke and Clare-Hall, [and King's College as appears by the Visitation Book] who not appearing according to Summons, were by a Warrant of April 8. ejected to the Number of sixty five.*

The Account of the Ejections from the Visitation Book beforementioned, with the Names of the Persons ejected are as follow.

“ * Whereas by Ordinance of Parliament entituled,
 “ An Ordinance for regulating the University of
 “ *Cambridge, &c.* Power is given to me to eject such
 “ Fellowes of Colledges as are scandalous in their
 “ Lives or Doctrines, or suche as have forsaken their
 “ ordinary Places of Residence within the said Uni-
 “ versity, or that doe or have opposed the Pro-
 “ ceedings of Parliament. By Vertue of the Au-
 “ thority thereby given to me, I doe eject Mr. *Oley*,
 “ and Mr. *Carter*, from being Fellowes of *Clare-Hall*
 “ within the said University of *Cambridge*, for not
 “ being Resident in the said Colledge, and not re-
 “ turning to the Places of their usuall Residence there,
 “ upon due Summons given to that Purpose, and for
 “ several other Misdemeanours committed by them.
 “ which Parties are hereby required upon their re-

* Penes Rev. P. Williams, S. T. P.

“ turne

“ turne to *Cambridge* whensoever, not to continue in
 “ the said University above the Space of three Daies,
 “ upon payne of Imprisonment and Sequestration of
 “ their Goods; and I doe hereby require you to se-
 “ quester and collect all and singular such Proffits as
 “ belong to their severall Fellowships, or other Places
 “ to be disposed of to such Persons as I shall appoint
 “ in their Rooms, and further to cut all their Names
 “ out of the Butteries, and to certifie me within one
 “ Day after the Receipt thereof, what you have
 “ done therein. Given under my Hand and Seale
 “ the eight Day of *Aprill*, 1644.

“ To the Fellowes of *Clare-Hall* in *Cambridge*, and
 “ to every of them.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. *Norton* and Mr. *Wood*, of *Christ's Col-*
 “ ledge in *Cambridge* the same time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. *Poley*, Mr. *Mapletoft*, Mr. *Frank*, Mr.
 “ *Bokenham*, Mr. *Astton*, Mr. *Cacot*, Mr. *Lentball*
 “ of *Pembroke-Hall* in *Cambridge* the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted
 “ against Mr. *Bartee* of *Sidney Colledge* in *Cambridge*
 “ the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. *Riding*, Mr. *Greenball*, Mr. *Wrench*,
 “ Mr. *Potter*, Mr. *Cleaveland*, Mr. *Whittingham*, Mr.
 “ *Spoonar*, Mr. *Bullock*, Mr. *Jones*, of *Saint John's*
 “ Colledge in *Cambridge* the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. *London*, Mr. *Colebrand*, Mr. *Hally-*
 “ *burton*, Mr. *Pickerell* of * *Caius Colledge* in *Cam-*
 “ *bridge* the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Dr. *Greene*, Mr. *Leech*, Mr. *Pullin*, Mr. *Er-*
 “ *sing*, Mr. *Gale* and Mr. *Botteler* of *Magdalen Col-*
 “ ledge in *Cambridge* at the same time.

* My most worthy and admirably learned Friend Mr. *Ibo. Baker*, S. T. B. of *Saint John's College Cambridge*, has Transcripts of the Original Warrants for the Ejection of Mr. *Buxton*, Mr. *Loveland*, and Mr. *Watson* from *Caius College* for refusing the Covenant, and of Dr. *London*, Physick Fellow, Mr. *Pickerel*, Mr. *Watson* and Mr. *Salter*. Manuscript Collections. Vol. 33. Folio, p. 452, &c.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted
 “ against Mr. Tolly, Mr. Beamont, Mr. Pennyman,
 “ Mr. Chafhame [*Crashaw qu.*] Mr. Holder, and Mr.
 “ Comyn of Peterhouse in Cambridge the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. Sparrow, Mr. Bryan, Mr. Marley, Mr.
 “ Rogers, Mr. Hill of Queen's College in Cambridge
 “ the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. Blackston, Mr. Mason and Mr. Mallet,
 “ of Jesus College in Cambridge, the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. Tunstall, Mr. Pallgrave, of Corpus
 “ Christi Colledge in Cambridge the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Mr. Soresby of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge
 “ the same Time.

“ The like Warrant of Ejectment was granted a-
 “ gainst Dr. Roe, Dr. Meredith, Mr. Marshall, Mr.
 “ West, Sen. Mr. Chamberlayne, Mr. Willis, Mr.
 “ Barry, Mr. Cooke, Mr. Wheeler, Mr. Cowley,
 “ Mr. Arundell, Mr. Stacy, Mr. Cave, Mr. Abdy,
 “ and Mr. Nicholas of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge,
 “ the same Time. The whole Number, if I mistake
 “ not, is 63.

N. p. 116. *The Covenant, which was read March
 18. in the Churches and Chappells of the Town and
 University was not offered to the whole University, but only
 to such of whose Disaffection they had sufficient Proof.*

The Reason of this partial Behaviour has been given
 already.

Dr. Barwick, who was himself a Sufferer, informs
 us, ‘ * That so little was Property valued, that a
 ‘ Paire of Camp-Chaplains [Mr. † *Ash* and Mr. Good]

‘ or

* *Quærel Cantabrig.* p. 22.

‘ † This *Christian* of primitive Simplicity and Moderation, as Dr. Calamy (in his
 ‘ Abridgment, Vol. 2. p. 1, 2.) calls him, attended the Lord Manchester to Cam-
 ‘ bridge, when he had Orders to tender the Covenant to every Member of that fa-
 ‘ mous University: To whom (we are told) the Earl left the Management of that
 ‘ Affair, and none could tax the good old Man of Partiality, Neglect or Unfaithful-
 ‘ ness in the Discharge of his Office; for he wrought such a thorough Reformation
 ‘ in the University, that in some Colleges, without the least regard to Merit, Learn-

or one of them might expunge, eject and banish whom they pleased, especially such as would not sacrifice their Loyaltie and Conscience to the Nerves and Cement of this *Rebellion*, called the *Covenant*. For Instance, when a Warrant for Ejection of certain Fellowes of *Saint John's College*, was issued out under Hand and Seale, and their Names expressly mentioned in it, yet Mr. *Ashe* knows very well, who it was that expunged Mr. *Henman's* Name, and put in Mr. *Boteler's* without so much as writing the Warrant over-again.

Dr. *Barwick* calls the *Covenant*, in another Place, * A *Covenant with Hell*, begot between *Munster* and *Meccba*, by the help of a *Jesuite*, the most impious and *Unchristian* Confederacy, that their grand Master the Devil could contrive: The chiefe End whereof is to dethrone the *Lord's Anoynted*, and throw down the Church and *Apostolical Government* thereof, and to force not only their Fellow Subjects to contradict their Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacie, but even their most gracious Sovereign to Perjury; in violating that his sacred Oath which he solemnly made at his Coronation; and to compleat their most horrid and heinous Sin to joyne in Armes with a *forraigne Nation*, to lay desolate their own native Country, to stain this Earth with the Blood of their own Countrymen and Fellow Subjects, and to expose the Treasures of *England*, the Cream of these fruitful Vallies, to the empty and hungry Maw of a *Rebellious Scot*; and then vow never to have Peace, but what shall be written in the Blood of *their Enemies*, his Majesty and his loyal Subjects. And yet forsooth this *Covenant* is made the Foundation of the great Work of their glorious

ing, or old Age, neither Master, Fellow, nor Student were left; but were all expelled the University, with Orders to pack out of Town in three Days; and all this merely for refusing the *Covenant*, and others put in their Room, of no other Reputation, than of great Zeal to the good Old Cause, *Seditious Preachers*, *ungodly Teachers*, p. 31. Fuller's History of Cambridge, p. 169. Querel. Cantabrigienf. p. 21, 22. See *A Looking-Glass for Schismatics: Or, The true Picture of Fanaticism*, in a summary View of the Rebels of forty-one, p. 97. Printed 1725.

* Querel. Cantabrigienf. p. 23, 24.

‘ *Reformation*, and under pretence of refusing this,
 ‘ we must be banisht and thrust out of all we had.

‘ * Thus are we imprisoned, banished for our Con-
 ‘ sciences, not being so much as accused of any Thing,
 ‘ only suspected of Loyaltie to our King, and Fidelity
 ‘ to our Mother the Church of *England*; and not on-
 ‘ ly so, but quite stripped of all our Livelihood, and
 ‘ exposed to Beggary, having nothing left us to sustaine
 ‘ the Necessitys of Nature, and many of us no Friends
 ‘ to goe to, but destitute and forlorn, not knowing
 ‘ whither to bend one Step when we set footing out of
 ‘ *Cambridge*, having one only Companion which will
 ‘ make us rejoyce in our Afflictions, viz. *A clear*
 ‘ *Conscience in a righteous Cause*; humbly submitting
 ‘ ourselves to the Chastisement of the Almighty, who
 ‘ after he hath tried us, will at last cast his Rods into
 ‘ the Fire.

N. p. 116. Dr. Barwick *Author of Querela Cantabrigiensis*— mentions an Oath of Discovery for the University, like that of the Oath Ex Officio; but Mr. Fuller the Historian about the Year 1653. having requested an Account of this Oath from Mr. Ash— He returned for Answer, that he remembred no such Thing; and Mr. Fuller adds, that he is upon just Grounds daily confirmed in his Confidence that neither the Earl of Manchester, or any under him by his Command or Consent, enforced such an Oath.

Now whether the positive Evidence of Dr. Barwick, a Person of unquestioned Credit, who was then in the University, or Mr. Ashe’s saying he remembred no such thing, will carry the most Weight with the Reader, he himself must be left to judge.

‘ † Their solemn League and Covenant (says he) coming from their dear Brethren of Scotland, they think
 ‘ no Penalty too great for the Refusal of it; and
 ‘ this because it carrys in its Frontispiece a Pretence
 ‘ of *Reformation* comes not alone, but (though without any visible Order) accompanied with a new
 ‘ Legislative Fangle called an Oath of Discovery, but

* *Querel. Cantabrig.* p. 26.

† *Ibid.* p. 20.

indeed was an *Oath of Treachery*, a wild unlimited Devise, to call whom they would before them, and make them accuse their nearest and dearest Friends, Benefactors, Tutors, and Masters, and betray their Members and Acts of their several Societies, manifestly contrary to our peaceable Statutes sworn by us, which provide against all Faction and Sedition, which these Men only hunt after [*viz. Non revelabis aliquod Secretum Collegii; non malum aut damnum inferes Collegio, aut cuilibet Sociorum.*] and apparently reviving the Oath *ex Officio* (as their Commissioners spell it) abolished this present Parliament, to accuse ourselves; for what is it else to accuse our own Societies and Corporations whereof our selves are Parts and Members?

And though we would not any whit derogate from the Oath *ex Officio*, as it is used this Day in most Christian Kingdoms and Commonwealths, nay even in Scotland and Geneva, and may be of excellent use if not stretched beyond the due Limits of Law. Yet this *Oath of Discovery* all we think, except one or two, refused, perceiving that thereby the Design of a second *Century* was to be promoted; for they finding no Accusation or Crime objected against any of us, wherewith to colour their ugly Purposes, which they had already plotted in private against us, and yet their *Covenant* must be for Reformation, they resolved to *shrive* us with *auricular Confession sanctified to the Cause*, that so we might help them out with their Malice, which was otherwise like to be born blind, though hitherto it hath been *Eagle-eyed* over our most venial Slips; and forthwith upon Refusal of this Oath, was their *solemn League and Covenant* urged upon us.

Nay *Dr. Fuller* in the Place referred to, and in the very preceding Words, supplies us with the additional Evidence of a great and good Man, so that we have two positive Witnesses for the same Fact, which sure will outweigh Mr. *Ashe's* want of Memory, who was himself a prejudiced Person.

* On the one side (says he) my worthy Friend Mr. *Peter Gunning*, Fellow of *Clare-Hall* (eminent for his Learning and Honesty) hath since assured me, that such an Oath was offered and urged upon him by the *Committee*; on the other side, I am on just Grounds daily confirmed in my Confidence, that neither the Earl of *Manchester*, nor any under him, by his *Command* or *Consent*, enforced such an Oath, so that where to lay the Blame I know not; and have neither List nor Leisure further to enquire, who having blistered my Fingers already, will burn my Hands no more in so dangerous a Subject.

N. p. 116. *The whole number of Graduates expelled the University in this and the following Year, by the Earl of Manchester and his Commissioners, including Masters and Fellows of Colleges, were according to Dr. Walker, near two hundred, besides inferior Scholars.*

* Dr. Barwick gives a List of 195. viz.

<i>Trinity College</i>	42	<i>Pembroke Hall</i>	19
<i>St. John's College</i>	30	<i>Magdalen College</i>	06
<i>King's College</i>	05	<i>Gonvil and Caius Col.</i>	09
<i>Queen's College</i>	20	<i>Clare-Hall</i>	08
<i>Christ's College</i>	09	<i>Sidney Sussex College</i>	06
<i>Jesus College</i>	15	<i>Katharine Hall</i>	01
<i>Saint Peter's College</i>	20	<i>Corpus Christi College</i>	03
<i>Emanuel College</i>	02		

N. p. 117. *They instilled into their Pupils (says Fuller. Hist. Camb. p. 170.) the Unlawfulness of resisting the King upon any Pretence whatsoever.*

Dr. Fuller says no such thing in the Place referred to, nor any thing like it either in Sound or Sense. He says indeed, 'That the Chaplains of the Earl have pleaded in Excuse of their rigorous Proceedings—That as if the Time were their Text, whatever the Subject of their Sermons, they were Invektive against the present Authority.'

* Dr. Fuller's Appeal of injured Innocence, p. 72.

† *Querel. Cantabrig.* p. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35.

I shall pass over the Characters of the Heads of Houses ejected, in which he had a fair Field to enlarge, had he taken Loyalty to their Prince, and a real Regard to the Laws, the Liberties and Privileges of their Fellow Subjects, to have been proper Topicks for Commendation: But instead of this, he has picked up what little Scandal he could from Writers of no Credit, in Diminution of the Characters of some of them. — Two or three indeed of those that were put in their Places, were considerable Men, and had not they accepted the Places of the ejected, to which sure they could have no legal Title, would have been cry'd up as Ornaments of the University, as Dr. *Ralph Cudworth*, and Dr. *Lightfoot*. But the Generality of them could plead no real Merit.

N. p. 121. Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, a very considerable Divine, according to Mr. Wood.

And Mr. *Wood*, in Abatement of his Character, observes, ‘ * That he affirmed in a Book published ‘ about 1648, “ That an Usurper ought to be submitted to, proving it from Christ’s paying Tribute “ Money to *Cæsar*.

N. Ib. He was ejected out of his Mastership of Peterhouse, 1662, and died in 1677.

Dr. *Calamy* says, † That he died September 1657. But that must be a Mistake, Mr. *Anthony Wood*’s Account is more probable. § That he lost the Mastership of Peterhouse, and All Hallows Breadstreet in London, after the King’s Return, ‘ and that he lived afterwards a Nonconformist mostly in *Warwick Court*, ‘ near *Warwick Lane* in London, and died about the ‘ 9th of September 1675, much lamented by the Brethren, in regard he was a learned Man.

N. p. 123. Dr. *John Arrowsmith* was Fellow of King’s Hall, and of an unexceptionable Character for Learning and Piety: He was an acute Disputant, and judicious Divine, as appears by his *Tactica Sacra*, a Book of great Reputation in those Times.

* *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 806. † *Calamy’s Abridgment*, Vol. 2. p. 17. 2d Edit.
§ *Wood’s Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 593. 2d. Edit.

Dr. *Arrowsmith* was fellow of || *Katbarine Hall*, [no such Place at that Time as *King's Hall*, tho' there was such a *Hall* before *Trinity College* was founded by *Henry the Eighth*, which is now part of that College. See *Fuller's History of Cambridge*, p. 121.] And had our learned Historian added to the aforesaid Character of him, that he was an eminent Preacher, and famed for his Flowers of *Rhetorick*, I could have help'd him to Passages in Support of such an Assertion.

* You have endeavoured, (says he) to fence this Vineyard with a settled Militia, to gather out Malignants as Stones, to plant it with Men of Piety and Truth, as choyce Vines, to build the Tower of a powerful Ministry in the midst of it, and to make a Wine Press for the squeezing of Malignants.

† The main Work of the Spirit of Grace is to negotiate the Treaty of a Match betwixt the Lord *Jesus* and the Coy-Souls of Men.

§ 'Tis a spiritual Affection that hath the Holy Ghost for its Father, Faith for its Mother, Prayer for its Midwife, the Word for its Nurse, Sincerity for its Keeper, and Trembling for its Handmaid.

* After some Overtures of a Match in the Reign of King *Henry the Eighth*, the Reformed Church in this Kingdome was solemnly married to *Jesus Christ*, when the Sceptre was sway'd by *Edward the Sixth*: That Godly young Prince (as became the Bridegroom's Friend) rejoycing greatly, because of the *Bridegroom's* Voice: The famous nine and thirty

|| Dr. *Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge*, p. 170.

* Preface to *John Arrowsmith's* Fast Sermon before the Commons at their late solemn Fast, Jan. 25, 1642, entitled, *The Covenant avenging Sword brandished*, Publ. Libr. Cambridge, Vol. 2. p. 358.

† Sermon. p. 20. Vol. 2. 382.

§ *Arrowsmith's* Thanksgiving Sermon before the two Houses, &c. March 12, 1644. entitled *England's Eben-Ezer*, p. 32. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, Vol. 6. p. 32, &c.

* *John Arrowsmith's* Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, Jan. 27, 1646-7. Intituled, *A great Wonder in Heaven*, p. 35. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, Vol. 10. p. 114.

• Articles

Articles of her Confession then framed, were an evident Sign of her *being with Child*, and that a thorow *Reformation* was then *conceived*, though but *conceived*. Many and sore were the breeding Fits she conflicted with in *Queen Mary's* Days, and such as gave Occasion to fear that she would have *miscarried*. But God sent her Ease from Heaven under the succeeding Princes. In which Condition she went on for a long while, drawing on still nearer and nearer *her Time*. Six Years agoe, after this Parliament had sat, whilest it was generally believed that she was fallen *into her Travel*. And in the midst of all those Sorrows which have befallen *England* since, her Friends encouraged themselves with this Hope, that the *quicker and sharper her Pains grew*, the liker she was to be speedily *delivered of that Man-Child*, which was by them so greedily expected. But behold, as if these had been but Forerunners of her *Labour*, not *bearing Throws*, she continues still in *Pain*: Inso- much, as they now begin to think, she has not *gone her full Time*, and earnestly to desire she may; because they fear nothing more than an *abortive Reformation*. † Our Church's Condition, says he, being such as hath been described.— She makes her special Addresses to you, *Honorable Senators*, whom God hath now called to the *Midwife's Office*. No loving Neighbour but would rise at Midnight to help a poor Woman in *Travell*; no tender *Christian* but would put on Bowels of Mercy towards a Church in such a Case. O what Care! what Bowels! what Help is expected from you, who above all Men are bound with all your Might and Skill to promote the Birth of *such a Child*, as may cause the Woman to forget all her Sorrows!

Would you *obstetricate* as ye ought, I know ye will not think it Presumption in me, if I take the Liberty of offering two or three Things by way of humble Advice. First imitate *Tamar's* Midwife, *Gen. xxxviii. 27.*

† Id. ib. p. 37. and 116.

* The different Judgments of Professors throught
 * the Land shew, that our Church hath *Twins in her*
 * *Womb*. So much Truth as has been already owned
 * by Parliament, *Zarab* like hath put forth the
 * Hand, none can but say, that *this came out first*, for
 * you have marked it with the Scarlet Thread of a civil
 * Sanction.

N. p. 123. *Dr. Thomas Hill was Fellow of Emanuel College, and one of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was first constituted Master of Emanuel, and afterwards removed to Trinity College, where he employed all his Zeal upon the Advancement of Knowledge, and keeping up of College Exercises.*

How deserving this Gentleman was of these Preferments, his own Works sufficiently testify.

* * That we may have an incorrupt Religion, without sinful, without guileful Mixtures, not a *Linsley Woolsey* Religion, all new born Babes will desire—
 * *Word Milk, Sermon Milk*, without Guile, without adulterating Sophistication of it. —

* † What Pity is it that *Cathedral Societies*, which might have been Colledges of learned Presbyters for the feeding and ruling City Churches, and petty *Academys* to prepare Pastors for Neighbour-Places, should be often Sanctuaries for Non-Residents, and be made Nurseries to many such *Drones*, who can neither preach, nor pray, otherwise than *reade, say or sing their Prayers*, and in the mean Time Truth must be obscured in a *Non-Edifying Pomp* of Cere-
 * monious Services.

* § Behold with weeping Eyes the many hundred
 * Congregations in the Kingdome, where Millions of
 * Souls are like to perish for want of Vision; Truth
 * is sold from among them, either by *Soule-betraying*
 * *Non-Residents, Soul-poysoning Innovators, or Soul-*
 * *pinning dry Nurses*. In many Places the very Image
 * of *Jealousy*, the *Idol of the Masse* is set up; yea, the

* Mr. Tho. Hill's Fast Sermon before the Commons, July 27, 1642, p. 5. Vol. 1. of Assembly's Sermons, Publ. Libr. Cambridge. † Id. ib. p. 51. § Id. ib. p. 52.

' *Comedy of the Masse* acted, (because she wanteth the
' Light of Truth to discover the Wickedness and
' Folly of it.) * In many Miles not a Minister that
' can *preach*, and *live* Sermons. I wish every *Parlia-*
' *ment Man* had a Map of the *Soule-Misery* of the most
' of the ten thousand Churches and Chapels in Eng-
' land. —————

' † In the stead of the High Commission, which
' was a soule Scourge to many godly and faithful Mi-
' nisters, we have an *Honourable Committee*, that *turns*
' the *Wheel* upon such as are scandalous and unworthy.
' In the Room of *Jeroboam's Priests*, burning and
' shining Lights are multiplied in some *Dark Places*
' of the Land, which were full of the Habitations of
' Cruelty. In the Place of a *long Liturgy*, we are in
' Hopes of a *Pitby Directory*. Instead of *Prelatical*
' *Railes* about the Table, we have the *Scripture Railes*
' of *Church Discipline* in good Forwardness. Where
' *Popish Altars* and Crucifixes did abound, we begin
' to see more of *Christ crucified* in the Simplicity and
' Purity of his Ordinances. Instead of the *Prelates*
' *Oath*, to establish their own *exorbitant Power*, with
' the *Appurtenances*, we have a *Solemn League and Co-*
' *venant* with God, ingaging us to endeavour Refor-
' mation, according to his Word, yea and the *Extir-*
' *pation of Popery and Prelacy* itself.

N. p. 124. Dr. William Spurstow ——— was a Per-
son of good Learning, of a peaceable and quiet Disposi-
tion, and of great Humility and Charity.

And that he was a remarkable Preacher, appears
(I think) from the following Passages in one of his

* Id. ib. p. 53.

† *The Hill's Fast Sermon*, before the two Houses, August 13, 1644, p. 28. Publ.
Libr. Cambridge, Vol. 5. Mr. Birkenhead [Assembly-Man, p. 14.] giving a Char-
acter of the Members of that Assembly says. 'Because Scripture bids him not
' *curse the King in his Thought*, he does it in his Pulpit by word of Mouth; though
' Heaven strike him dumb in the very Act, as it did Hill at Cambridge, who while
' he prayed, *Depose him, O Lord, who would depose us*, was made the *Dumb Devil*.
' This (one would think) should gargle his foul Mouth. For his only Hope why
' God should hear him against the King is the Devil himself, (that great Assembler)
' was Heard against Job.

publick Sermons. ‘ § Fasting and Tears you shall find in Scripture to be like two Twins that cannot be separated, like a Pair of *Mournful Doves* that always accompany together.

‘ † If any of us have such black Days in our Calendars, such foul Sins in our private Registers, that may mind us what we have sometimes bin, let us as much as we can keep up the Apprehension of that Deformity, Uglinefs, Contrariety to the Law, which they seemed to have, when God first set them upon our Consciences. *The fresh Remembrance of Sin in this Kind; is like a Pea in an Issue, that keeps it open and makes it run.*

After he has flourished a little upon the State of Religion and Learning in the University of Cambridge, after it was purged by the Earl of *Manchester*, he gives us part of Dr. *Barwick*’s Account of the terrible State and Condition the University was then in, with the following wise Remark.

N. p. 128. *Such was the Rant of this Reverend Clergyman, such the Language and Spirit of the ejected Loy-
alists.*

Dr. *Barwick* lived in those Times, and sure, according to Mr. *Neal*’s usual Way of arguing, must be a more competent Judge of Facts done in his own Time, and within his View, than Mr. *Neal* can possibly be at this Distance. The Answer Dr. *Barwick* gives to this Question. “ If Posterity shall ask, who thrust out one of the Eyes of the Kingdome, &c. Mr. *Neal* has thought proper to drop short, and keep it put of View, which is as follows.
‘ || ’Tis quickly answered, Those who endeavouring

§ *William Spurflow*’s Fast Sermon before the Houses of Parliament, on Friday 21 of July 1643, p. 3. Publ. Libr. Cambridge, Vol. 3.

† Id. ib. p. 30. *Spurflow* was one of those two modest Gentlemen, [Yenkins the other] who told the King at the Treaty of *Newport*, ‘ That if he did not consent to the abolishing Episcopacy, he would be damned. And these Men, says Lord *Clarendon*, Vol. 3. p. 167.) lived after the Return of King *Charles* the second, and according to the Modesty of that Race of People, came to kiss his Majesty’s Hand, and continued the same Zeal in all seditious Attempts.’ Mr. *Neal*, I think, has endeavoured to invalidate the foregoing Account, but with what Success the Reader must be left to judge.

|| *Quench Cantabrig.* p. 27.

' to share three Crownes, and put them in their own
 ' Pockets, have transformed this free Kingdome into
 ' a large Gaole, to keep the Liberty of the Subject: They
 ' who maintain a hundred thousand Robbers and
 ' Murtherers by Sea and Land, to protect our Lives,
 ' and the Propriety of our Goods! that have gone
 ' a King-catching these six Years, hunting their most
 ' Gracious Sovereign, like a Partridge upon the Moun-
 ' tains, in his own Defence; they who have possessed
 ' themselves of his Majesty's Towns, Navie, and Maga-
 ' zines, and robbed him of all his Revenues, to make
 ' him a Glorious King: Who have multiplied Oaths,
 ' Protestations, Vows, Leagues and Covenants for
 ' the Ease of tender Consciences: Filling all Pulpits
 ' with Jugglers for the Cause, Canting Sedition, Athe-
 ' isme and Rebellion, to root out Popery and Babylon,
 ' and settling the Kingdome of Christ: Who from a
 ' trembling Guilt of a legal Trial, have engaged three
 ' flourishing Kingdomes, and left them weltring in
 ' their own Blood: They (lastly) which when they
 ' had glutted themselves with Spoyl and Rapine,
 ' hissed for a *Forraigne Viper* to eat up the Bowels of
 ' their dear Mother. The very same have stopt the
 ' Mouth of all Learning (following herein the Ex-
 ' ample of their elder Brother the *Turke*) lest any
 ' should be wiser then themselves, or Posterity know
 ' what a World of Wickedness they have committed.

N. p. 137. But after all, it was a hard Case on both
 Sides; the Incumbents thought it hard to be obliged to all
 the Duties of their Place, and another run away with
 the fifth of the Profit, at a time when the Value of
 Church Lands was considerably lessen'd by the Neglect of
 Tillage, and exorbitant Taxes were laid upon all Necessa-
 ries of Life.

A hard Case indeed, that the rightful Owner, who
 was never legally dispossest'd, should demand the fifth
 Part allowed him by an Ordinance of the Members
 at Westminster from the unlawful Intruder, who had
 neither a legal nor equitable Right to one single Far-
 thing.

C H A P. IV.

MR. Neal in the Beginning of this Chapter gives an Account of the several Parties in the Assembly of Divines, Presbyterians, Erastians, and Independents.

N. p. 141. *The distinguishing Opinions of the last, he says, he shall draw from their Apologetical Narration published at this Time [1644] and presented to the House of Commons.*

*Twas published in the Year 1643, as appears from the Title, as follows. * *An Apologetical Narration, humbly submitted to the Honourable Houses of Parliament. By Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jer. Burroughes, Sidrach Sympson. London printed for Robert Dawlman 1643, containing thirty one Pages in Quarto.*

N. p. 149. *The first Thing that came upon the Carpet, [viz. with the Assembly of Divines] was the Ordination of Ministers; which was the more necessary, because the Bishops refused to ordain any who were not in the Interest of the Crown.*

The Bishops were prevented from ordaining by the Rabble.

† After the Covenant was appointed to be taken, (says Bishop Hall) and was generally swallowed of both Clergy and Laity, my Power of Ordination was with some strange Violence restrained; for when I was going on in my wonted Course, (which no Law or Ordinance had inhibited) certain forward Volunteers in the City banding together stir up the Mayor, and Aldermen, and Sheriff, to call me to an Account for an open Violation of their Covenant. To this Purpose divers of them came to my Gates at a very unseasonable Time, and knocking very vehemently, required to speak with the Bishop; Mel-

* Publick Library Cambridge, Class. 19. 7. 2.

† Bishop Hall's Hard Measure, p. 60. 61.

' sages were sent to them to know their Business, no-
 ' thing would satisfy them but the Bishop's Presence.
 ' At last I came down to them, and demanded what
 ' the Matter was; they would have the Gate opened,
 ' and then they would tell me. I answered, that I would
 ' know them better first; if they had any thing to say
 ' to me, I was ready to hear them; they told me they
 ' had a Writing to me from Mr. Mayor, and some
 ' other of their Magistrates; the Paper contained both
 ' a Challenge of me for breaking the Covenant, in
 ' ordaining Ministers, and withall required me to give
 ' in the Names of those that were ordained by me,
 ' both then, and formerly since the Covenant. My
 ' Answer was, that Mr. Mayor was much abused by
 ' those who had misinformed him, and drawn that
 ' Paper from him, that I would the next Day give a
 ' full Answer to the Writing; they moved, that
 ' my Answer might be by my personal Appearance at
 ' the Guild-Hall. I ask'd them whenever they heard
 ' of a Bishop of *Norwich* appearing before a Mayor;
 ' I knew my own Place, and would take that way of
 ' Answer which I thought fit, and so dismissed them,
 ' who had given out that Day, That had they known
 ' before of myne *ordaining*, they would have pull'd me,
 ' and those I *ordained* out of the Chappell by the Ears.

Mr. Neal from the Preface to the Directory, gives
 the Reasons why the old Liturgy was laid aside, one
 of which as follows.

*N. p. 154. In the mean Time the Papists have made their
 Advantage this Way, boasting that the Common Prayer
 Book came up to a Compliance with a great Part of their
 Service, by which Means they were not a little confirmed
 in their Idolatry and Superstition, especially of late, when
 new Ceremonies were daily obtruded on the Church.*

* If any Man (says Bishop Hall) will now say,
 ' that our *Prayer Book* is taken out of the *Mass*, let
 ' him know, that the *Mass* rather was cast out of our
 ' *Prayer Book*, into which it was injuriously and im-

* Bishop Hall's Tract intitled, *For Episcopacy and Liturgy*. Remaining Works,
 &c. Printed 1660, p. 423.

‘ piously intruded: The Good of those Prayers are
 ‘ ours in the Right of *Christians*, the Evil that was in
 ‘ them, let them take as their own.

‘ And if it should have been as they imagine, let
 ‘ them know, that we have departed from the Church
 ‘ of *Rome* but in those Things, wherein they have de-
 ‘ parted from Christ, what good Things they have is
 ‘ ours still; that Scripture which they have, that
 ‘ Creed which they profess is ours, neither will we
 ‘ part with it for their Abuse.

‘ If a Piece of Gold be offered us, will we not take
 ‘ it, because it was taken out of the Channell? If the
 ‘ Devil had given a Confession of Christ, and said, I
 ‘ know who thou art, even *Jesus the Son of the living*
 ‘ *God*, shall not I make this Confession, because it
 ‘ came out of the Devil’s Mouth? Alas we shall be
 ‘ herein very injurious both to our selves, and to God,
 ‘ whose every holy Truth is.

‘ This then is the Form which hath been compiled
 ‘ by learned and holy Divines, by blessed Martyrs
 ‘ themselves, who used it comfortably, and blessed
 ‘ God for it.

N. p. 164. *Before we leave the Assembly for this*
Year [1644.] it will be proper to take notice, that it was
honoured with the Presence of Charles Lewis Elektor
Palatine of the Rhine, eldest Son of Fredrick, &c. King
of Bohemia.

This he has told us before, p. 81. and I cannot see
 that he had any Reason to repeat it, unless it was to
 make way for some ill natured Reflections upon King
Charles, and an Encomium upon his darling Common-
 wealth at *Westminster*.

I find by the following Message mentioned by
Whitlock, that they themselves at first were a little
 jealous of him.

‘ † A Message of Compliment was sent to the
 ‘ *Prince Elektor*, and likewise to acquaint his *Highness*
 ‘ That the Parliament conceiv’d, that his Residence
 ‘ at this Time in foreign Parts might be of greater

† *Whitlock’s Memorials*, Edit. 1682, p. 97.

Advantage to the Publick." " Indeed (says *Whitlock*) the Parliament were jealous, considering his near Relation to the King, and the Engagements of his Brothers in the King's Service, that the *Prince Elector* would doe no good Offices for the Parliament.' But I find by the Elector's Answer, mentioned in the same Place in *Whitlock*, and Mr. *Neal*, p. 65. all Things were set right.

But how, I pray, was this Answer consistent with the Duty owing to King *Charles* the best of Men, and to whom he lay under more than common Obligations? Lord *Clarendon* observes, ' * That the Arrival of the Prince Elector at *London*, was no less the Discourse of all Tongues than the Death of Mr. *Pym*. He had been in *England* before the Troubles, and was received and cherished by the King with great Demonstrations of Grace and Kindness, and supplied with a Pension of twelve thousand Pounds Sterling yearly. When the King left *London*, he attended his Majesty to *York*, and resided there with him, till the Differences grew so high, that his Majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an Army for his Defence. Then on the suddain, without giving the King many Days notice of his Resolution, that Prince left the Court; and taking the Opportunity of an ordinary Vessel, embarked himself for *Holland*, to the Wonder of all Men; who thought it an unreasonable Declaration of his Fear at least of the Parliament, and his Desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteemed not the King as they should. And this was the more spoken of when it was afterwards known, that the Parliament expressed a good Sense of his having deserted the King, and imputed it to his Conscience, " That he knew of some such Designs of his Majesty as he could not comply with." At this Time, after many loud Discourses of his coming (which were derived to *Oxford*, as somewhat that might have an Influence upon his

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 355.

‘ Majesty’s Counfels, there being then feveral Whifpers of fome high Proceedings they intended againft the King) he arrived fafe at *London*, and was received with Ceremony; lodged in *Whiteball*, and order taken for the Payment of that Pension which had formerly been affigned to him by his Majesty.

Mr. *Whitlock* informs us, ‘ That * the *Prince Elector* in a Letter to both Houfes, declares the Content and Satisfaction he takes in the *Covenant*, and wifhes Succels to their Proceedings, in Purfuance of that *loyal and pious Covenant*; nay, that he had fome Regard to the Members at *Westminfter*, appears in my Opinion but too plain from two original Letters referred to in the † *Appendix*.

N. p. 166. *The Parliament ordered an Apartment to be fitted up for the Prince, and voted him eight thoufand Pounds a Year for his Maintenance, and ten thoufand to his Royal Mother, till he fhould be reftored to his Ele&torate.* *Hift. Stuarts*, p. 279.

And pray, what did he himfelf gain by this? King *Charles* allowed him 12000 *l. per Annum*, as has been obferved before from Lord *Clarendon*. The Members at *Westminfter* allowed him but eight thoufand, and † that was ill paid. Mr. *Neal* from the *History of the Royal Houfe of Stuart*, has placed the Vote for it, under the Year 1644, when it is plain that it was firft ordered in *October* 1645 §.

* *Whitlock’s Memorials*, p. 79.

† *Appendix*, No. 48, 49. *Arthur Trevor* in a Letter to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, *Oxford* 9 *March* 1643. [Letters concerning State Affairs, No. 247. p. 259.] has the following Words. ‘ The eldeft Brother of Prince *Rupert* hath written to the Parliament in *England*, much approved the prefent Work, with offer to take the *Covenant*, and juftify it with his Blood; and fome fay Prince *Maurice*’s Mother is coming to *Whiteball* to the fame Purpofe. When King *Charles* the fecond refided at *Colegn*, Lord *Clarendon* obferves, [Vol. 3. p. 424.] ‘ That the *Ele&tor Palatine* fo allied to the Crown, and fo much obliged by it, did not think fit to take notice of the King’s being fo near him, or to fend a Meflenger to falute him. Nay, we are told by Mr. *Ecbard*, that in the Year 1646, ‘ When Prince *Rupert* and Prince *Maurice* had Paffes granted them to go beyond the Seas: before their Departure by the Parliament’s Leave, they had a Vifit thruft upon them by their elder Brother the Prince *Ele&tor*, all this Time joining with the Parliament, which they received with Scorn. *Hift. of England*, Vol. 2. p. 555. See likewife *Salmon’s Chronological Hiftorian*, p. 94.

‡ *Appendix* No. 50. § *Append. ibid.* See likewife *Append. No. 51.*

N. p. 167. *The Solemn League and Covenant was in such high Repute at this Time, that by an Order of the House of Commons, Jan 29, 1644, it was appointed, that on every Fast Day, and Day of publick Humiliation, the Covenant should be publickly read in every Church and Congregation within the Kingdome.*

All this is true, and if Mr. Neal wants Authorities in Proof, the following ones may be of use to him.

‘ Such an Oath this is (says Nye in his Exhortation at the taking of the Covenant, *Sept. 25, 1643, p. 1.*)
 ‘ for Matter, and other Circumstances, the like hath
 ‘ not been in any Age, or Oath we read of in sacred
 ‘ or human Stories, yet sufficiently warranted by both.
 ‘ The Parties engaging in this League are three King-
 ‘ domes, famous for the Knowledge and Acknow-
 ‘ ledgment of Christ above all the Kingdomes in the
 ‘ World.

‘ * See that the *Covenant*, (says one) be both taken
 ‘ and performed.— It is the Covenant of the most
 ‘ High God, who will be much provoked sure with
 ‘ the Neglect of it.— You have holden forth a pious
 ‘ Example in entring into our Solemn League and
 ‘ Covenant for Reformation ; like the honoured Prince
 ‘ *Josiah*, and that with the same Sincerity. Oh !
 ‘ accompany that King one Step farther, in causing
 ‘ all in *Jerusalem*, and *Benjamin* to make it, and stand
 ‘ to it, when they have made it.

‘ † *England* shall be *England*, or a *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, according as it keeps or breaks the Covenant.

‘ § A Covenant is a Golden Girdle to tie us fast to
 ‘ God, it is a joining and glewing our selves to the
 ‘ Lord : It is a binding our selves Apprentice to God :
 ‘ It is not only commendable, but very necessary,
 ‘ (and for this Cause you are met here this Day) to
 ‘ enter into a Bond a second time, to bind and enroll

* *John Strickland's* Sermon before the Lords, November 5, 1644, p. 5. *Assembly's Sermons*, vol. 5. p. 681. Publ. Libr. Cambr.

† *Lazarus Seaman's* Fast Sermon before the Commons, September 25, 1644. P. 55. *Assembly's Sermons*, Vol. 5. p. 422.

§ *Edm. Calamy's* Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Jan. 14, 1645, intitled, *The great Danger of Covenant refusing; and Covenant breaking*, p. 2.

‘ your selves again unto the Lord, to make up this
 ‘ Hedge, to tie this Golden Girdle, and to join and
 ‘ glue your selves once more unto the Lord in a per-
 ‘ petual Covenant never to be forgotten.

‘ * You should take it a second time, because of the
 ‘ many Glorious Deliverances and Salvations which
 ‘ God has vouchsafed us: For since *June* last, we
 ‘ have had about sixty considerable Blessings or
 ‘ Mercies; which all are as sixty Arguments to call
 ‘ upon us to renew our Thankfulness, and our Cove-
 ‘ nant also.

‘ † There are two Sorts of Covenants, *Devilish* and
 ‘ *Hellish* Covenants, and *Godly* and *Religious* Cove-
 ‘ nants. First there are *Devilish* and *Hellish* Cove-
 ‘ nants, such as the *Holy League*, such as our Gun-
 ‘ Powder Treason; such are our *Oxford* Covenants
 ‘ for the Destruction of the Parliament and Godly
 ‘ Partie. Secondly, there are *Godly* and *Religious*
 ‘ Covenants, such as this which you are met to take
 ‘ this Day.

‘ I may add, that if it be faithfully and fully kept, it
 ‘ will make the Devils in Hell to tremble, as fear-
 ‘ ing that their Kingdom will not long stand. ‘ § On
 ‘ our Parts, when we take the Covenant, we make
 ‘ a Delivery of our Bodies and Souls into the Hands of
 ‘ God. We alienate our selves from our selves, and make
 ‘ a Deed of Gift of our selves, and give the Lock and
 ‘ Key of Head, Heart and Affections to the Lord.

‘ || The Consideration of our often breaking our
 ‘ National Covenant, which we come this Day to re-
 ‘ new, is a Sin in Folio, a Sin of a high Nature; and
 ‘ if ever God awaken Conscience in this Life, a Sin
 ‘ that will lie like a heavy *Incuba* upon it; a greater
 ‘ Sin than a Sin against a Commandment, or against
 ‘ an Ordinance; a Sin not only of Disobedience, but
 ‘ Perjury; a Sin of Injustice, a spiritual Adultery; a
 ‘ Sin of Sacrilege; a Sin that not only brings Dam-
 ‘ nation upon us, but casts such a horrible Disgrace and

‘ Id. ib. p. 3. † Id. ib. p. 7. § Id. ib. p. 19. *penes me.* || Id. ib. p. 32.

Reproach upon God, that it cannot stand with God's Honour not to be revenged of a Covenant Breaker.

* You made the solemn League and Covenant, and sent it to us to espouse us, that we might send it to you to espouse you; and it was sent and prevailed mightily, as an Instrument of War, even as the *Jaw-Bone* which *Sampson* slew the *Philistines* with, as the *Ram's Horn* that blew down the Walls of *Jericho*; but now you have suffered this *Jaw Bone* to be taken away, and this Horn of your Salvation to depart from *Israel*, and to be prophanelly used like unto the Horn of a Sow-Gelder.

Dr. *Hickes* observes, that some of the *Zealots* of the Partie spoke of it in the following manner.

† That it was Christ's Marriage Contract, that to act against it, was to doe Despight to the Holy Ghost; That it obliges the People, as much as the *Mosaic* Covenant obliged the *Jews*; That all Acts of Parliament against it are damnable; That to break it is to revolt from God; That it obliges Children in the Loins of their Parents, who ought to baptize their Children into it. And § Dr. *Patrick* informs us, That Mr. *Cafe* in his Sermons upon the Covenant told the People, *they must take it*, tho' they did not understand it. Nay, Mr. *Corbet* an eminent *Scotch Divine* tells us, || That the *Scots* in their Answer to the Marquiss

* Remonstrance of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to their Presbyterian Brethren in England, under Persecution, 1652. and 'twas complained in the *Petition of Right*, Anno 3tio *Caroli* [See Note to Sect. 2. of *Oxford Reasons* against the Covenant] ' That whereas many of them had an Oath administred unto them, not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; they do humbly pray, that no Man hereafter be compelled to take such an Oath.— All which they most humbly pray—as their Rights and Libertys, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm; and 'twas declared 16 Jan. 1642, that the King cannot compel Men to be sworn without an Act of Parliament (*Husband's exact Collection*, 4to. Edit. p. 859, 860. *Oxford Reasons* *ibid.*) and yet these Gentlemen had the Modesty to enjoin, that every one should subscribe this iniquitous Covenant.

† Dr. *Hickes's* 30th of January Serm. *Hickes's* Sermons, Vol. 1. p. 254.

§ Continuation of the Friendly Debate, p. 13.

|| *Lyfmacbus Nicanor*, &c. p. 53. *penes me.* *Oxford Reasons* against the Covenant, 341. Colonel *Overton* speaking of the Presbyterian [Arraignment of Persecution, Ep. Ded. See *Oxford Reasons* against the Covenant,] says, ' He can invent Oaths and Covenants for the Kingdom, dispencc with them when he pleaseth. swear and forswear as the Wind turneth like a Godly Presbyterian; and Becanus the Jesuit

- Marquiss of *Hamilton's* Declaration, broached this
- notable Piece of Equivocation. That the Swearer
- was not bound to the Meaning of the Prescriber of
- the Oath, nor to his own Meaning, but was obliged
- to the Reality, *Rei Juratae*.

N. p. 168. *This Year it [viz. Christmas Day] happening on the Monthly Fast, so that either the Fast or Feast must be omitted, the Parliament after some Debate thought it most agreeable to the present Circumstances of the Nation, to go on with Fasting and Prayer.*

And no Doubt is to be made, but in Mr. Neal's Opinion they were in the right, whether they had a competent Authority for it or no. The Observation of *Christmas* Day was appointed by * Statute; and what Authority the Members that remained at *Westminster* had to set it aside by an † Ordinance, and without the Concurrence of their Royal Sovereign, I am at a Loss to understand.

The learned Members of the University of Oxford were in a different way of thinking from Mr. Neal.

1st. We have been brought up in a Belief (say they) [in their *Reasons of the present Judgment of that University, concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, &c.* 1647, p. 26.] * That for making of Laws, the actual Royal § Assent was simply necessary, and not only a virtual Assent supposed to be included in the Votes

[*Jesuit lib. 5. Manual. Controvers. 14 Cap. No. 4 and 6.*] is very severe upon the Calvinists. *Calvinistæ nullam servant fidem: suorum axioma est, Juro, Perjura:—Lutherani moderatores sunt.* p. 700. Edit. 1638.

* 5, 6. *Edw. 6. Cap. 3.* Bishop of London's Codex, p. 277.

† Mr. Birkenhead (in his Tract intitled, *Paul's Church Yard, Cent. 1. Class. 42 No. 99.*) puts the following Query. * Whether the Parliament had not Cause to forbid *Christmas*, when they found their printed Acts under so many *Christmas* Pies? And in another Place, [Cent. ii. Class. ix. No. 175.] Whether Master Peters did justly preach against *Christmas* Pies, the same Day he eat two minced Pies to his Dinner?

§ Their Note. * The old Forms of Acts of Parliament were, *The King willeth, provideth, ordaineth, establisheth, granteth, &c.* by the Assent of Parliament, &c. See Statutes Titt. 1. H. 4. After that, *The King by the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the special Instance and Request of the Commons of this Realm hath ordained, &c.* See Statutes 1. H. 4. Titt. 1. H. 7. A Form of such Petition of the Commons, Sect. 1. R. 3. 6. *Prayer of the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That where, &c. Please it therefore your Highness by the Advice and Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this your present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, to ordain, &c.*

of the two Houses, otherwise what Use can be made of his negative Voice, or what need to desire his Royal Assent to that, which may as well be done without it ?

2. The Statute (33. H. 1. 21.) ' Providing, That the King's Assent to any Bill signified under his Great Seal, shall be to all Intents of Law as valid and effectual, as if he were personally present, doth clearly import, That as to the Effect of making a Law, the King's Power is not otherwise really present with the two Houses, then it appeareth either in his Person, or under his Seal: Any other real Presence is to us a Riddle, not much unlike that of *Transubstantiation*: An imaginary thing rather devised to serve Turns, then believed by those that are content to make use of it.

3. ' Such Presence of the King there, when it shall be made appear to us, either from the Writs, whereby the Members of both Houses are called together, or by the standing Laws of the Land, or by the acknowledged Judgement and continued Practice of former and later Ages, or by any Express from the King himself, clearly declaring his Mind to that Purpose.

' No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or Edict of Law, altho' both the Houses agree unanimously in it, till it hath the Royal Assent. *Ancient Customs*, p. 54.

' We admit no Acts of Parliament are compleat, or formally binding, without the King's Assent, *H. P. Answer to David Jenkins*, p. 6.

And as to desiring his Royal Assent. ' Which if your Majesty shall please to adorn with your Majesty's Royal Assent, without which it can never be compleat nor perfect, nor——Stat. 1. Jac. 1.

The Writer of the Letter to the Earl of Pembroke, concerning the Times, printed 1647, (p. 10. *penes me*) speaking of what Mr. Neal calls the Parliament, has the following Words. ' Some say they are no more a Parliament, than a Pye-Powder Court, at *Bartolomew Fair*, there being all the Essentials of a Parliament wanting in this, as Fairness of Elections, Freedom of Speech, Fulness of Members, nor have they any Head at all: besides, they have broken all the fundamental Rules and Privileges of Parliament, and dishonoured that High Court, more than any thing else: They have ravished *Magna Charta*, which they are sworn to maintain, taken away our Birthright, and transgressed all the Laws of Heaven and Earth. Lastly, They have most perjuriously betrayed the Trust the King reposed in them, the Trust their Country reposed in them. So that if Reason and Law were now in date, by the Breach of their Privileges, and by betraying the double Trust that has been put in them, they have dissolved themselves *ipso facto* I cannot tell how many thousand Times, notwithstanding that monstrous Act of the King's, that fatal Act of Continuance.

* We shall then, as becometh us, acknowledge the same, and willingly submit thereunto.

N. p. 169. *Mr. Edmund Calamy in his Sermon before the House of Commons on this Day, has these Expressions, This Day has commonly been called Christmasc-Day, a Day that has heretofore been much abused to Superstition and Profaneness; this Year God, by his Providence, has turned this Feast into a Fast, and I hope it will never rise again.*

How consistent this celebrated Divine was with himself, the Authorities referred to in the Margin sufficiently prove. * We are told (say they) that when * *Priests* did bear Rule, he obeyed the Laws, Canons, * *Injunctions, Orders, Ceremonys,* (we say, not only * *wearing the Surplice, reading the Service Book,* * *and crossing in Baptism, which many honest and* * *godly Ministers in those dark Days did likewise perform)* but reading the Service at the High-Altar, * *preaching in a Surplice and Tippet, bowing at the* * *Name of Jesus;* and so zealous an Observer of Times, * *and Seasons, that being sick and weak upon Christmasc-Day, yet with much Difficulty he got into the Pulpit,* * *declaring himself there, to this Purpose, That he* * *thought himself bound in Conscience to preach,* * *lest the Stones of the Walls should cry out against him.* * *And Colonel Overton an Independent, calls Mr. Calamy, † A Man newly metamorphosed by a Figure,* * *which Rhetoricians call Metonymia Beneficii, from* * *Episcopacy to Presbytery.*

* Looking Glas for Schismatics, or the true Picture of Fanaticism, &c. 1725 p. 88. from Tracts intituled, *Pulpit Incendiary*, p. 7. *Presbyterian unmask'd* p. 158. *Mercurius Menippeus: Or, Loyal Satyrists*, p. 6. *penes me.*

† Arraignment of Persecution, p. 16. *penes me.* * A Foot-ball (says the Author of the *Loyal Satyrists*, p. 6. *penes me*) is as much followed as Calamy by all * *his Rampant, Dog-day Zealots;* but 'tis worth the crowding to hear the Baboon * *expound, like the Ape taught to play upon the Cittern. You would think the* * *Church as well as Religion were inverted, and the Anticks which were used* * *to be without, were removed into the Pulpit. Yet these apish Tricks must be the* * *Motion of the Spirit. His Whimsy Megrim must be an Extasy——— Thus* * *among Turks, Dizziness is a divine Trance, Changelings and Ideots are the chiefest* * *Saints, and 'tis the great Sign of Revelation to be out of one's Wits.*

CHAP. V.

Abstract of the Trial of Archbishop Laud, and the Treaty of Uxbridge.

WE now come to the Tryal of that excellent Prelate Archbishop *Laud*, whose Memory I am assured will live, whilst that of his Accusers and Detractors shall sink into Oblivion.

The Articles of the *Scots* against him, Mr. *Neal* has favour'd us with, in his former Volume, but generally without the Archbishop's Answers, which were a full Confutation of all they objected, as I have already observed in its proper Place. And I fear we shall not find him much more candid in the Account of his Trial; for he sets out but indifferently; and though he has given us the Articles (as he pretends) from Mr. *Pryn*, * yet he has very much curtailed them, as the Reader may be convinced, by referring to Mr. *Pryn*'s Book, where he will find him likewise to have misplaced an Article or two, but that is of no great Moment. He informs us p. 173. that *he omits the Charge of the Scotch Commissioners, because the Archbishop pleaded the Act of Oblivion*. I readily own he did, and as readily retract a Mistake in my Answer to his former Volume, (p. 218.) which I assure him was involuntary. 'It was resolved, says the Archbishop, (Troubles and Trial p. 411.) in the House of Commons, that according to my Plea I should enjoy the Benefit of the Act of Oblivion, and not be put to answer the 13th original Article concerning the *Scotch* Business. And truly I bless God for it, I did not desire the Benefit of that Act, for any Sense of Guiltiness I had in my self, but in Consideration of the Times, and the Malice of the now potent Faction, which being implacable towards me, I could not think it Wisdom to lay by any such Power, as might help to secure me.

* *Prynne's Canterbury's Dcom*, p. 41.

N. p. 173. *The Lords ordered the Archbishop to deliver in his Answer to the above-mentioned Articles in three Weeks, which he did, but took no notice of the original ones.*

The first Order of the Lords was 23d October 1643. by which he was ordered to give in his Answer the 30th of that Month. Upon the Archbishop's Petition for a longer Time, by a second Order of the 24th of October, ' they gave him till Monday the * sixth of November.' Upon a second Petition for more time, they granted him till the † 13th of November.

N. p. 175. *The Trial was deferred all the Month of February as the Archbishop insinuates, because Mr. Pryn was not ready with his Witnesses.*

§ Nor did I wrong (says the Archbishop) Mr. Pryn, where I say, ' That for all the haste to put in my Answer, Jan. 22. he could not make his broken Business so soon ready against me: For 'tis well known, he kept a kind of School of Instruction for such of the Witnesses as he durst trust, that they might be sure to speak home to the Purpose he would have them. And this an Utter Barrister, a Man of good Credit knows, who in the hearing of Men beyond Exception, said, *The Archbishop is a Stranger to me, but Mr. Pryn's tampering about the Witnesses is so palpable and foul, that I cannot but pity him, and cry Shame of it.* When I heard this, I sent to this Gentleman to know, if he tendred my Case so far, as to Witness it before the Lords. The Answer I received was, That the Thing was true, and that very Indignation of it made him speak; but heartily prayed me, I would not produce him as a Witness, for if I did, the Times were such, he should be utterly undone; and 'tis not hard to guess by whom. Upon this I consulted some Friends; and upon regard of his Safety on the one side, and my own Doubts left if forced to his undoing, he might through Fear blanch and mince the Truth, to my

* *Id. Ib.* † *Id. p. 42.* § The History of the Archbishop's Troubles and Trial, p. 219.

own Prejudice, who produced him, I forbore the Business, and left Mr. Pryn to the Bar of Christ, whose Mercy give him Repentance, and amend him. But upon my Christianity this Story is Truth. N. p. 175. *When it came on Lord Grey of Warke, Speaker of the House of Lords, was appointed President; but the Archbishop complained that there were seldom above sixteen or eighteen Peers present at a Time.*

* And though my Hopes, under God (says the Archbishop) were upon the Lords, yet when my Tryal came on, it did somewhat trouble me, to see so few Lords in that great House; for at the greatest Presence that was any Day at my hearing, there were not above fourteen, and usually not above eleven or twelve. Of these, one third Part at least each Day took, or had occasion to be gone, before the Charge of the Day was half given. I had never had any one Day the same Lords all present at my Defence in the Afternoon, that came at my Charge in the Morning, some leading Lords scarce present at my Charge four Days of all my long Tryal, nor three at my Defence. And which is most, not one Lord present at my whole Tryal, but the Right Honourable the Lord Grey of Wark, the Speaker, without whose Presence it could not be a House. In this Case I stood with regard to my Honourable Judges.

After having terribly curtailed the Archbishop's Speech in Answer to Serjeant Wild's Charge; he tells us, N. p. 178. *That it was observed by some, that if the passionate Expressions of this Speech had been a little qualified, they would have obtained more Credit with his Grace's Judges.*

And granting all this to be true (as in Reality it is not) the severest Expressions in Answer to so foul moutb'd an Impeacher as Serjeant Wild, must be in some measure justifiable; but I can find nothing in it that was unbecoming that great Prelate to speak, or that Assembly to hear. This however must go under the Title of *passionate Expressions*, when the most bitter In-

* Troubles and Tryal, p. 217, 218.

vectives of Serjeant *Wild* shall be termed a *smart Speech*. Such Partiality is rarely to be met with in any one who lays claim to the Title of an Historian. Take a Specimen or two of Serjeant *Wild's smart Speech* from Mr. *Pryn*, * If (says he) all the Oppressions, all the pernicious Practices and Machinations, which have been in each Time to ruinate our Religion, Laws, and Libertys were lost, I think here they might be found, and drawn out to the Life— Had they been Faults of common Frailty, Error, or Incogitancy, which this Man hath committed, we should gladly have stept back, and † cast a Cloke over them, but being so wilful, so universal, so destructive to the Laws of God and Man, so comprehensive of all the Evils and Miserys which we now suffer, the Sin would lye upon our own Heads if we should not call for Justice.

After abundance of rant of this Kind, he Uses those Words in Mr. *Neal*, * *Naaman* was a great Man but he was a *Leaper*; and adds, || This Man's *Leap* hath so infected all, as there remains no other Cure but the § Sword of Justice; which we doubt not your Lordships will so apply, that the Commonwealth shall yet again flourish.

N. p. 179. *In further Maintenance of this Part of their Charge, the Managers produced two Speeches, which his Grace framed for the King, &c.——In which Passages were sundry Passages tending to set up an absolute*

* *Pryn's Canterburies Doom*, p. 51.

† Oh the great Modesty of a *Republican Lawyer*, who is scarce to be match'd even in our own Times, in which by some 'tis deem'd a Mark of *Smartness* at least, to calumniate and revile the very best of our Prelates and Clergie, a Scurry Quality this, and what the Consequences of it may prove, God only knows; but by the way, it smells rank of the Spirit of 1641, and I pray God it may not produce the like Effects. || *Id.* p. 53.

†† Dr. *Heylin* observes [Life of *William* Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 515.] That there was one Passage in *Wilde's* Speech which was subject to some Misconstruction, and so interpreted by those, who had no good Affection to the Prisoner's Person: For having set forth his Offences in their foulest Colours, he seems to make a Wonder of it, that any Thing could be expected of the People, but that they should have been ready to have stoned him, as they did him that did but all the Part of Bellerophon at Rome; which Passage was interpreted for an Intimation to the *Rascal* Multitude, to save the Houses the Dishonour of putting him to Death in a Form of Law, by stoning him to Death, or tearing him in Pieces, or laying violent Hands upon him in some other way, as he passed between his Barge and the House of Peers.

Power in the King, and to make the calling of Parliaments in a manner useles. The King is made to say, That his Power only is from God, and to him only he is accountable for his Actions.

And allowing all this to be true, who could have discovered at that time any thing inconsistent with our Constitution, but the *smart* Serjeant *Wild*, and the quick-fighted Managers for the Members at *Westminster*; or in these Days, but the more quick-fighted Mr. *Neal*? I find this, and the like Passages, in the King's Speeches and Declarations well defended by a Writer who lived in those Times. *That the King oweth an Account of his Actions to none but God alone.* * For this (saith he) the King avoweth, but that which the † Law of *England* avoweth, and what all the *Monarchs* and States of *Christendome*, that have Sovereign and Supreme Power, will avow; and would punish as high and capital Offenders any that should avow the contrary.

§ No Act of Legislative Power (say the Members of the University of *Oxford*) in any Community (by Consent of all Nations) can be valid unless it be confirmed by such Person or Persons, as the Sovereignty of that Community resideth in. Which Sovereignty with us, so undoubtedly resideth in the Person of the King, that his ordinary Stile runneth, *our Sovereign Lord the King*; and he is in the Oath of Supremacy expressly acknowledged to be the only *Supreme Governour* within his Realmes. Nay in a Note, 'tis observed by them, 'That the Crown of *England* hath been so free at all Times, that it hath been in

* The Royal Apologie, p. 9. † Statute 24, *Hen. 8th*, Cap. 12. are these Words, 'Where by diverse sundry old authentick Histories and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realme of *England* is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the World, governed by one supreme Head and King, having the Dignity and Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown of the same—' And 1^o. *Eliz.* Cap. 3. There is nothing that wee your said Subjects can more firmly, entirely, and assuredly in the Purity of our Hearts thinke, or with our Mouths declare and confesse to be true, than that your Majesty our Sovereign Lady, is, and in very deed, and of most meer right ought to be by the Laws of God, and Laws and Statutes of this Realm, our most rightful and lawful Sovereign Leige-Lady, and Queen.

§ *Reasons of the Judgment of the University of Oxford, &c.*

‘ no earthly Subjection, but immediately to God in
 ‘ all Things touching the Regality of the said Crowne
 ‘ 16. R. 2. 5.

* *Bracton* a celebrated Lawyer whom all agree to have been an itinerant Judge in the latter End of *Henry the Third's* Reign [*Bishop Nicholson's Eng. Hist. Lib. Fol. p. 224.*] was of the same Opinion, and observes, that neither the Judges nor private Persons should take upon them to determine or dispute upon the *Charters* or *Actions of Kings*; and in another Place, † That every one is inferior to the King, and that he is subject to none but God only, and that he has not his Equal in the Kingdome, for if he had, by that means he would lose his Superiority.

N. *Ibid.* His Majesty bids the Commons remember, That Parliaments are altogether in his Power for their Calling, Sitting and Dissolution, and that according as they behaved themselves, they should continue or not be.

And pray was not that the King's Prerogative, when this Answer to the Remonstrance was drawn? and did it not continue so till that § fatal Act, by which he put it out of his Power to dissolve them? In what then was the Archbishop to blame, if we grant him to have been the Drawer of this Remonstrance?

In the Archbishop's Answer to the Charge of *Bribery*, where among other Gifts he is charged with

* *Bracton de Legibus & Consuetudinibus Angliæ Lib. 2. Cap. 16. §. 34. Ed. 4^{ta}. Londini, 1640. De Chartis vero Regis, & Factis Regum, non debent, nec possunt Iudicarii, nec private Personæ disputare.*

† *Bracton, Lib. 1. Cap. 8. §. v. Omnis quidem sub Rege est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo; parem autem non habet in regno suo. Cum sic amitteret præceptum, cum par in parem non habet imperium. Id. lib. Si autem ab eo petatur (cum Breve non currat contra ipsum) Locus erit Supplicationis, quod factum suum corrigat et emendet; quod quidem si non fecerit, satis sufficit ei ad penam quod Dominum expectet ultorem; nemo quidem de factis suis præsumat disputare, multo fortius contra factum suum venire. Id. L. 4. Cap. 24. §. iii. Dominus Rex habet ordinariam Jurisdictionem & Dignitatem, & Potestatem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt, ea quæ jurisdictionis & pacis, ad nullum pertinent nisi ad Coronam & Dignitatem Regiam, nec a Coronâ separari possunt.*

§ 'Tis doubted by the Writer of the Letter to the Earl of *Pembroke*, (1647. p. 11.) Whether 'twas in the King's Power to make them perpetual. ' Truly, my Lord, (says he) I am not to this Day satisfied of the Legality (though I am satisfied of the Forcibleness) of that Act, whether it was in his Majesty's Power to pass it or no; for the Law ever presupposeth the Clauses in all Concessions of Grace, in all Patents, Charters, and Grants whatsoever the King passeth, *Salvo Jure Regio, Salvo Jure Coronæ,*

taking

taking *two Butts of Sack*, for serving some *Chestermen*; tho' he gives us the Truth, he is far from giving us the whole Truth; even as set forth by the Archbishop in the very Places he referr'd to; (but 'twas not Mr. Neal's Business to produce too many Things in favour of the Archbishop) as the Reader may be convinced by examining the Authority referred to in the † Margin.

The several other Particulars relating to this Part of the Charge, and produced by the Managers for the Commons that staid at *Westminster*, tho' set in an unfair Light, are fully answered by the Archbishop: And as to Mr. Neal's learned Remarks, I can't but think, that in the Esteem of every Reader, who has the most slender Acquaintance with our Constitution, they will appear sufficiently to answer themselves.

As to the third general Charge of subverting Religion by setting up *Popish Superstition*; he has so disjointed both the Charge of the Commons, and the Archbishop's Reply, and patch'd up his Evidence in so odd a manner, that I shall find it a difficult Matter to put it together again. The Reader will be easily convinced of this by turning to the Places referred to in *Pryn*, and Archbishop *Laud's* Troubles and Tryal.

To the Case of Recorder *Saerfield*, &c. p. 196, 197, 198. I have already replied in my Answer to his second Part. And there is one thing very remarkable, that sometimes when Mr. Neal pretends to give the Words of the Managers, in order to credit them the more, he takes Pains to soften the Harshness of their Expressions; take one Instance as follows.

N. 197. *The Homilies are so express, that they wonder the Archbishop can mention them without blushing.*

Their Words as they stand in *Pryn*. (p. 464.)
 'Sixthly, Whereas he would pray in Aid from our
 'Homilies to justify the historical Use of these Images

† Troubles and Tryal, p. 246, 276, 277.

‘ in his Chappel: The Homilies are so point blank
 ‘ against him, as we have proved, that *Impudency it-*
 ‘ *self would blush*, to cite them to such a Purpose.

The Archbishop's Complaint to this very Article, is what might justly be applied to Mr. *Neal*. “* Upon my Entrance (says he) on this Day's Defence, I found my self aggrieved at the *Diurnal*, and another Pamphlet of the Week, wherein they print, whatsoever is charged against me, as if it were fully proved, never so much as mentioning what, or how I answered, and that it troubled me the more, because (as I conceived) the Passages as there expressed, trenched deep upon the Justice and Proceedings of that honourable House, and could have no Aim, but to incense the Multitude against me. With some Difficulty I got these Pamphlets received, but there they dyed, and the † weekly Abuse of me continued to keep my Patience in Breath.

The Archbishop's *Superstitious* Manner (as he calls it) of consecrating Churches, is the next Article he takes notice of. But as I have already answered the particular Charges there mentioned, [Impartial Exam. of Mr. *Neal*'s 2d Vol. of the Hist. of the *Puritans*, p. 122, &c.] I shall have the less Occasion to mention them here. Besides, Mr. *Neal* owns, N. p. 199, *That the Archbishop had his Form from Bishop Andrews*. And I hope he will not be so imprudent, as to charge that admirably learned Prelate, who wrote so well against Popery, as the least inclined to it. And I find that the learned Archbishop *Usher* had so good an Opinion of Bishop *Andrews*'s Form, (the very same that Archbishop *Laud* made use of) that he likewise used it upon Occasion. And if the Use of it was superstitious in one, it must be so in the other too, which I hope Mr. *Neal* has more Modesty than to deny.

* Lastly, (says Dr. *Bernard*, speaking of Bishop *Usher*)
 ‘ Though in our Constitutions there is no Form ap-

* Troubles and Tryal, p. 337.

† How far this has been practised of late against a Right Reverend and admirably Learned Prelate, for standing up in Defence of our Constitution, few want to be informed.

* Dr. *Bernard*'s *Clavi Trabales*. p. 64.

‘ pointed for Consecration of a Church or Chappel, yet
 ‘ he was so ready to apply himself to what had been ac-
 ‘ customed in *England*, that at his Consecration of a
 ‘ Chappel not far from *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, he framed
 ‘ no new one of his own, but took that which goes
 ‘ under Bishop *Andrews’s* Name, and used it (with
 ‘ little Variation) which I have in my Custody.

N. p. 199. *As to the manner of consecrating Creed Church, St. Gyles’s, &c. His Grace confessed, that when he came to the Church Door, that Passage in the Psalms was read. Lift up your Heads, O ye Gates, even lift them up, ye everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may come in.*

‘ † This (says the Archbishop) was urged over
 ‘ and over, as a *Jeer upon my Person*; but this Place
 ‘ of Scripture hath been anciently used in Consecra-
 ‘ tions. And it relates not to the *Bishop*, but to *God*
 ‘ *Almighty*, the true *King of Glory*, who at the Dedic-
 ‘ tion enters by his Servants to take Possession of the
 ‘ House.

N. Ibid. *That he kneeled and bowed at his Entrance into the Church, as Moses and Aaron did at the Door of the Tabernacle.*

The Archbishop’s Words §, he says, ‘ *That I kneeled*
 ‘ *down at my coming in, and after used many Bowings*
 ‘ *and Cringes.* For my kneeling down at my Entrance
 ‘ to begin with Prayer, and after to proceed with
 ‘ Reverence, I did but my Duty in that, let him
 ‘ scoffingly call it *cringing* or *ducking*, or what he pleases.’
 ‘ I cannot find any mention of *Moses* or *Aaron’s kneeling*
 ‘ *at the Door of the Tabernacle* in the Places referred to
 ‘ by Mr. Neal.

N. Ib. *That he declared the Place holy, and made use of a Prayer like one in the Roman Pontifical.*

‘ * Nor did I follow the *Pontifical*, (says the Arch-
 ‘ bishop) but a Copy of the Learned and Reverend Bi-
 ‘ shop *Andrews*; by which he consecrated divers
 ‘ Churches in his Time; and that this is so, I have

† Troubles and Tryal. p. 340.

§ Id. ib.

* Id. ib.

the Copy by me to witness, and offered to shew it
 c them.

N. Ib. *But denied his throwing Dust into the Air, in which he says the Witnesses had sworn themselves, for the Roman Pontifical does not prescribe throwing Dust in the Air but Ashes.* Where does he say this? not in p. 339, or 340, the Pages referred to in Mr. Neal? The Archbishop's Words in the subsequent Page, '† The second Witness was Mr. Hope, he says, "That he agrees with the former Witness, and saw all, and the throwing up of Dust, &c." Since he agrees with the former Witness, I give him the same Answer; yet with this Observation upon him, and his Oath. The former Witness says, That at the beginning of this Action, I took Dust, and threw it up; this Man agrees with him, and saw all; and almost in the very next Words confesses, he was not there at the beginning, yet he saw it: My Lords, if you mark it, this is a wholesome Oath.' In another Place § he says, That there was no throwing of Dust, no Curse used through the whole Action: Nor did I follow the Pontifical, but a Copy of the Reverend and Learned Bishop Andrews.

Speaking of the Antiquity of Altars from the Managers, he says,

N. p. 206. 'Tis evident from the unanimous Suffrages of most of the Fathers, that lived within three hundred Years after Christ, and our most learned Reformers, that for above two hundred and fifty Years after Christ, there were no Altars in Churches, but only Lords Tables. Pope Sixtus the 2d being the first that introduced them.

To this I have already reply'd from Mr. Johnson in my Answer to his * former Volume.

N. p. 211. *And tho' bowing at the Name of Jesus be mentioned in the Canons, yet these Canons are not binding, not being confirmed by Parliament.*

Say you so, good Sir? or was this an Assertion of the Managers? If it was, they either discovered their great Ignorance in the Statute Law, and for that Rea-

† Id. p. 341.

§ Id. 340.

* Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 2d Vol. p. 137. See likewise Mr. Johnson's Unbloody Sacrifice, Vol. 1. p. 300.

on were much unqualified for the Post then assigned them, or they falsified, and if so, how far their Authority in other Respects was to be depended on, I leave Mr. *Neal* to judge. By the 25th of *Henry* the viii. Cap. xix. it is enacted, ' That the Clergy in Convocation shall not *enact*, *promulge*, or *execute* any Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances provincial, by whatever Name or Names they may be called in their Convocations in Time coming (which always shall be assembled by Authority of the King's Writ) unless the same Clergy may have the King's most Royal Assent and License to make, promulge and execute such Canons and Ordinances, *Provincial* or *Synodal*.— From whence it appears, that that Convocation of 1603, being called by the King's Writ, and these Canons there enacted, receiving the Royal Confirmation, are as binding by vertue of this Statute, as if they had received a formal Confirmation in Parliament.

* 'Tis the Observation of a very learned Author, ' That the Convocation of Bishops and Clergy duly licensed by the King, have a Power of making Canons, which being confirmed by Royal Authority, are properly the *Ecclesiastical* Laws of the Church of *England*, and have been always considered as such. The most natural way of regulating Abuses, and making Improvements in the Constitution of the Church is for the *Convocation* in the first Place to go as far as they can by their own Authority; and when they can go no further, to pray the Aid of the Temporal Legislature.

And in another Place, ' † That the Bishops and Clergy assembled in *Convocation*, according to the Laws, Usage, and Statutes of the Realm, have an undoubted legislative Authority, and the Laws duly made by them, and being ratified by his Majesty, are the King's Ecclesiastical Laws. § What Al-

* An Answer to An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power laid down in the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, &c. By the Author of the *Parallel*. London 1735. p. 74.

† This is an excellent Answer to an abusive Libel, which Mr. *Neal* has taken upon him to *patronize*. Preface p. 12.

‡ Id. p. 92. § Id. p. 93.

teration (says he) has the 25. *Hen. 8.* made in their
 legislative Power when assembled, and acting under
 his Majesty according to that Statute? None at
 all. Their legislative Power then under the Re-
 strictions of that Statute, continues still the same;
 his Majesty's Ratification gives their Decrees a legal
 Authority, and they are binding to all who are sub-
 ject to him in Ecclesiastical Matters, without Dis-
 tinction, whether Clergy or Laymen; the Power
 being general as to the Persons, tho' restrain'd as
 to Subject Matter of those Laws, and confined to
 Things Spiritual, or what according to the Laws of
 the Land have been reckoned to be of a spiritual
 Nature; and the Breach of these Laws has always
 been punished by the Censures of the Church also,
 without Distinction of Persons. Again, § In the
 Case of *Bird and Smith* (*Moore* p. 783.) the Lord
 Chancellor called to his Assistance, *Popham Chief Jus-
 tice, Cook Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Flem-
 ming Chief Baron.* And they all agreed, " That the
 " Canons of the Church made by the *Convocation* and
 " the King, without the *Parliament*, were binding in
 " all Matters Ecclesiastical, as well as an Act of *Par-
 liament*: For they say, That by the Common Law,
 " every Bishop in his Diocese, Archbishop in his Pro-
 vince, and the *Convocation* in the Nation, may make
 " Canons to bind within their Limits: For that the
 " *Convocation of Clergy* was once a Member of the
 " *Parliament* in this Realm, and after severed for
 " Ease, and carry their peculiar Function with them
 " into the *Convocation*.— Whereby, when the *Con-
 vocation* make Canons of Things appertaining to
 " them, and the King confirms them, they will bind
 " the whole Realm.

He proceeds to Doctrinal Errors, and the Charge
 of *Arminianism* upon the Archbishop, and observes
 from *Pryn*,

*N. p. 217. That the King's Declaration for prohibit-
 ing preaching on the controverted Points, was an Artifice*

of the Archbishop to introduce the Arminian Errors, by preventing Orthodox Ministers from awakening the Minds of the People against them. And whereas he avers, that he has carried it with an even Hand, and could bring Witnesses from Oxford to prove it, we challenge him to name one Scholar or Minister that was ever imprisoned, deprived, silenced, prosecuted in the high Commission, or cast out of Favour on this Account.

This is a bold Challenge indeed, and worthy of Mr. Pryn, that glorious Champion for *Fanaticism*; but as bold as it is, there is sufficient Evidence left to prove it, and to shew that as Chancellour he carried it with a very equal Hand in the University of Oxford, with Regard to these five Articles. In a Letter to the Heads, Feb. 15, 1632-3, he has the following Words.

* In the mean Time it will be enough against the Plea of Ignorance to declare upon all Occasions, the five Articles controverted by the Remonstrants, are the Doctrines for a Time not to be meddled with, that the Factions unhappily spread among our Neighbours may not infect this our Church, or break the Peace of it. In another Letter to the University concerning Dr. Jackson's Sermons, dated Lambeth May 22, 1640, he shews his great Care, that no one of either Side should offend against the King's Declaration.

† For Dr. Jackson's Sermons, (says he) if they offend against his Majesty's Declaration, you must contrive the handsomest way you can for some Delay: For certainly this is no Time to publish any thing that may give Offence, as that will certainly doe, if it be so expressly against his Majesty's Declaration, as you write. And you cannot but see what *snatching* there is at *my self*, and that *University*. And if Dr. Jackson be not satisfied with such Excuses as you can make, then you shall doe well to tell him, that I have lately written to you, that both in regard of the Duty which we owe to his Majesty, and the Peace of the Church, no Man should presume to print any thing there, which might break the Rule

* Remains of Archbishop Laud, 2d. Vol. p. 57. † Id. p. 195.

- ' given by his Majesty's Declaration *one Way or other*.
 ' And this I pray be very careful to observe, not
 ' only in the Person of Dr. Jackson, but all Men else.

Lambeth May 22, 1640.

W. Cant.

N. p. 219. *As the Archbishop had castrated some Books, because they refuted the Doctrines he would countenance; so he gave full License to others, where the grossest Points of Popery were openly asserted; as Cosins's Hours of Prayer, and Sales's Introduction to a devout Life.*

As to the Charge of Bishop Cosins's Book, an Answer has been returned to it before. And how far he was concerned in Sales's Book, his Letter to the Vice-chancellor of Oxford, An. 1637, almost seven Years before this Charge was brought against him, plainly proves.

* Mr. Vicechancellor,

- ' THERE was an *English* Translation of a Book of
 ' Devotion written by Sales Bishop of Geneva,
 ' and entitled *Praxis Spiritualis, five Introductio ad*
 ' *Vitam Devotam*, licensed by Dr. Haywood, then my
 ' Chaplain, about the latter end of November last;
 ' but before it passed his Hands, he first struck out
 ' divers things wherein it varied from the Doctrine
 ' of our Church, and so passed it. But by the Prac-
 ' tice of one Burrows (who is now found to be a Ro-
 ' man Catholick) those Passages struck out by Dr.
 ' Haywood, were interlined afterwards, (as appears
 ' upon Examination before Mr. Attorney General, and
 ' by the Manuscript Copy) and were printed accor-
 ' ding to Burrows's Falsifications. The Book being
 ' thus printed, gave great and just Offence, especially
 ' to my self, who upon the first hearing of it, gave
 ' present Orders to seize upon all the Copies, and to

* Archbishop Laud's Remains, 2d Vol. p. 129. Mr. Tho. Long in his *Compendium*
History of all Popish and Fanatical Plots, p. 99. (published 1684. penes me) observes,
 ' That the Archbishop suppressed Socinian and Popish Books; especially that called,
 ' *An Introduction to a devout Life*, written by Francis Sales Bishop of Geneva.

burn them publickly in *Smithfield*. Eleven or twelve hundred Copies were seized and burnt accordingly ; but it seems, two or three hundred of the Impression were dispersed before the Seizure. Now my Desire is, That if any Copies of this Translation be, or shall be sent to *Oxford*, you would call them in, and take such Order for the Suppression of them, as is here already taken. And so I commend you to God's Grace, and rest

Your Loving Friend,

Lambeth May 4, 1637.

W. Cant.

N. p. 221. *As to Particulars. They [viz. the Managers for the Commons] affirm, that the Geneva Bible was printed by Authority of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, cum privilegio, and in the 15th, Jacob. there was an Impression by the King's own Printer.*

Mr. Neal has in the preceding Page given us part of the Archbishop's Answer, *That it was only tolerated and not allowed by Authority.* But what follows he has kept out of Sight. * King James (says the Archbishop) said plainly, [Confer. *Hampt. Court*, p. 47.] " That he thought the *Geneva* Translation was the worst, and many of the Notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous Conceits", and gave Instance.

N. p. 222. *It looks a little undutiful in him to cast the Alterations of the Prayers for Nov. 5. on the King, when every Body knows by whom the King's Conscience was distressed.*

This was a Piece of the most consummate Impudence in the Managers if they said it ; as 'tis hard to distinguish betwixt the Objection of the Managers, and Mr. Neal's, and not excusable sure in Mr. Neal, if the Reflection is his own. And † it is a Libel to asperse

* Troubles and Tryal, p. 349.

† Dr. Wood's Institute of the Laws of England 3d Edit. 1724. p. 430. What the Punishment was which the Civil Law inflicted upon Libels, appears from the following Law, Si quis librum ad infamiam alicujus pertinentem scripserit, composuerit, ediderit, dolove malo fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret ; Et amfi alterius mine

aspersion the Memory of the Dead; and a Libel is punishable, tho' a Magistrate is dead at the time of making the Libel, for in the Case of a Magistrate deceased the Government is also traduced, which never dieth.

N. p. 222. *The Managers went on to charge the Archbishop for his severe Prosecution of those Clergymen who had dared to preach against the dangerous increase of Arminianism, and Popery—They instanced in Mr. Chancy, Mr. Workman, Mr. Davenport, and others. Prynne, p. 361, 362.*

And how Prynne has persecuted the Archbishop and the orthodox Clergy in the same Page I leave to the Reader to judge. * What a Plague and Poyson, (says he) these *Arminian, Popish Prelates, Deans, Prebends, Heads of Houses, Parsons and Vicars* advanced by him prove to our Church; how near they had reduced us back to *Rome*, and how much they endangered the utter Extirpation of our *Protestant Religion* is so experimentally known to all Men, so plentifully evidenced in the premised Proofes, that we may confidently averr, had not God himself miraculously from Heaven by the late *Scottish Troubles* and happy Convention of this present Parliament retarded, prevented, and utterly frustrated their dangerous Proceedings, and *Jesuitical Designs*, in these three Kingdomes, in all Probability, we had long e're this been totally overrun with *Popery*, and the zealous Professors of the *Protestant Religion* in all three, been either totally extirpated and massacred, as some hundred thousands of them have been lately in *Ireland*, or banished their own Country into forraigne Climes.

I produce this only to shew what a candid and fair Adversary Mr. Pryn was to the Archbishop, and in what manner Mr. Neal would have resented the like

mine ediderit, vel sine nomine, uti de ea Re agere liceret, & si condemnatus sit qui id fecit, infestabilis ex lege esse jubetur. Dig. Lib. 47. Tit. X. De injuriis & famosis Libellis leg. 5. S. 9. Dr. Heylin informs us (*Rebels Catechism*, printed 1643. p. 6. *penes me*) from *Hou's Chronicle*. 'That Mr. Williams a Barrister of the *Middle-Temple* was executed in King James's reign, for writing a defamatory Book against the King.

* Prynne's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 36.

Usage from the Archbishop to his most inveterate Enemies, the Reader will easily judge.

N. p. 235. *That Habernfield's Plot was a real Plot, his own Diary, together with our later Discoveries fully prove, and his Concealment of it we conceive to be an high and treasonable Offence, tending to subvert the Protestant Religion, and subject us to the Church of Rome.*

* The Plot discovered to Sir William Boswell, and my self by *Andreas ab Habernfield*, hath been charged against me; that Plot for altering of Religion, and by what ways your Lordships have heard already, and is to be seen at full in *Rome's Masterpiece*. But if it had any reality in it, as it appeared to be a sad Plot, not only to me, but to all Men that saw the Propositions, which were first sent with an absolute Undertaking to prove them; then it appears expressly that I was in Danger of my Life, for stiffly opposing the bringing in *Poper*y, and that there was no hope to alter Religion in *England* till I was out of the Way. - And though in Conclusion the Proof failed, yet what was consulted, and it seems, resolved, concerning me, was plain enough. And then the Argument against me lies plain enough, "There is no hope to bring in *Poper*y till I am taken out of the Way, therefore I did labour to bring it in. Do not these things, my Lords, hang handsomely together?"

N. p. 237. *The Lords sent down the Queries to the Commons [viz. the two Queries of the Archbishop's Council] who after they had referred them to a Committee of Lawyers agreed that the Archbishop's Council might be heard to the first Query, but not to the second.*

† My Councils Queries (says the Archbishop) having been formerly sent down to the House of Commons, they were there referred to a Committee of Lawyers to consider of, and on *September 27. Friday*, they were earnestly called upon to hasten their Report. And on *Friday October 4.* Mr. *Nicolas* made

* Troubles and Tryal, p. 418, 419.

† Troubles and Tryal, p. 422.

* a great Noise about me in the House, and no less
 * would serve his turn, but that I must be *hanged*
 * and was at *Suf. per. Coll.* till upon the Reasons be-
 * fore given, that if they went on this way, they must
 * condemn me unheard; this violent Clamour ceased
 * for that time.

N. p. 239. *Various are the Accounts of the Archbishop's Behaviour at his Tryal; his Friends and Admirers flattered him beyond Measure; and said he perfectly triumphed over his Accusers.*

And so no doubt he did, as any one may be convinced who will be at the Pains of comparing the Charge of the Members at *Westminster* uncurtail'd, with the Archbishop's Answers, in *Pryn's Canterbury's Doom*, and the Archbishop's Troubles and Tryal.
 * * He defended himself (says Lord *Clarendon*) with
 * great and undaunted Courage, and less Passion,
 * than was expected from his Constitution; answered
 * all their Objections with Clearness and irresistible
 * Reason, and convinced all impartial Men of his Integrity, and his Detestation of all treasonable Intentions. So that tho' few excellent Men have ever had
 * fewer Friends to their Persons, yet all reasonable
 * Men absolved him from any foul Crime that the
 * Law could take notice of and punish.

* He made such an admirable Defence (says Bishop
 * *Kennet*) against their Accusations, that the Innocence of this *Prelate*, and the Malice of his Enemies,
 * are hardly to be matched in any Account of the primitive Persecutions.

Mr. *Neal* gives us a Character of the Managers for the Members at *Westminster*. Serjeant *Maynard* is the first he mentions, his Character was undoubtedly very great, as a Lawyer, and in most respects unexceptionable. But as to Serjeant *Wild's* I cannot so readily give into it; whom he calls,

N. p. 241. *A great Lawyer and of unblemished Morals; and after the Restoration of King Charles 2. was*

* Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 440.

† Compleat History Vol. 3. p. 141. See *Heylin's Cyprian. Anglic.* p. 520.

made Lord Chief Baron, and esteemed a grave and venerable Judge.

Lord Clarendon, who lived at the same time, and must be allowed to have been a more competent Judge of his Character, than Mr. Neal, speaks of him as follows, ‘ * Serjeant *Wild*, with most Confidence averr’d their legal Power to make a Seal.’ In another Place, giving an account of *Rolpb*’s Intention to assassinate the King, with *Doucet*’s and *Osborne*’s Evidence against him, he informs us, ‘ † That *Osborne* appeared at the Lord’s Barr, and made good upon Oath all that is before set down [*viz.* concerning *Rolpb*’s bloody Design to murder the King] and undertook to produce other Evidence ; the House of Commons had no mind to have it examined farther ; but the Clamour of the People was so great, that after many Delays, they voted that it should be tryed at the general Assizes at *Winchester*, and thither they sent their well tryed Serjeant *Wild*, to be sole Judge of that Circuit ; before whom the major Part of the same Jury that had found Captain *Burly* guilty, was impannell’d for the Tryal of *Rolpb* *Osborne* and § *Doucet*, who had upon Bail Liberty to be there, appear’d to make good the Indictment, and upon their Oaths declared all that *Rolpb* had said to them, as is set down before. The

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 313.

† History of the Rebellion, Vol. 3. p. 180. See an Account of *Osborne*’s Information. *Walker*’s History of Independency, p. 102, 116, &c. See a farther Account of Serjeant *Wild*, History of Independency, p. 89, &c.

§ “ I am ready to make Oath, that Mr. *Richard Osborne* told me the Kinges Person was in great Danger, and that the said *Rolfe* had a Designe on foot for the conveying his Majesty’s Person to some Place of Secrecie, where onely three should goe with him, and where they might dispose of his Person, as they should think fitt. Which Information from Mr. *Osborne*, and the Assurance I had of his Majesty’s Intentions forthwith to come to his Parliament, was the Cause of my Engagement in this Business. I am ready likewise to depose, That the said *Rolfe* came to me, when I was a Prisoner in the Castle, and in a jeering Manner asked me, Why the King came not down according to his Appoyntment ? and then with great Indignation and Fury said, He wayted almost three Hours in the new Plat-form with a good Pistoll, ready charged, to receive him if he had come.

B. Dowcett.

This was sworn at the Barr of the House of Lords on the 3d of July 1648. by Dowcett. The Original penes Rev. Ph. Williams Collect. Vol. 15. No. 90. An Original. Printed Peck’s Desiderat. Curios. Vol. 2. B. IX. p. 49.

‘ Prisoner

' Prisoner, if he may be called a Prisoner, had two
 ' Lawyers assigned to be of Council with him, con-
 ' trary to Law and Custome in those Cases. But
 ' he needed not to have had any Council but the
 ' Judge himself, who told the Jury, * " That it was
 " a Business of great Importance that was before
 " them, and therefore that they should take heed
 " what they did in it; that there was a Time indeed
 " when Intentions and Words were Treason; but
 " God forbid it should be so now. How did any
 " Body know, but that those two Men *Osborne* and
 " *Doucet* would have made away the King, and
 " that *Rolfe* charged his Pistol to preserve him?
 " Or perhaps they would have carried him to have
 " engaged them in a second War. He told them,
 " they were mistaken who did believe the King in
 " Prison, the Parliament did only keep him safe, to
 " save shedding of more Blood." Upon these good
 ' Directions, the Grand Jury found an *Ignoramus* up-
 ' on the Bill.' And can it be imagined after all,
 that this *wretched Man*, who protected an *Affassin*,
 who would have taken away the Life of that most
 excellent Monarch King *Charles* the First, could be
 made *Chief Baron of the Exchequer*, by his Son King
Charles the Second? He was indeed by the Members
 at *Westminster* made Lord Chief Baron, according
 to † *Whitelock* in 1648. And Mr. A. § *Wood* ob-
 serves, ' That when *Oliver* came to the Protector-
 ' ship, he retired, and acted not. But when the

* Mr. *Wood* informs us, *Fasts Oxon.* Vol. 1. p. 186. That he received a thou-
 sand Pounds out of the Privy-Purse at *Darby-House* for the Condemnation of Cap-
 tain *Burley* at *Winchester*, for causing a Drum to be beat up for God and K. Ch. at
Newport in the Isle of *Wight*, in order to rescue his captive King, *Ann.* 1647.
 And about the same Time ' he received another 1000 *l.* (as 'twas then considerably
 ' affirmed) for the Acquittance of Maj. *Edm. Rolph*, who had a Design to murder
 ' or poison the said King; so it was the same Thing to him, whether he hung or
 ' hung not, so he got the beloved Pelf. Mr. *Oldmixon* has libelled Lord *Clarendon*
 ' (*Hist. of the Royal House of Stuart*, Vol. 1. p. 335.) for speaking the Truth
 and nothing but the Truth of this infamous Serjeant. Now Law itself (says the
 Writer of the *Loyal Satyr*, p. 10.) must be arraigned, and new Judges to Execu-
 tion. What a fine Thing would it be to see *Wild Burleigh*'d by a Drum and Soldiers?
 and Rolls Coach it up *Holborn* instead of *Fleet-street*.

† *Memorials*, p. 337.

§ *Wood's Fasts Oxon.*, Vol. 1. p. 186.

' *Rump-Parliament* was restored after *Richard's* Deprivation, then he was restored to the *Exchequer*, and after King *Charles* return'd lived about nine Years in a retired Condition.' A small Mistake this of King *Charles* the Second, for the *Rump-Parliament*. Sir * *Orlando Bridgeman* was Lord Chief Baron at the Tryal of the Regicides, and made Lord Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, 22d of October. And † *Matthew Hale*, Esq; Serjeant at Law, was made Lord Chief Baron November 7. 1660.

N. p. 242. Samuel Browne, Esq; was an able and grave Lawyer.

And had he added that he was well affected to the Good Old Cause, he would not have been much out in his History: For this *able* and *grave Lawyer*, tho' he knew that it was high Treason by Statute, to counterfeit the King's Broad Seal, yet he, and *Prideaux* § two private Practisers of the Law, were nominated to have the keeping, ordering, and disposing of it, and the like Power and Authority as any Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper, or Commissioner of the Great Seal for the time being had had, used or ought to have.

N. Ib. The Archbishop blames him for not using his own Notes, but copying other Mens. This is most Christian like in Mr. Brown (says he) but it may be he learned it out of the Notes of his Father in Law taken at Sermons.

Mr. Neal is but too apt to confound both Things and Persons, as he does here. For the Archbishop in the ¶ Place referred to, is speaking of *John Browne*, Clerk of the Parliament, and not *Samuel Browne* the Manager for the *Westminster Members*.

* Tryal of the Regicides. p. 8. *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 463. *Ecbard's Hist.* Vol. 3. p. 20. *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* p. 145.

† *Salmon's Chronological Historian*, p. 121. Mr. *Wood Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. says, that *Matthew Hale*, April, 1669. was elected one of the Knights for *Gloucestershire*, in that Parliament, called the *Healing Parliament*, which Parliament calling the King home from his Exile, he was soon after made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, and Knighted. *Heath's Chronicle*, p. 492.

§ Lord *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, Vol. 2. p. 313.

¶ *Troubles and Tryal*, p. 442.

As to Mr. *Nicholas's* Character, it appears even from Mr. *Neal's* own Account, that what was wanting in point of Law, he amply made up with foul and unbecoming Language.

‘ The Archbishop (says Lord * *Clarendon*) was prosecuted by Lawyers assigned to that Purpose, out of those who from their Antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some Disobligations received from him, were sure to bring Passion, Animosity, and Malice enough of their own, what Evidence soever they had from others; and they did treat him with all the Rudeness, Reproach, and Barbarity imaginable; with which his Judges were not displeased.

N. p. 243. *The Bill being sent up to the Lords, they made an Order, December 4. “ That all Books, Writings, &c. concerning the Archbishop’s Tryal should be brought in to the Clarke of the Parliament.” Which being done, they examined over-again all the Heads, and principal Parts of the Evidence, and voted each Particular as they went forward; so tender were they of the Life of this Prelate, and so careful to maintain the Honour and Justice of their Proceedings. When they had gone through the whole, they voted him guilty of all the Facts charged against him in three Branches; namely, “ Guilty of endeavouring to subvert the Laws; of endeavouring to overthrow the Protestant Religion, and “ the Rights of Parliaments.*

‘ † On Saturday (says the Archbishop) this Ordinance was passed the House of Commons suddenly, and with so great Deliberation as you have heard, was transmitted to the Lords; and by them the Debate concerning it put off to *Friday, November 22.* Then the Earl of *Pembroke* began more fully to shew his canker’d Humour against me, how provoked, I protest I know not, unless by my serving him far beyond his Desert. There, among other coarse Language, he bestowed (as I am informed) the *Rascal* and the *Villain* upon me, and told the Lords they would put off giving their Consent to the Or-

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 440.

† Troubles and Tryal, p. 441.
‘ *dinance,*

' *dinānce*, till the Citizens would come down and call
 ' for *Justice*, as they did in my Lord *Strafford's* Case.
 ' Was there not *Justice*, and *Wisdom* in this Speech?
 ' Hereupon the Business was put off to *Saturday*,
 ' *November 23.* and then to *Friday, November 29.*
 ' But then upon *Thursday, November 28.* Mr. *Strowd*
 ' came up with a Message from the Commons to
 ' quicken the Lords in this *Business*, and at the End
 ' of this Message he let fall, *That they should doe well*
 ' *to agree to the Ordinance, or else the Multitude would*
 ' *come down and force them to it.* At this some Lords,
 ' very honourably, took Exception, and Mr. *Strowd*
 ' durst not abide it, that this was any Part of the Message
 ' delivered him by the *House Commons*: But the Mat-
 ' ter was passed over, and Mr. *Strowd* not so much as
 ' check'd. This it may be was thought seasonable by
 ' some, to hearten on the Violence of Earl of *Pembroke.*

' The Business was not long heard on *Friday*, was
 ' put off again to *Munday, December 22.* and the
 ' House of Lords put into a Committee, to ex-
 ' amine Particulars by their Notes; the Earl of
 ' *Northumberland* on the Woolpack during the De-
 ' bate, which continued more or less some Days.
 ' Where their own Notes failed, they called to Mr.
 ' *Brown* Clerk of their House for his. But at last
 ' finding him very ready and quick for any thing that
 ' was charged against me, but loth to be known,
 ' what Answer I gave to any Point, some Lords
 ' observed it, and it did appear, *That the Notes which*
 ' *he put to the Lords, were not the Notes which himself*
 ' *took, but that he had a Copy given him,* (whether by
 ' Mr. *Pryn*, or any other, I know not) and I was in-
 ' formed the Earl of *Warwick* had another Copy
 ' of the very same. This is Marvellous, Just and
 ' Honourable in that Earl, and most *Christian* like
 ' in Mr. *Brown*: It may be, he learned it out of the
 ' *Notes which his Father-in-Law takes at Sermons.*

' Upon *Monday, December 16.* there was (the Times
 ' considered) a very full House of Lords, about 20
 ' present, and my Business largely debated, and ready.

to come to the Question. I wish with all my Heart it had, while the House was so full. But the Earl of Pembroke fell again into his wonted Violence, and asked the Lords, What they stuck at? And added, *What shall we think the House of Commons had no Conscience in passing this Ordinance? Yes, they knew well enough what they did.* One of the Wits hearing this excellent Passage of the Earl's, protested, If ever he lived to see a Parliament in *Bedlam*, this prudent Earl should be Speaker, if he were able to procure him the Place.

In the mean Time, this unhappy Clamour of his, put the Business off again to the next Day, being *Tuesday*; then there were but fourteen Lords in the House. My Business was assumed and proposed in three Questions, and I was voted guilty of the Fact in all three.—Then it being put to the Judges, Whether this were Treason or no? The Judges unanimously declared, that nothing which was charged against me was Treason, by any known and established Law of the Land, with many things to and fro concerning this Business.

N. *ibid.* After this they sent a Message to the Commons to desire them to answer the Arguments of the Archbishop's Council, as to the Point of Law; which accordingly they did at a Conference, Jan. 2. when Serjeant Wild, Mr. Browne and Mr. Nicolas having given the Reason of the Commons for the Attainder, the Lords were satisfied, and January 4. passed the Bill, whereby it was ordained he should suffer Death as in Cases of High-Treason.

What Bill did they pass? They passed an Ordinance, if he pleases, imperfect, without the Royal Assent, and certainly of no legal Force at all. For it is indisputable, that tho' the * King himself cannot make an Act of Parliament without the Concur-

* The King's Right of Dominion or Empire (says Judge *Hales* in his *Analysis of the Law*, p. xi. See Answer to the late Pamphlet, entitled, *An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power, &c.* by the Author of the *Parallel*, p. 68.) amongst other Powers, consists in making Statute-Laws or Acts of Parliament. For tho' the King cannot make such Laws himself without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament, yet no Law can be made to bind the Subject without him.

rence of the two Houses of Parliament, yet no Law can be made to bind the Subject without him. The Archbishop gives the following Account of this Matter.

* * On *Tuesday, Chrismas-Eve*, the Lords had a Conference with the Commons about it. In which they declared, that they had diligently weighed all Things that were charged against me, but could not by any one of them, or all, find me guilty of Treason. And therefore desired, that the *Argument* made by my *Counsel*, might be answered. And if it could be made appear to them by any Law to be Treason, they would then proceed farther, as in Honour and Justice they should find fit. Then came *Chrismas-day*, the last *Wednesday* in the Month; and a most *solemn Fast* kept on it, with as *solemn an Ordinance* for the Observance of this Fast, and against the Manner of keeping that Day in former superstitious Times. A fast was never before heard of in *Christendom*.

After this Conference Mr. *Serjeant Wild* speaking freely to some Friends about this Business, told them, He wondered the *Lords should so much distrust their Judgments*, as to desire a Conference about it. To see how good Wits agree! Surely, I believe, he was of the Earl of *Pembroke's* Counsel, or the *Earl* of his, they jump so together. It seems in these Men's Opinions, *the House of Commons* can neither err in Conscience, nor Judgment; howsoever that House thought it fit, the *Lords* should be satisfied, that I was by Law guilty of *High Treason*; and for that End, sent up a Committee, *Jan. 2. 1644.* to make Proof of it to their Lordships. At this meeting two Judges were present, *Justice Reeves* and *Judge Bacon*, the Managers of the Business against me were three Lawyers, Mr. *Brown*, *Serjeant Wild*, and Mr. *Nicolas*. Neither I my self nor any of my Counsel there; what this will effect upon the Lords, Time must discover, as it doth the Effects of other

* Troubles and Tryal, p. 442.

• *Eclipses.* And thus far I had proceeded in this
 • sad History by Jan. 3. 1644. The rest shall follow
 • as it comes to my Knowledge.

So tender were those few Peers (to use Mr. Neal's
 Expression) of the Life of this Prelate, and so careful
 to maintain the Honour and Justice of their Proceedings.

The Lords who concurred in this fatal Sentence
 were six in Number, and mentioned by most of our
 Historians (and may their Names be perpetuated to
 Posterity.)

As to the * Pardon which the Archbishop produced,
 as the Objections to it are answered from Lord Cla-
 rendon before [Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's
 2d Vol. p. 218.] so I have no occasion to say more of
 it in this Place.

N. p. 244. *The Archbishop being conducted to the
 Scaffold attended by his Chaplain Dr. Stern, and by Mr.
 Marshall and Mr. Palmer, sent by the Parliament, read
 his last Speech, which was a sort of a Sermon, from
 Hebrews 12. 2.*

Mr. Wharton tells us, • † That he ascended the
 • Scaffold with so brave a Courage, and such a chear-
 • ful Countenance, as if he had mounted rather to be-
 • hold a Triumph, than be made a Sacrifice, and
 • came not there to die, but to be translated. And
 • tho' some rude and uncivil People reviled him as
 • he passed along, with opprobrious Language, as
 • loth to let him goe to the Grave in Peace, yet it ne-
 • ver discomposed his Thoughts, nor disturbed his
 • Patience. He was a faithful Servant to the last, by

* The Writer of the Life of Bishop Sanderson (printed before his Sermons, p. 23.)
 informs us, That the Bishop of Canterbury having been by an unknown Law condemn-
 ed to die, and the Execution suspended for some Days, many Citizens fearing Time
 and cool Thoughts might procure his Pardon, became so maliciously impudent,
 as to shut up their Shops, professing not to open them till Justice was executed. This
 Malice and Madnefs is scarce Credible, but I saw it. How far (says a Writer
 of those Times, *Kingdoms Answer to the Commons Declaration for no farther
 Addresses*, p. 12.) was it for his Majesty's Honour, that the Lord Archbishop of
 Canterbury, and Strafford, in what concerned their Charge (though they had the
 Envy of three Nations) by the Laws in being, were not condemnable, but that
 one by an extorted new Act, and the other by an unparallel'd new Ordinance,
 were both put to Death.

† Troubles and Tryal, p. 446.

Means whereof, as it is said of *Sampson* in the Book of *Judges* (16. 30.) *That the Men which he slew at his Death, were more than they which he slew in his Life.* So may it be affirmed of this famous *Prelate*, that he gave a greater Blow to the Enemies of the Church, and the King, at the Hour of his Death, than he had given his whole Life before. And Lord *Clarendon*, * *That he underwent it with all Christian Courage and Magnanimity, to the Admiration of the Beholders, and Confusion of his Enemies. Much hath been said of this great Prelate before, of his great Endowments and natural Infirmities, to which shall be added no more in this Place (his Memory deserving a particular Celebration) than that his Learning, and Piety, and Virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his Infirmities are common to all, even the best of Men.* Which short Character is a full Confutation of Mr. *Neal's* long Invective of about four Pages [p. 246, 247, 248, 249.]

N. p. 249. *The last and most Memorable Transaction of this Year, was the Treaty of Uxbridge, his Majesty had sent the two Houses sundry Propositions for Peace last Summer, which took up a great deal of Time to form into Propositions for his Majesty's Assent. The Commissioners were two Lords, four Commoners, and those of the Scots Commissioners, they arrived at Oxford, Nov. 26. but though the King had given them a safe Conduct, Mr. Whitlock observes, they met with very rude Treatment from the Populace, who saluted them as they passed along the Streets with the Name of Traitors, Rogues and Rebels, throwing Stones and Dirt into their Coaches; when they came to their Inn, they were insulted by the Soldiers, so they were obliged to shut up their Doors, till the King ordered them a Guard. When they delivered their Propositions, his Majesty received them but coldly, and told them a Letter-Carrier would have done as well.* Whitlock. p. 114.

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 442.

Mr. *Whitlock* indeed in another Place (p. 107.) mentions their ill Usage from the Mob: But takes no Notice of the King's receiving them with *Coldness* and *Indifferency*. * The next Day (says *Whitlock*) after the Usage before mentioned, they had Access to his Majesty who used them *civilly*, and gave them *his Hand to kiss*; but he seemed to shew more Disdain to the *Scotch Commissioners*, than to any others of their Company. The Earl of *Denbigh* read the Propositions to his Majesty, who heard them with much *Patience*, who when they were all read, told them he would consider of an Answer to be given them. Again, † the same Night *Hollis* and *Whitlocke* went to Court to the Earl of *Lindsey's* Lodgings, whom they found ill, and in his Bed, and divers Lords with him, amongst the rest Lord *Savile* then newly made Earl of *Suffex*.

* The Earl of *Lindsey* expressed much Contentment, and that he took it extreme kindly, that they would come to visit him, and treated them with extraordinary Respect and Curtesie, and no Man with him was so forward to compliment them as the Lord *Savile*. When they had been there about a Quarter of an Hour, the King and Prince *Rupert*, and divers great Lords, came into the Chamber where they were. Whether sent to after they came, or by Accident they knew not; the King saluted them very civilly, and began to discourse with them.

* What follows in Mr. *Neal* concerning the King's saying that a *Letter Carrier* might have done as well, &c. tho' the Mark of Reference is to *Whitlock*, I cannot find it there, but in *Rushworth*, Vol. 5. p. 788, 789.

N. *ibid.* Next Day his Majesty gave them his Answer in Writing sealed up, and when they desired to see it, he replied with a Frown, what is it to you who are but to carry what I send?

[* *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 108. *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. 5. p. 787.

† *Whitlock*, *ibid.*

With a Frown, is Mr. Neal's Interpolation, or *Con-
founding*, as appears from *Rushworth*, Vol. 5. p. 789.

N. ib. *But at length they obtained a Copy*—— But
the Letter not being directed to the Parliament of England,
the Houses would not consent, but upon that Condition. The
King's Council advised him to yield, but could not prevail,
till his Majesty had found out an Evasion, and entred it
upon Record in the Council Books, as appears by his Let-
ter to the Queen, dated, January 2. In which he says
his Calling them a Parliament, did not imply his acknow-
ledging them as such: Upon which Construction and no o-
ther I called them, as it is registred in the Council Books,
and had there been but two of my Opinion (says the
King) I would not have done it. [King's Cabinet open-
ed. *Whitlock*, p. 277.]

How does it appear that this Entry relates to the
Affair above-mentioned? It differ much from both
Rushworth's and *Rapin's* Account, which follows.

* Another Exception they took to the Paper
of the Answer, was, That it was not directed to
any Body, nor the Parliament so much as acknow-
ledged, or named in it. To which the King an-
swered, That it was delivered to the Parliament's
Commissioners, which was sufficient. And some of
his Lords told them, that they could not get it o-
therwise, chiefly because they were there as Commis-
sioners of both Kingdomes, and earnestly intreated
the Commissioners for Peace sake to receive it as it
was then sent to them, who having debated the
same amongst themselves, and considering, that they
must take upon themselves to break off the Treaty
for Peace, in case they refused this Paper, and that
it would be more proper to leave it to the Judg-
ment of their *Principals*, they did receive the An-
swer, and came therewith to *Westminster*, November
29. and the next Day the same was read.

Great Exceptions were made, and highly debated,
against the Form, and want of Directions of this his
Majesty's Message; but at last it was carried, to lay

* *Rushworth's* Collections, Vol. 5. p. 789. *Rapin*, Vol. 12. p. 253, 259.

* aside those Objections, and Thanks were returned to
 * the *Commissioners* for their faithful Service and discreet
 * Carriage in this Affair.' What, I pray, is there here
 to fix the Charge of an *Evasion* upon his Majesty?
 When it is plain from hence, that his Majesty put no
 Direction at all upon it, that the *Commissioners* ac-
 cepted it without a Direction, and that those Mem-
 bers of the two Houses that staid at *Westminster*, after
 a short Debate, gave up the Point for that Time.

Mr. Neal speaking of that seditious Sermon of
 Mr. Love's at the Beginning of the Treaty of *Ux-
 bridge*, of which the King's *Commissioners* complained
 and demanded Justice, says,

*N. p. 252. He was therefore confined to his House
 during the Treaty, and then discharged.*

Lord Clarendon observes, that upon Complaint made
 against him, the Parliament *Commissioners* * seem'd
 * troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and
 * cause some severe Punishment to be inflicted up-
 * on the Man, but afterwards confessed, " That
 " they had no Authority to punish him, but that
 " they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and
 " sent out of Town;" and this was all that could be
 * obtained, so unwilling they were to discountenance
 * any Man who was willing to serve them.' This is
 Lord Clarendon's Account, who was himself a *Com-
 missioner* at that Treaty.

*N. The King in his Letter to the Queen, of Jan. 22.
 assures her of the utter Improbability, that this present
 Treaty should produce a Peace, " considering the great
 " and strange Difference, if not Contrariety of Grounds,
 " that were between the Rebels Propositions and his, and
 " that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs but
 " by Force." Rapin, p. 278.*

The Words in Rapin, " And that I cannot alter
 " mine, nor will they ever theirs, till they be out
 " of hope to prevail with Force," which a little As-
 * sistance by thy means will soon make them be;

* History of the Rebellion, Vol. 2, p. 446.

for I am confident, if ever I could put them to a Defensive (which a reasonable Sum of Money would doe) they would be easily brought to Reason.

N. p. 253. *As to Ireland, the King's Commissioners justified his Majesty's Proceedings in the Cessation, and sending the Rebels over to fill up his Armies, and when the Commissioners on the other side put them in Mind of his Majesty's solemn Promises to leave that Affair to the Parliament, and to have those Rebels punished according to Law: They wished it was in his Majesty's Power to punish * all Rebellion.*

The King's Commissioners answered, Paper 10. February, ' † We conceive that his Majesty had, and hath Power to make a Cessation in *Ireland*, and having upon just Grounds, and for the Good and Safety of his *Protestant* Subjects there, and for the Preservation of the whole Kingdome, consented to such a Cessation, we desire to be informed by your Lordships, how that Cessation can be declared void, without a Breach of Faith and Honour in his Majesty; and we are ready by Conference to inform your Lordships of the Motives which induced his Majesty to consent to that Cessation.

Lord Clarendon informs us, ' § That the Commissioners of the King prepared and delivered a very full Answer in Writing to all their Demands; at the Delivery whereof they appointed the *Chancellour*

* What the Notion even some of the lower Rank of People was concerning the Rebels, appears from what is mentioned by the Writer of the *Oxford Diurnal* (first Week, p. 6.) ' 'Tis remarkable (says he) That as the Aldermen [viz. those rebellious ones who came from *London* to *Oxford* to sollicite the King's Return to *London*] passed by the New Works near *Magdalen College*, one of them reach'd a Piece of Gold to a Soldier which attended there; but the poor Soldier (poor only in his outward Fortunes) returned the Gold again, and withall this Answer, ' That the King did not suffer his Soldiers to want any thing, and therefore that he had no need of the *Roundheads* Money, a gallant and magnanimous Speech, and such, as if it had been spoken in the Times of the *Greeks and Romans*, would have been honoured with a Place in their most famous Histories— His Majesty has sent him a considerable Reward for it.

† *Dugdale's short View*, p. 828.

§ *History of the Rebellion* Vol. 2. p. 454. See *Rushworth*, Vol. 5. p. 878. where he gives his Majesty's Answer to the two Papers concerning *Ireland*.

of the *Exchequer* to enlarge upon any of those Particulars, which proved the Counsels, that had been taken, just and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the *Parliament* were in much Confusion, and the King's Commissioners much pleased. " He put them in Mind of the bringing those very Troops, which were levied by the King's Authority for the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Ireland*, to fight against the King at *Edge-Hill*, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, of their having given over the Prosecution of the War, or sending any Supply of Arms, Money, or Ammunition thither; having employed those Magazines which were provided for that Service against his Majesty; insomuch, that the *Privy Council* of that Kingdom had sent to his Majesty that he would provide some other way for the Preservation of that Kingdom, since they could not be able to support the War any longer against the united Power of the Rebels; that all Overtures which his Majesty had made towards Peace had been rejected by the Parliament, and * *One hundred thousand Pounds* brought in by the Adventurers for *Ireland*, had been sent in one entire Summ into *Scotland*, to prepare and dispose that Kingdom to send an Army to invade this; which they had done, and till then, his Majesty had not in the least Degree swerved from the Observation of the Act of Parliament. But when he saw, that the *Parliament* instead of prosecuting the End and Intention of that Statute applied it wholly to the carrying on the War against himself, he thought himself absolved before God and Man, if he did all he could to rescue and defend himself against their Violence, by making a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*, and by drawing over some Regiments of his own Army from thence, to assist him in *England*; which Cessation had hitherto preserved the *Protestants* of that King-

* Treaty for Peace at *Uxbridge*, *Dugdale's short View*, p. 357.

dom ; who were not able without Supplies to preserve themselves from the Strength and Power of the Rebels ; which Supplies his Majesty could not, and the Parliament would not send ; and therefore if the *Protestants* there should hereafter be oppressed by the Rebels, who every Day procured Assistance from Abroad, and so were like to be more powerfull, all the Mischiefs and Misery that must attend them, would before God and Man be put to the Account of the *Parliament*, which had defrauded them of those Supplies, which by his Majesty's Care had been raised and provided for them, and not to his Majesty, who had done nothing but what he was obliged to doe for his own Preservation ; and if he had not sent for those Soldiers from *Ireland*, they could not have staid there, without a Supply of Money, Cloaths and Provisions ; which the *Parliament* had not yet sent to that Part of the Army which remained there, and which could by no other way have subsisted, but by the Benefit and Security of the Cessation.

He told them, “ That all this unjustifiable way of proceeding, though it had compelled the King to yield to a *Cessation*, yet could not prevail with him to make a Peace with the *Irish Rebels* ; from whom he had admitted Commissioners to attend him with Propositions to that Purpose ; but when he found those Propositions and Demands so unreasonable, that he could not consent to them in Conscience, and that they were inconsistent with the Security of his *Protestant* Subjects there, he had totally rejected them, and dismiss'd their Commissioners with severe and sharp Animadversions ; yet that he had given his Lieutenant and Council there Authority to continue the *Cessation* longer, in hope, that the Rebels there might be reduced to better Temper, or that his Majesty might be enabled by a happy Peace here, to chastise their odious and obstinate Rebellion ; and if the Parliament would yet give his Majesty sufficient Caution, that
“ the

“ the War shall be vigorously prosecuted there again
 “ the *Irish*, by sending over strong Supplies of Me
 “ and Money, he would put an End to that Cessatio
 “ without declaring it to be void; which otherwi
 “ he could not in Justice doe, and the doing where
 “ of would be to no Purpose.

‘ The Commissioners visibly out of Countenance
 ‘ and angry, made no other Reply than what is men
 ‘ tioned by Mr. *Neal*. To which the King’s Com
 ‘ missioners replied. Upon which Mr. *Neal* make
 the following candid Reflection, *Admirable Arguments*
to induce a Parliament to put the Sword into the King’s
Hands.

The King in his Letter to Prince *Rupert* from *Cardiff*, *August* 1645. has the following remarkable Words
 ‘ * As for the *Irish*, I assure you, they shall not cheat
 ‘ me; but ’tis possible, they may couzen them
 ‘ selves; for be assured what I have refused to the
 ‘ *English*, I will not grant to the *Irish* Rebels, never
 ‘ trusting to that Kind of People (of what Nature
 ‘ soever) more than I see by their Actions; and I am
 ‘ sending to *Ormonde* such a Dispatch, as I am sure
 ‘ will please you, and all honest Men, a Copy where
 ‘ of, by the next Opportunity you shall have. —

Yrs, &c

In a Letter likewise to the Marquis of *Ormonde* from
Cardiffe, 31. *July* 1645. he thus expresses himself
 ‘ † But I will rather chuse to suffer all Extremity
 ‘ than ever to abandon my Religion, and particularly
 ‘ either to the *English* or *Irish* Rebels— To conclude
 ‘ if the *Irish* shall so unworthily take Advantage of my
 ‘ weak Condition, as to press me to that which I can
 ‘ not grant with a safe Conscience, and without it to
 ‘ reject a Peace, I command you, if you can, to pro
 ‘ cure a farther Cessation, if not, to make what Dis

* Lord *Clarendon*’s Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 525. Collection of Let
 ters from King *Charles* 1st and 2d, &c. Printed by Mr. *Carte*, 1735. No. 407
 p. 422.

† Letters of King *Charles* 1st and 2d, Duke of *Ormonde*, &c. published by Mr.
Carte, in Folio 1735. No. CCCC, p. 418, 419.

visions you can among them, and rather leave it to the Chance of War between them and those Forces which you can draw to my Assistance, than to give my Consent to any such Allowance of *Popery*, as must evidently bring Destruction to that *Profession*, which by the Grace of God I shall ever maintain through all Extremities. I know *Ormonde* that I impose a very hard Task upon you; but if God prosper me, you shall be a happy and glorious Subject, if otherwise you will perish nobly and generously with, and for him, who is your constant, real, faithful Friend,

Charles R.

N. p. 258. * *Mr. Henderson and Mr. Marshall declared it to be false in Fact, and a downright Imposition upon the Commissioners, that the foreign Protestants lamented the want of Episcopacy, and esteemed our Constitution more perfect than their own.* Rushworth, p. 348.

I cannot really find such a Declaration in the Place referred to in *Rushworth*, but admitting they did so, I think I may take upon me to say, that the Falshood lay in their own Assertion, and not in Dr. *Steward's*.

† Bishop *Carlton*, as I have observed before, had given the Opinions of the most learned Men of the Synod of *Dort*, as to this Particular. And Mr. *Calvin* owns, ' § That Episcopacy was the Government of all the Churches in the World, from the Apostle's Times, for about 1500 Years together.' Nay, he perstringes the *Papists* by referring to the *Hierarchy* of the Church of *England*, and expresses himself

* * The breaking up (the Treaty of *Uxbridge*) we owe (besides other good Turns) to our Brethren the *Scots*, with whom we could get no Reasons to prevail, when once they perceived that the specious Arguments they had framed to overthrow Episcopacy proved too weak; and how clearly their laboured Speeches against it, were answered by our Divines; for then they despaired to carry the Church Patrimony, the *Morsel* they have so long gaped for.' [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 375. p. 392. In a Letter from Secretary *Nicholas* to the Marquis of *Ormonde*, 10. March 1644.]

† Bishop *Carlton's* Examination of the late Appeal, p. 219. Answer of *Jobe Dugdale*, Divinity Professor at *Geneva*, to the Eccles. Assembly at *London*, 1647.

§ *Calvin's Institut. Lib. 4. Cap. 4. §. 1, 2, 4. Ep. ad Reg. Pol. 16. penes*

In the following favourable manner, “ * Let them
 “ (says he) produce us such a Kind of Hierarchye
 “ wherein Bishops may be so above the rest, that they
 “ refuse not to be under Christ, and depend upon
 “ him, as their only Head, that they maintain a brotherly
 “ Society, &c. If there be any that do not shew
 “ all Reverence and Obedience towards them, there
 “ is no *Anathema*, but I confess them worthy of it.

Calvin’s † Opinion of Episcopacy (says Mr. *Strype*)
 “ is manifest from a Letter, he and *Bullinger*, and others,
 “ learned Men of that sort, wrote Anno 1549
 “ to King *Edward* the VIth offering to make him their
 “ Defender, and to have Bishops in their Churches
 “ for better Union and Concord among them, as may
 “ be seen in Archbishop *Cranmer’s Memorials*. (Book
 “ 2. Ch. 15.) and likewise by a Writing of Arch-
 “ bishop *Abbot’s*, found among the MSS. of Arch-
 “ bishop *Usher*, which for the Remarkableness of it
 “ I shall here set down. “ Perusing some Papers of
 “ our Predecessor *Matthew Parker*, we find that
 “ *John Calvin*, and others of the *Protestant Churches*
 “ of *Germany*, and elsewhere, would have had Episcopacy
 “ if permitted; but could not upon several
 “ Accounts, partly fearing the other Princes of the
 “ *Roman Catholick Faith* would have joyned with the
 “ Emperor, and the rest of the *Popish Bishops* to have
 “ depressed the same; partly being newly reformed,
 “ and not settled, they had not sufficient Wealth
 “ to support Episcopacy, by reason of their daily
 “ Persecutions. Another, and a main Cause was,
 “ they would not have any *Popish Hands* laid over
 “ their Clergy. And whereas *John Calvin* had sent
 “ a Letter in King *Edward* the VIth’s Reign, to
 “ have conferr’d with the Clergy of the Church of
 “ *England* about something to this Effect; two Bishops,
 “ viz. *Gardiner* and *Bonner*, intercepted the

* De necessitate Ecclesie reformandae. Talem si nobis Hierarchiam exhibeant

† Life of Archbishop *Parker*, Book 2. Chap. 2. p. 70. See his Judgment of Episcopal Government, *Strype’s Annals* Vol. 1. p. 247. 1st Edit.

same, whereby Mr. Calvin's Overture perished ;
 and he received an Answer, as if it had been from
 the Reformed Divines of those Times, wherein they
 checked him, and slighted his Proposals. From
 which Time John Calvin and the Church of Eng-
 land were at Variance in several Points ; which o-
 therways, through God's Mercy had been qualified,
 if these Papers of his Proposals had been discovered
 unto the Queen's Majesty during John Calvin's
 Life. But being not discovered, until, or about
 the sixth Year of her Majesty's Reign, her Majesty
 much lamented they were not found sooner, which
 she expressed before her Council at the same Time,
 in the Presence of her great Friends Sir Henry Sid-
 ney and Sir William Cecil.

† Master Calvin (says the Bishop of Downe and
 Connor) wanted nothing of a Bishop, but only the
 Title ; for the Church of Geneva is not a Parochia
 but a Diocesan Church, consisting of divers Parishes,
 which make up one great Presbytery, and he all the
 Days of his Life was Moderator thereof, without
 whose Consent no Act of Ordination or Jurisdiction
 was ever done.

§ Calvin (says Mr. Hooker) maketh mention even
 of Primates that have Authority above Bishops. It
 was, saith he, (Epist. 190.) *The Institution of the An-
 cient Church, to the End, that the Bishops might by this
 Bond of Concord, continue faster linked amongst them-
 selves : And lest any Man should think that as well
 he might allow the Papacy itself ; to prevent this he
 addeth, aliud est Moderatum gerere & honorem, quam
 totum terrarum orbem immenso imperio completi.*

And Beza, after speaking of the Tyranny of the
 Bishop of Rome, says, ¶ We are far from charging
 all

* Calvin died Anno 1564. in the 56th Year of his Age. Bayle's Hist. Dict.
 Meiburg's Hist. du Calvinisme. Collier's Great Historical and Geographical Dict.
 Vol. 1. printed 1701.

† Bishop of Downe and Connor's Speech at Lislegaroy, 26 Sept. 1638. p. 5.
 Hooker's Eccles. Polity, B. 7. §. XI. p. 397.

§ Beza de Ministror. Evangelist Gradibus. Cap. 21. p. 126. Edit. Joh. le Prêtre
 1724. Neque tamen hujus Tyrannidis omnes Archiepiscopus & Episcopus hodie vocatos
 accusamus ;

all that are called *Archbishops* and *Bishops* as *Tyrants*;
 What Arrogance would that be? Nay why should
 not we acknowledge all such to be faithful *Pastors* of
 the *Christian Church*, and treat them with the high-
 est Regard and Reverence, provided they follow
 the Example of those Holy Bishops above specified,
 and reform the Church of God (so miserably cor-
 rupted) by the Rule of God's Word? Much less doe
 we (as some falsely and impudently accuse us) pre-
 scribe our own peculiar Example to the Imitation
 of any other Churches; like those who think nothing
 well done, but what they themselves have a Hand
 in. * *Beza* in the same Book has abundance of
 Passages in favour of Episcopacy, and if the Reader
 has a mind to know the Opinions of other Reformers
 in this Point, I must refer him to the Authorities ci-
 ted in the † Margin.

N. p.

accusamus; quæ fuerit enim hæc Arrogantia? Imo cunctos, sic hodie appellatos (modo Sanctissimorum illorum Episcoporum exemplum imitentur, & tam misere deformatam domum Dei, ex verbi divini regula instaurent) ut Ecclesie Christiane fidos Pastores, cur non agnoscamus, & omni reverentiâ prosequamur? Ne dum ut (quod falsissimè, & impudentissimè, nonnulli nobis objiciunt) cuiuspiam uspiam Ecclesie sequendum nostrum peculiare exemplum præscribamus: Imperitissimorum illorum similes, qui nihil, nisi quod ipsi agunt, rectum putant.

* *Beza* de Ministrorum Grad. Cap. 18. p. 111. Quod si nunc Anglicanæ Ecclesie instauratæ suorum Episcoporum & Archiepiscoporum Auctoritate suffultæ perstant: Quemadmodum hoc illi nostra Memoria contigit, ut ejus ordinis Homines, non tantum insignes Dei Martyres, sed etiam præstantissimos Pastores ac Doctores habuerit; fructus sanè istâ singulari Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam sit illi perpetua: Qua de re pluribus in caput 25. agemus.

† Confess. August. vid. Histo. a Davide Chytræo, p. 109. Petrus (1 Pet. 5.) vetat Episcopos dominari, & Ecclesiis imperare. Nunc non id agitur, ut dominatio eripiat Episcopis, sed hoc unum petitur, ut patiantur Evangelium purè doceri, & relaxent paucas quasdam Observationes, quæ sine peccato observari non possunt. Quod si nihil remiserint, ipsi viderint quo modo Deo rationem reddituri sunt, quod pertinaciâ suâ causam Schismatici præbent. Vide Corp. & Syntagm. Confessionum August. Confess. p. 65.

Facile autem possent Episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones, quæ bonâ Conscientiâ servari non possunt. Confess. Aug. a Davide Chytræo, p. 109. Vide Corp. & Syntagm. Confessionum Aureliæ Allobrogum 1612. p. 64.

Epist. Philippi Melancthon Joachimo Camerario Chytræi Histo. p. 305. Utinam, utinam possim, non quidem dominationem confirmare, sed Administrationem restituere Episcoporum. Video enim qualem simus habituri Ecclesiam, dissoluta & rursus Ecclesiastica. Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram tyrannidem, quam antea unquam fuit.

Philipp. Melancthon. Ep. Martino Lutero, Chytræi Hist. p. 106. Non credidit, quanto in odio sim Noricis, & nescio quibus aliis, propter restitutam Episcopis Jurisdictionem; ita de suo regno, non de Evangelio dimicant socii nostri. Bucuri Explicatio de vi & usu S. Ministerii Script. Anglican. p. 565. itaque hi ordines ministrorum in Ecclesiis perpetui, & a Spiritu Sancto statim initio constituti sunt, Episcoporum Presbyterorum, Diaconorum.

The

N. p. 263. *The last Day of the Treaty the Parliament continued sitting till nine of the Clock at Night, in hopes of bearing something from their Commissioners, that might encourage them to prolong the Treaty; but when an Express brought Word that the King's Commissioners would not yield to one of their Propositions, they broke up without doing any thing in the Business.*

The Archbishop of York, in a Letter to the Duke of Ormonde, dated from Conway the 25th of March 1645. has the following Words, ‘ * Your Excellency will hear that the Treaty of Uxbridge is broken off abruptly by the Rebels; that although his Majesty yielded much unto the three Propositions in debate, was very importunate to proceed in Disputation of the rest of the Propositions, and to goe in Person to London upon reasonable Security, yet they dissolved their Assembly disorderly and abruptly, having spent all the Time of the Conference, in huge Preparations of Men and Arms (whereof every House in London was stufed up) upon the unfortunate obtaining of Salop (the Key and Passage between the King and these Parts) by horrible Treachery of the Citizens, and Carelessness of our Commanders in Chief, they refused to treat, that is dissemble any longer.

N. p. 264. *But there was something more in the Affair than this; for Lord Clarendon is of Opinion, that if the King had yielded some Things to the Parliament,*

The famous John Deodate, Divinity Professor at Geneva, in his Letter to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London, printed 1647. p. 18. laments the Calamities of the Church of England in the following Manner, “ That flourishing England, the very Eye and Excellency of all the Churches, Christ's own Choyce, Purchase and Peculiar, the Sanctuary of the Afflicted, the Arsenal of the Faint-hearted, “ the Magazine of the Needy, that Royal Standard of all good Hope, ‘ should by so unlook'd for an Accident without any external Enemy or forrain Impression become in a Manner *Felo de se*, and make an End of itself with its own cruel Hands. What a sad Spectacle is this, to see that Church thus trodden under foot? To see that glorious Fould of our Lord thus ransackt, yeloworried, not by the wild Beasts of the Forrest, not torn in Pieces by the merciless Paws of the Lyon or of the Wolf, but utterly dismembred by its own unnatural Sheep enraged and exasperated one against another, &c.—— We are wholly struck with Horror at the Change of that glorious Face of your Church, whilst we hear at this Distance the loud Report of those deadly Wars that are now flaming between the King and his People.

* Collection of Letters written by the Kings Charles 1st and 2d, the Duke of Ormonde, &c. Vol. 3. published by Mr. Thomas Carte, 1735. p. 396.

with relation to the Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, there were still other Articles in reserve that would have broke off the Treaty; in which I cannot but agree with his Lordship.

And then gives his Reasons, that *Delinquents* must have been left to the Justice of *Parliament*, of which, he says, *his Lordship was one*. A very excellent Discovery indeed; that those who had stood up in Defence of the Constitution, both in Church and State, should be excepted from Pardon as *Delinquents* by those who were Rebels and Traytors to their King and Country. Lord *Clarendon* informs us, ‘ * That such Particulars as fell out in that Time, and were never communicated, and many of them known by very few, shall be briefly mentioned, that any who hereafter shall have the Perusal of his History, may know how impossible it was, that this Treaty could produce such a Peace, as both Sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the Parliament then, had at that Time the Resolution to act those monstrous Things they brought afterwards to pass.’ Nay he observes farther, That in a private Discourse that happened at the Duke of *Richmond*’s, between him and the Earl of *Lowden* Chancellor of *Scotland*, that he told him, ‘ † That the King did so much desire a Peace, that no Man need advise him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and honourable Conditions of Peace were offered to him; but if a Peace could not be had, but upon such Conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent with his Honour or his Conscience, no Man could have Credit enough to perswade him to accept it; and that for his own Part, without reflecting upon the good or ill Opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it.

In the same Page Mr. *Neal* informs us, That most of the King’s Commissioners endeavoured to accommodate Matters before they left *Uxbridge*, the Earl of *Southampton* rid Post from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford*, to press the

* Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. 2. p. 446. † Id. p. 447.

King to yield something to the Necessity of the Times; several of the Council pressed him upon their Knees, and 'tis said, his Majesty was at length prevailed with and appointed to sign a Warrant next Morning for that purpose, but that Montross's Romantick Letter of his Conquests in Scotland coming in the mean Time made the unhappy King alter his Resolution.

In Support of the first Part of this Paragraph, he has not so much as the Shadow of an Authority, as far as I can learn; and for the latter Part concerning Montross, Bishop Burnet's Authority makes directly against him, and is as follows. * *Montross* writ to the King, *That he had gone over the Land from Dan to Beersheba*, and that he paid the King to come down in these Words, *Come thou, and take the City, lest I take it, and it be called by my Name*. This Letter was writ, but never sent, for he was routed, and his Papers taken before he had dispatched the Courier.

Bishop Kennet informs us, † That a late Writer of Memoirs tells it as a Secret in History, that the occasion of breaking off this Treaty, was a Letter from the Marquis of *Montross* in Scotland, who had entirely defeated the Earl of *Argyle*, Feb. 2. and next Day sent an Express of it in a Letter to the King. Wherein he declares his utter Aversion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament in England, and is heartily sorry to hear that *His Majesty* had consented to treat, and hopes it is not true; advises him not to enter into any Terms with his *Rebellious Subjects*, and assures him, that he should be able within a few Months to march into England to his Majesty's Assistance with a brave Army. Supposing such a Letter was written, though this Relator pretends to have seen nothing but a Copy under another Hand, and supposing the Difficulty removed, which the Relator himself can hardly imagine, "That a Letter writ February 3. in the farthest North Corner of Britain

* Bishop Burnet's History of his own Time, Vol. 1. p. 39.

† Compleat History of England, Vol. 3. p. 140.

“ should come so soon to *Oxford*, considering the
 “ Length of the Journey, the Badness of the Roads
 “ at that Time of the Year, especially through the
 “ Mountainous Parts of *Scotland*, together with the
 “ Parliament’s and *Scotch* Armies and Garrisons, that
 “ were posted along the Roads.” Supposing these
 “ hard Things to be true ; yet it seems no Inference
 “ that the King himself was the Cause of breaking off
 “ this Treaty, when a Denial of any the least Conces-
 “ sions, and even of a few farther Days, was the sole
 “ Act of the *Parliament Commissioners*. And yet had
 “ the Rupture been made solely at the King’s
 “ Command, he would have stood justified by all the
 “ Laws of Conscience and Honour ; for, to have
 “ yielded to all the Propositions, as they insisted,
 “ without the least Mitigation of them, would as ef-
 “ fectually have divested him of his Crown and Dig-
 “ nity, as they did afterwards deprive him of his Life.
 “ It had been glorious in him to resolve, that Mo-
 “ narchy should not be murdered before the King.

Nay *Rapin*, one of his favourite Authors, imagines,
 that the Parliament had no Intention of Peace at the
 Time they sent their Commissioners to *Uxbridge*. * It
 “ is certain then (says he) that it was not properly with
 “ a Design to make Peace, that the two Houses sent
 “ their Commissioners to *Uxbridge* ; their sole View
 “ was to let their Party see, they were determined to
 “ stand by the Alterations they had made in Religion,
 “ and the Establishment of *Presbyterianism* ; to shew
 “ the Publick, that the King when he so frequently
 “ offered Peace, made Overtures of a Peace very
 “ destructive and dangerous to the Nation ; and lastly
 “ to confirm the People in their Suspicion, that the
 “ King did not proceed as he ought in the Affairs
 “ of *Ireland*.’ But what little Ground *Rapin* had for
 his second Reason I think I have already proved from
 much better Authorities. And how desirous this excellent
Monarch was of Peace from the Beginning, his Decla-
 ration to his loving Subjects of *Scotland* 1643. mani-

* *Rapin’s Hist. of England*, Vol. 12. p. 270.

feftly proves. Where he informs them, ‘ * That af-
 ‘ ter he had freely and voluntarily consented to fo
 ‘ many Acts of Parliament, as not only repaired all
 ‘ former Grievances, but alfo added whatfoever was
 ‘ propofed to him, for the future Benefit and Security
 ‘ of his Subjects, infomuch, as in Truth there want-
 ‘ ed nothing to make the Nation compleatly happy,
 ‘ but a juft Sense of their own Condition ; a few dif-
 ‘ contented, ambitious and factious Persons, fo pre-
 ‘ vailed over the Weaknefs of others, that inftead of
 ‘ receiving that return of Thanks and Acknowledge-
 ‘ ments, which he expected and deferved, his People
 ‘ were poyfoned with feditious and fcandalous Fears
 ‘ and Jealoufies concerning him ; he was encountered
 ‘ with more unreafonable and importunate Demands,
 ‘ and at laft driven through Force and Tumults to
 ‘ flee from his City of *London*, for the Safety of
 ‘ his Life. After which he was ftill purfued with
 ‘ unheard of Insolencies and Indignities, and fuch Mem-
 ‘ bers of either Houfe as refufed to joyn in thefe un-
 ‘ juftifiable Refolutions, were driven from thefe Coun-
 ‘ cils, contrary to the Freedom and Liberty of Par-
 ‘ liament, infomuch, that above four Parts in five of
 ‘ the Affembly was likewise forced, and are ftill kept
 ‘ from thence: His Forts, Towns, Ships, and Arms
 ‘ were taken from him, his Money, Rents and Re-
 ‘ venue feized and detained ; and that then a power-
 ‘ ful Army was raifed and conducted againft him (a
 ‘ good part of which was raifed and muftered before
 ‘ he had given his Comiffions for raifing one Man)
 ‘ that all this Time he never denied any one thing,
 ‘ but what by the known Laws was unquestionably
 ‘ his own ; that he earneftly defired and preffed a
 ‘ Treaty, that fo he might but know at what Price
 ‘ he might prevent the Miferies and Defolations that
 ‘ were threatned ; that this was abfolutely and fcornful-
 ‘ ly refufed and rejected, and he himfelf compelled with
 ‘ fuch of his good Subjects as came to his Succour,
 ‘ to make ufe of defensive Arms for the Safety of his

* *Bifhop Burnet's Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 222.

' Life, and Preservation of his Posterity. What
 ' passed since that Battle has been given him; his
 ' own Person and his Children endeavoured to be
 ' destroyed, those unheard of Pressures exercised upon
 ' his poor Subjects by Rapine, Plundering and Im-
 ' prisonment, and the Confusion which is since brought
 ' upon the whole Excellent Frame of the Govern-
 ' ment of this Kingdome, is the Discourse of
 ' *Christendome*. That he was very far from mak-
 ' ing a War with, or against his Parliament, of
 ' which he himself was an *essential Part*; that his
 ' principal Quarrel was for the Priviledges of Parlia-
 ' ment, as well those of the two Houses as his own:
 ' If a few Persons had not by Arts and Force, first
 ' awed, and then driven away the rest, these Diffe-
 ' rences had never arisen, much less had they ever
 ' come to so bloody a Decision. That he had often
 ' accused those Persons against whom his Quarrel
 ' was, and desired to bring them to no other Tryal
 ' than that of the Law of the Land, by which they
 ' ought to be tried. And as he had been compelled
 ' to take up these defensive Arms for the Safety of
 ' his Life, assaulted by rebellious Arms, the Defence
 ' of the True Reformed *Protestant* Religion, scornfully
 ' invaded by *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Inde-*
 ' *pendent Sectaries* (who in Truth were the principal
 ' Authors and sole Fomenters of that unnatural
 ' War) for the Maintenance of the Liberty and Pro-
 ' perty of his Subjects maliciously violated, by a vast
 ' unlimited arbitrary Power, and for the Preservation
 ' of the Right, Dignity, and Priviledges of Parlia-
 ' ment, almost destroy'd by Tumults and Faction; so
 ' what hath by Violence been taken from him being
 ' restored, and the Freedom of meeting in Parlia-
 ' ment, being secured, he had lately offer'd (though
 ' he had not been thought worthy of an Answer) to
 ' disband his Army, to leave all Differences to the
 ' Tryal of a full and peaceable Convention in Parlia-
 ' ment; and he could not from his Soul desire any
 ' Blessing from Heaven more than he did a peace-
 ' able

able and happy End of those unnatural Distractions.

N. p. 65. It appears from hence (*viz.* short Scraps from the Queen's and King's Letters before produced) *That the Peace which the King seem'd so much to desire, was but an empty Sound.*

The Groundlessnefs of this Assertion is manifest from a Paragraph of his Letter of *March 5.* to the Queen, one of the Letters Mr. *Neal* quotes in Proof, tho' he leaves out the Words that would have destroyed his bold Assertion. * *Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless End of this Treaty.* Then follow these Words, omitted by Mr. *Neal*; " But I am still " confident I shall find good Effects of it. For " besides, that my Commissioners have offered, to " say no more, full measured Reason, and the Rebels " have stucken rigidly to their Demands, which I " dare say had been too much, though they had taken me Prisoner; so that assuredly the Breach " would light foully upon them, we have likewise " this Time discovered, and shall make it evidently " appear to the World, that the *English Rebels* (whether basely or ignorantly will be no great Difference) " have so much as in them lies transmitted the Command of *Ireland* from the Crown of *England*, upon the *Scots*; which besides the Reflection it will have upon these Rebels, will clearly shew, that the Reformation of the Church is not the chief, much less the only End of the *Scotish* Rebellion." Lord *Clarendon* informs us, " That † the King's Commissioners delivered a Paper which contained the Sum of all that had been done in the Treaty, and observed, " That after a War of so many Years, " entred into as was pretended, for the Defence and " Vindication of the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, in a Treaty of twenty Days, " they had not demanded any one Thing that by the " Law of the Land, they had the least Title to de-

* *Rapin's Hist. of England*, Vol. 12. p. 281.

† *Lord Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 461.

“ mand; but insisted only on such Particulars as were
 “ against Law, and the established Government of
 “ the Kingdom, * and that much more had been
 “ offer’d them for the obtaining of Peace than they
 “ could with Justice or Reason require; with which
 “ they were so offended, that they for some Time
 “ refused to receive the Paper, upon Pretence that
 “ the Time for the Treaty was expired; because it
 “ was then after 12 of the Clock of the Night, of the
 “ twentieth Day: But at last they were consented to
 “ receive it, finding that it would not be less publick
 “ and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected
 “ it; and so they parted a little before the Break of
 “ Day.

N. ibid. Such was the Queen’s Ascendant over the King, and his Majesty’s servile Attachment to her imperious Dictates: The Fate of three Kingdoms was at her Disposal.

So ungenerous is this Reflection, that every Reader will be able to judge what Spirit the Person must be of, who is capable of making it, and what Answer it deserves.

N. p. 266. As a farther Demonstration of this melancholy Remark, his Majesty authorized the Earl of Glamorgan by a Warrant under his Royal Signet, dated March 12. 1644. to conclude privately a Peace with the Irish Papists upon the best Terms as he could, tho’ they were such as his Lieutenant the Duke of Ormonde might not well be seen in, nor his Majesty himself think fit to own publicly at present, engaging the Word of a King and a Christian to ratify whatsoever he should grant under his Hand and Seal, on Condition, they would send

* As for the Treaty of Peace (says Lord Digby) in a Letter to the Marquis of Ormonde, 17th Feb. 1644. [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 344.] ‘ it continues still at Uxbridge, but without any Probability of Fruits by it, those at London continuing peremptory to the highest Degree in all their highest Demands, his Majesty having courted them to Peace by all the Offers that can be made, without an absolute Subversion of the Church and Monarchical Power. See likewise Letter No. 374. p. 390. and Secretary Nicholas in a Letter to the Marquis of Ormonde [No. 375.] says, ‘ Notwithstanding all our Endeavours and frequent pressing of further Time to be granted for the Treaty, that his Majesty’s Propositions might have come into Consideration also (which they still deferr’d) we were told plainly by those Commissioners, that their Time and Instructions to treat with us were at an End.

over into England a Body of ten thousand Men, under the Command of the said Earl.

And what tho' *Rushworth*, *Rapin*, and *Oldmixon* furnish him with this fine Piece of Slander; we have better Evidence, I think, for the Confutation of it than his whole Tribe of *Republican Writers* put together can be in its Defence. Lord *Clarendon* (a Person of Honour) informs us, ' * That those Concessions and Promises made by the Earl were disowned and disavowed by the Lord Lieutenant before the Conclusion of the Peace, and the Earl committed to Prison for his Presumption.

In a Letter from *Colonel King* in *Ireland* to one of the Members that staid at *Westminster* is the following Account. ' † The Lord *Digby* (says he) disclaimed the Thing, and said the King would not yield to them [*viz. Glamorgan's Articles*] to save his Crown and his Life, and that if any such Thing was gotten, it was procured surreptitiously, and therefore accused the Earl of *Glamorgan* of Treason, and accordingly he was committed the 26th of the last Month to the Castle of *Dublin*. This in all Appearance was done to pacify the People. For a Friend writes, " That he might have bin released of his close Imprisonment within two Days after, if he would have acknowledged, that he proceeded in it without Warrant, but he justifies the Act, and so remains a Prisoner.

Belfast, 6^o. Jan. 1645.

Your humble Servant,
Robert King.

To the Honourable *William Pierrepont*, Esq; This.

* Lord *Clarendon's* Historical View of the Affairs of *Ireland*, p. 62. published 1720.

† Manuscript Collections of Dr. *P. Williams*, Vol. 5. No. 79. An Original. Mr. *Whitlock* says (*Memorials*, p. 196.) ' That the King in a Letter disclaimed the Earl of *Glamorgan's* Commission, by which he treated with the *Irish*, as false and no Act of his Majesty's.' See likewise Sir *William Dugdale*, [*Short View of the Troubles*, p. 205.]

See the Warrant for his Commitment in the * Margin. But the King's Letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Council in *Ireland*, may put this Matter (I think) out of Dispute.

† *Charles R.*

RIGHT trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, and well beloved Counsellors, we greet you well. We have seen and considered the Dispatch, directed from you and our Council there, to our right trusty and well beloved Counsellor Sir *Edward Nicholas*, one of our Principal Secretaries of State, concerning the Earl of *Glamorgan's* Accusation, and your Proceedings thereupon. And as we could not but receive the one with extraordinary Amazement, that any Man's Presumption should carry him to such a Degree of abusing our Trust how little soever : So we could not but be very sensible of the great Affection and Zeal to our Service which you have expressed, in putting our Honour (so highly traduced) into so speedy and effectual a Way of Vindication by the proceeding against the said Earl. And altho' we are so well assured of you and the rest of our Council's entire Con-

* *Ormonde,*

By the Lieutenant and Council.

" Whereas our very good Lord, the L. *George Digby*, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, did this Day, at this Board, in the Presence of our very good Lord the E. of *Glamorgan*, charge the said E. of *Glamorgan* with Suspicion of High Treason ; and moved, that for his Majesty's Honour and Service, the said Earle's Person might be secured, untill upon Representation made to his Majesty of the State of this Matter, wee may understand his Majestie's Royal Pleasure therein, some Particulars of which Charge, the said Lord *Digby* made knowne at this Board, the said Earle being then withdrawn into the next Room.

" These are therefore to require the Constable of his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, to take into his Custody the said Earle of *Glamorgan*, and to keep him in safe Custody in his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, in the Condition of a close Prisoner, untill farther Direction from us, and for so doing, this shall be the Constable's Warrant, given at his Majesty's Castle of *Dublin*, 26. December, 1645.

<i>Roscommon.</i>	<i>Edw. Brabazon.</i>	<i>Ant. Midenfis.</i>	<i>Cb. Lambert.</i>
<i>Ar. Chichester.</i>	<i>Ger. Lowther.</i>	<i>Fr. Willoughby.</i>	<i>Tbo. Lucas.</i>
<i>Robt. Fortb.</i>	<i>Ja. Ware.</i>		

A true Copy. *Mo. Berry.*

Dr. *Williams's* Manuscript Collections. Vol. 12. No. 168. See Lord *Digby's* Letter, *Rushworth*, Vol. 6. p. 240, 241, 242. See Mr. *Carte's* Collection of Letters, 1735. No. 418. p. 436, &c. Id. p. 440.

† Letters concerning State Affairs, 1735. Vol. 3. No. 425. p. 445. See No. 426.

• *fidence*

' fidence in the Justice and Piety of our Resolution,
 ' in what concerns the Maintenance of the *true Pro-*
 ' *testant Religion*, and particularly the Church and the
 ' Revenues thereto belonging, and our constant Care
 ' of our good Subjects of the same in that our King-
 ' dom, as we do not think it needful to say any more
 ' unto you upon that Subject, than what has been
 ' sufficiently declared by the Practice and Profession
 ' of our whole Life; yet to the End that your Zeal
 ' may be the better instructed in that Particular, where-
 ' by to satisfy such of our good Subjects as might be
 ' apt to be misled by the Subtlety and Malice of our
 ' Enemies. We have thought fit to let you know
 ' the whole Truth of what hath passed from us to the
 ' Earl of * *Glamorgan*, whereby he might in any wise
 ' pretend to the least kind of Trust or Authority
 ' from us in what concerned the Treaty of that King-
 ' dom. The Truth is, that the pressing Condition of
 ' our Affairs obliging us to procure a Peace in that
 ' Kingdom, if it might be had upon any Terms safe
 ' to our Honour and our Conscience, and our *Protestant*
 ' Subjects there; and finding also, that the said Peace
 ' could not be gained but by some Indulgence to the
 ' *Roman Catholics*, in point of freeing them from the Pe-
 ' nalties imposed upon the Exercise of their Religion,
 ' as although justly and duly we might grant, yet
 ' haply in a publick Transaction could not be without
 ' some Scandal to such our good Subjects as might be
 ' apt to be wrought upon by their Arts, who did
 ' continually watch all Advantages to blast the
 ' Integrity of our Actions, we thought fit over and
 ' above our publick Power and Directions to you
 ' our Lieutenant, to give you private Instructions

* The King in his Message to the Members at *Westminster*, Jan. 29. 1645.
 concerning *Ireland*, and a personal Treaty, (*Sanderfon's Reign of King Charles* p.
 856.) has the following Words. ' And his Majestie doth protest, that until such
 ' Time as he had Advertisement that the Person of the said Earl of *Glamorgan* was
 ' arrested and restrained—— he never heard, nor had any kind of Notice, that
 ' the said Earl had entred into Treaty or Capitulation with those *Irish Commissioners*,
 ' much less that he had concluded or signed those Articles so destructive both of
 ' Church and State, and so repugnant to his Majestie's publick Professions and
 ' known Resolutions.

' and Power to assure the said *Roman Catholicks* in a
 ' less publick way of the said Exemption from the
 ' Penaltys by the Law, and of some such other Graces
 ' as might without Blemish to our Honour and Con-
 ' science, or Prejudice to our *Protestant* Subjects be
 ' afforded to them; with the Knowledge of these se-
 ' cret Instructions to you, we thought fit to acquaint
 ' the Earl of *Glamorgan* at his going to *Ireland*, be-
 ' ing confident of his hearty Affections to our Ser-
 ' vice; and withall, knowing his Interest with the
 ' *Roman Catholick* Party to be very considerable, we
 ' thought it not unlikely that you might make good
 ' use of him by imploying that Interest in perswading
 ' them to a Moderation, and to rest satisfied upon his
 ' Engagement also, with those above-mentioned Con-
 ' cessions, of which in the Condition of our Affaires,
 ' you could give them no other than a private Assu-
 ' rance. To this End (and with the strict Limitations
 ' that we could enjoin him, merely to those Par-
 ' ticulars concerning which we had given you secret
 ' Instructions, as also even in that to doe nothing but by
 ' your especial Directions) it is possible that we might
 ' have thought fit to have given unto the said Earl
 ' of *Glamorgan* such a Credential as might give him
 ' Credit with the *Roman Catholicks*, in case you should
 ' find occasion to make use of him, either as a far-
 ' ther Assurance unto them of what you should
 ' privately promise; or in case you should judge it
 ' necessary to manage those Matters for their grea-
 ' ter Confidence apart by him, of whom in regard
 ' of his Religion and Interest, they might be the less
 ' jealous. * This is all, and the very Bottom, of

* In a Letter from Lord Digby to the Marquess of Ormonde, October 18. 1645.
 [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. p. 508.] are the following Words,
 ' There is nothing more certain, than that the Lord *Glamorgan* is a principal Au-
 ' thor and Fomenter of all this Mischief of the Clergy, and that he hath forged
 ' new Powers from his Majesty, to take upon him the Command at least of *Mun-*
 ' *ster*, if not of *Ireland*. And in the Postscript of a Letter to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*
 (Letters, &c. Vol. 3.) dated, *Dublin Jan. 1645.* ' I believe (says he) you will
 ' be as much startled as I was, to find the *Signet* mentioned in my Lord *Glamorgan's*
 ' Transactions; but it seems that was mistaken, and that he now pretends to some
 ' kind of Authority under the King's *pocket Seal*, which I certainly believe to be as
 ' false as I know the other.

‘ what we might have possibly entrusted unto the
 ‘ said Earl of *Glamorgan* in this Affair; which as
 ‘ things then stood, might have been very useful
 ‘ to our Service in accelerating the Peace, and
 ‘ whereof there was so much need, as well for the
 ‘ Preservation of our *Protestant* Subjects there, as for
 ‘ hastening those necessary Aids which we were to
 ‘ expect from thence, had we had the Luck to im-
 ‘ ploy a wiser Man. But the Truth is, being very
 ‘ confident of his Affections and Obedience, we had
 ‘ not much regard to his Abilitys, since he was bound
 ‘ up by our positive Commands from doing any
 ‘ thing but what you should particularly, and preci-
 ‘ sely direct him to, both in the Matter and Man-
 ‘ ner of his Negotiation.

‘ Wherefore our Pleasure is, that the Charge be-
 ‘ gun by our *Secretary* according to his Duty, be
 ‘ thoroughly and diligently prosecuted against the
 ‘ said Earl, and so no Way doubting of your and
 ‘ our Council’s further care there, correspondent to
 ‘ your beginning in a Matter so highly concerning
 ‘ us, we bid you heartily farewell.

‘ Given at our Court at *Oxford* this 31st Day of
 ‘ *January* in the twenty first Year of our Reign 1645.
 ‘ By his Majestie’s Command,

Edw. Nicholas.

Mr. *Secretary Nicholas* in a Letter to the Marquess
 of *Ormonde* speaks of the Earl of *Glamorgan*’s Affair in
 the following Manner: ‘ * Your Excellence and the Coun-
 ‘ cil there, will herewith receive a full and particular
 ‘ Relation from his Majesty, of all that he can call to
 ‘ mind concerning that Business; wherein as the Lord
 ‘ *Herbert* hath dealt very unworthily with his Maje-
 ‘ stie, so ’tis believed that even the *Roman Catholicks*
 ‘ themselves will condemn him for his imprudent
 ‘ Proceeding therein. For if his † *pretended Warrant*
 ‘ had

* Letters concerning State Affairs. Vol. 3. pag. 447. See likewise p. 475.
 500.

† The Earl of *Glamorgan*, (as appears from Mr. *Carte*’s History of the Life
 of *James Duke of Ormonde*) pretended to such a Variety of Commissions, and
 of

' had been authentick, yet to doe any thing there-
 ' upon without your Excellency's Privity, was a
 ' Madness rather than a Folly, and the concealing
 ' so long what he had done argues something worse.
 ' The King hath commanded me to advertise your
 ' Lordship, that the Patent for making the said Lord
 ' *Herbert of Ragland Earl of Glamorgan*, is not passed
 ' the Great Seal here, so as he is no Peer of this King-
 ' dom, notwithstanding he stiles himself and hath trea-
 ' ted with the Rebels in *Ireland*, by the Name of the
 ' Earl of *Glamorgan*, which is as vainly taken upon
 ' him as this *pretended Warrant* (if any such be) was sur-
 ' reptitiously gotten. And I am sure, that Honour
 ' cannot be conferred on him under the Signet (as
 ' firmly as under the Great Seal to all Intents and
 ' purposes) as his Lordship's *pretended Warrant* and
 ' Power is alledged to be, tho' there is no Signet
 ' to it.

N. p. 267. The Day before the Commencement of the Treaty of Uxbridge, the Members of the House of Commons attended the Funeral of Mr. John White, Chairman of the grand Committee of Religion, and Publisher

of such an extravagant Nature, that the bare Pretence evidently shews, that they must be meer Forgeries. Besides the three Commissions mentioned by some of our Historians, are directed to *Edward Earl of Glamorgan*, a Title his Vanity made him assume, before the Patent was passed for it, as appears from the above mentioned Letter of Secretary *Nicolas*, to the Marquess of *Ormonde*.

His Chaplain, or Secretary, a *Romish* Priest forged them probably, for the Stile and Manner of them betray the Forgery. And what confirms this the more, he would never produce the Originals to any Body but the *Nuncio*, and some of his particular Friends in the supreme Council. He gave the *Nuncio* Copies of them, but no Original, except of a French Letter in the King's Name, pretended to be dated at *Oxford*, April 30, 1645. (i. e. after the Earl of *Glamorgan* had left *Oxford*, and the King knew not probably where he was) of this Letter the Writer of the *Nuncio's* Memoirs fol. 2212. (as the Reverend Mr. *Carte* informs us, who has printed these Memoirs, which are in Lord *Lovel's* Library) says, that he had the *Autographon* before him, and certainly knew it to be the Hand of that Secretary, who was no Fool; and who also wrote a great many of the other Papers that passed between the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and the *Nuncio*, generally in *Latin*, or *Italian*, which that Secretary understood much better than he did the *French*; so that as the *Nuncio* said in his Letters to the Court of *Rome*: *Glamorgan* had no Powers but what consisted in blank Sheets, which had no Force in Law to oblige the King. If his Majesty had wrote his Name on a Blank in *England*, the Letter itself was certainly wrote in *Ireland*. This undoubted Forgery proves plainly, that the Person who was guilty of it, would not probably have scrupled any other.

of the Century of scandalous Ministers, he was a grave Lawyer, says Lord Clarendon, and made a considerable Figure in his Profession.

'Tis granted that Lord Clarendon calls him so, but as Dr. Walker observes, it might possibly only respect his outward Appearance. Who informs us, * That he had boasted, that he and his had ejected Eight Thousand of the Church of England Ministers, which together with his being thus at the Head of so many Committees, shews, how well affected he was to, and how active in that *hellish* Employment, in which it seems he got vast Sums of Money, taking 12 Pence a Sheet for Orders, &c. and probably sufficient Rewards for filling up the Places of those whom he sequester'd; but very little in all Likelihood for sparing any Clergyman: for I don't remember at present, to have met with a single Instance of any one, who escaped, after he came into his Hands. In the learned Mr. *Jer. Stephens's* Manuscripts this Argument is alledged as a Proof what the Master's Gains might be. For it is probable that *John Phelps* the Clerk to one of these Committees, got at least two thousand Pounds.

† Being (says Dr. Walker) as I have been inform'd, charged home by a Clergyman, whom he had injured, with some corrupt Practices in the Way of *Bribery*, and threatned with a Discovery, which the Clergyman by some Intimation let him know, he was very well able to make; he took his Chamber upon it, and as 'tis said, never after came out of it, dying *distracted* (saith another Author who wrote within few Years of that Time) Crying out, *how many* & Clergymen, their Wives and

P

Chil-

* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy, p. 47.

† Id. ib.

§ We are told by an Anonymous Writer, ' That when Mr. *White* required Dr. *Featley* to take the Covenant, he refused, and alledged, it was contrary to his Oath of canonical Obedience to his Bishop; ' whereupon *White* told him, He must suffer, and be turned out; to which the good Man replied. *Nec mihi ignominiosum est pati, quod passus est Christus, nec tibi gloriosum est face-*

' Children he had undone — raving and condemning
 ' himself at his dying Hour, for his undoing so many
 ' guiltless Ministers. Notwithstanding which, he was
 ' attended to his Grave by the Members of the House.
 ' Dr. Bruno Ryves, Author of *Mercurius Rusticus*,
 ' calls him a fornicating Brownist, and the Author
 ' of *Persec. Undec.* suggests much worse.

C H A P. VI.

THIS Chapter is chiefly taken up with the De-
 bates of the Assembly of Divines about Ordina-
 tion, the Power of the Keys, and the divine Right of
Presbyterian Church Government, where Mr. Neal in-
 forms us, that the Scots and *Presbyterians* were much
 dissatisfied at the Ordinance of the Parliament, for
 erecting *Presbyteries*.

N. p. 298. *That a Petition was presented March 23.*
by the whole Assembly, with Mr. Marshall at their
Head; in which they assert the divine Right of the
Presbyterian Government, and complain of a Clause in
the late Ordinance, which establishes an Appeal from
the Censures of the Church, to a Committee of Parlia-
ment. Id. ib. The Committee alarm'd at this Peti-
tion, appointed a Committee to take into Consideration the
Matter and Manner of it, who after some Time reported
it as their Opinion, that the Assembly of Divines, in
their late Petition had broken the Privileges of Parlia-
ment, and were guilty of a Præmunire.

That they were guilty of a *Præmunire* for acting
 without the King's Writ, is plain enough from the
 25. of *Hen. 8. chap. 19.* ' Where it is enacted, by
 ' the Authority of that Parliament, according to the
 ' said Submission and Petition of the Clergy, "That

' *re, quod fecit Judas.* And 'tis no Wonder that *White* died distracted in his
 ' Rage against the Church, crying out how many Clergymen, their Wives and
 ' Children he had ruined.' [*Seditious Preachers, ungodly Teachers, in Answer to*
 ' *Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life 1709. p. 15.*]

" they,

“ they, ne any of them, from henceforth shall presume to attempt, alledge, claim, or put in ure, any Constitutions or Ordinances, Provincial or Synodal, or any other Canons; nor shall enact, promulge and execute any such Canons, Constitutions, or *Ordinances Provincial*, by whatsoever Name or Names they may be called in their Convocations, in Time coming, (which always shall be assembled by Authority of the King's Writt) unless the same Clergy may have the King's most Royal Assent and License to make, promulge, and execute such Canons, &c. upon paine of every one of the said Clergy doing contrary to this Act, and being thereof convict, to suffer Imprisonment, and make Fine at the King's Will.

But how they could incur a *Præmunire* in petitioning the Members that staid at *Westminster*, I am really at a Loss to understand. Nor do I find it charged upon them, tho' Breach of Privilege was, as appears from the Manuscript Papers in the * *Margin*, and *Appendix*.

* 1 April, 1646.

- “ 1. Whether the Divines have done according to their Duetye ?
- “ 2. Whether the Assembly of Divines in printing this Petition have not broke the Priviledge of Parliament, and assumed to themselves a Power which belongeth not unto them.
- “ Whether the Divines shall be first heard what they can say in maintenance of what they have laid down in their Petition concerning Divine Right.
- “ That the Manner of the Proceeding of the Divines of the Assembly in printing this Petition, be taken into Consideration in the first Place.
- “ That the Printing of this Petition by the Assembly of Divines is a Breach of the Priviledge of Parliament, and that they have therein exceeded the Power given them by Ordinance of Parliament.

8 April, 1646.

“ That the Assembly of Divines in framing and printing this Petition have done contrary to the Power given them, by the Ordinance of Parliament by which they sit.

“ That the Assembly of Divines in the Framing and Manner of printing this Petition, have broke the Priviledge of Parliament, that Questions shall be propounded to the Divines in the first Place, and their Answer received in Writing.

Endorsed, Papers of the Grand Committee, touching some Points of Church Government. Manuscript Collections of Dr. Ph. Williams, Vol. 22. No. 43. See Appendix No. 52, 53. The Assembly's Petition, No. 54. The Ministers Petition, No. 55.

C H A P. VII.

AFTER giving an Account of the King's leaving Oxford, and going to the Scot's Army, he observes, N. p. 323. *That the Scots Commissioners in their Letter to the House of Peers aver, they had given no Assurance, nor made any Capitulation for joining Forces with the King, or combining against the two Houses, or any other private or publick Agreement whatsoever, between the King on the one Part, and the Kingdome of Scotland, their Army, or any in their Names, and having Power from them on the other Part; and they call the contrary Assertion a damnable Untruth, and add, they never expect a Blessing from God any longer, than they continue faithful to their Covenant.*

What Truth there is in this, the Reader will be able to judge from the several Affidavits of * Dr. *Hudson* one of the King's Favourite Chaplains, who was concern'd in transacting the Affairs relating to the King's Admission into the Scot's Army, with Safety, Honour, and Freedom.

* This loyal and faithful Subject of his Majesty was barbarously murder'd. Take the following Account from Mr. *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol. 2. Lib. IX. p. 43. 'After the Rebels had entred into *Woodcroft House*, and taken most of the Royalists, *Hudson* with some of his courageous Soldiers went up to the Battlements thereof, where they defended themselves for some Time. At length upon Promise of Quarter they yielded; but when the Rebels got in among them, they denied to make it good. Whereupon *Hudson* being thrown over the Battlements, caught hold of a Spout or Outstone, and there hung, but his Hands being beat or cut off, he fell into the Moat underneath much wounded, and desired to come on Land to die there. Whereupon one *Egborough* Servant to Mr. *Spinkes*, the Intruder into the Parsonage of *Caster* belonging to the Bishop of *Peterborough*, knocked him on the Head with the Butt End of his Musket. One *Walker*, a Chandler or Grocer in *Stamford*, cut out his Tongue, and carried it about the Country as a Trophy. His Body for the present was denied Burial, yet after the Enemy had left that Place, he was by some *Christians* committed to the Earth.—— As for *Egborough*, he was not long after torn in Pieces by his own Gun, which burst whilst it was under his own Arm in *Long Orton*. *Walker* thro' Poverty quitted his Trade, and became a Scorn and By-word to the Boys, when he passed the Streets of *Stamford*.—— Such were the Mercys of these fanatical Rebels. See *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 114. If the Reader compares this, with Mr. *Oldmixon's* Account, (*Hist. of the Royal House of Stuart*, Vol. 1. p. 343.) he will easily judge what Credit is to be given to that *Critical Historian*.

Upon

* ' Upon *Wednesday* [April 7.] I went from *Oxford* to *Harborough*, and found neither *Mountrell*, nor *Scot*.

' Upon *Thursday* [April 8.] I went to *Southwell* to *Mountrell*, who told me the *Scots* (notwithstanding their former Promises) absolutely declined the Meeting at *Harborough*; because it would be a manifest Breach of Peace betwixt them and the Parliament; but that they could give no full Answer to *Mountrell's* Demands before *Munday* following being *April* 12th.

' Upon *Saturday* [April 10.] I departed from *Southwell*, and return'd again *Wednesday* after (for the *Scots* absolute Answer) being *April* 14. Upon *Friday* *April* 16, *Monsieur* told me, † They had concluded to send a Partye of Horse to *Burton* upon *Trent*, and a small Partie besides to *Bosworth* to receive the King, but could not goe any farther for fear of occasioning some Jealousy in the Parliament.

' Upon *Sunday* after [April 18.] I came back to *Oxford*, and related all the former Passages to the King concerning the *Scots*; letting him likewise understand, how the Parliament Horse were quarter'd in all the Towns which he was to pass through towards *Bosworth*; and that it was not possible for him to pass that Way, which he intended, by for-

* The Examination of *Dr. Michael Hudson* before the Committee of Parliament, touching the King's Escape from *Oxford*. Manuscript Collections of *Dr. P. Williams*, Vol. 14. No. 118. An Original printed lately, in *Mr. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol. 2. Lib. IX. p. 19. See an Account of his Examination. *Whitlock's Memor.* p. 214. 235.

† In *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections* (Vol. 14. No. 36.) I meet with the following original Information. " *George Higgins* of *Eakrin* informeth from *Mr. Hawden* of *Tuxford* in the County of *Nottingham* Minister, and by his Order and Direction, that a Trumpet belonging to *Col. Eyre* of *Newwarke* passing thro' *Tuxford*, the 5th of this instant *October*, did in the Presence of the said *Mr. Hawden* say and affirme, that he was going with Letters from his Majesty, and from *Sir Richard Willys* Governour of *Newwarke* to *General Leven*, with Hope to bring him back with his Army to *Newwarke* for the King, with as much Joy as ever he did come to the Parliament; and *Mr. Hawden* did see two Letters in the Hand of the Trumpeter, and two *Scotch* Gentlemen being at *Tuxford* with the said *Mr. Hawden* the same Day, did affirm to them, that the King and *General Leven* had been long in treaty, and they did not doubt, but 'twas effected, and that this Letter would bring them back. Taken at *Nottingham*, *October* 6. in the Presence of *Francis Thornbagh* Vic. Cha. White.

cing his Passage with the new raised Horse of the Prince's; but he might pass what Way he pleased in a Disguise, as a private Man. Yet as concerning the *Scots*, I then delivered my Opinion, that I did verily believe their Intentions were, either to make a Benefit of the King, and make Advantage of his coming to them, *to compass their Ends for Money from the Parliament*; or else if they were disappointed of those Ends, to use the King's Power and Interest to raise an *English* Army under their Command, and employ them one against another, till they could so far weaken the Kingdom, that they might enslave the whole Kingdom. Upon this, and the Consideration of the unworthy Dealing of the *Scots* in failing him at *Harborow*, the King declined all Thoughts of going to the *Scots*.

Again, * The Consideration of the former Vote [*viz.* in Parliament procured by the *Independent* Party against *Monarchy*] and the apparent Danger of being discovered at *London* moved him [the King] to resolve at last to goe *Northward*, and through *Norfolk*, where he was the least knowne, and there to stay, till he had sent me again to *Mountrell*, to know what he had done with the *Scots*? Resolving absolutely, that if the *Scots* would not send him an Assurance under their Hands of such Conditions as he expected, he would rather cast himself upon the *English* [Subjects] than trust them; and wished me to bring their Hands to him; or if there were Danger in that, to see all their Hands [set] to such Propositions as they agreed to.

† At *Graveley* the King gave me a little Note to *Mountrell*, wherein he expressed his Departure from *Oxford*, and desired him to make an absolute

* *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lib. IX. pag. 21.

† Id. ib. *Ludlow* in his *Memoirs* (Vol. I. p. 176.) informs us, 'That the two Houses receiv'd a Message from the *Scots Army*, informing the Parliament of the King's coming to them, and pretending to be much surpris'd at it; but it appeared afterwards, that this Resolution had been communicated to them before. See Sir *Philip Warwick's* *Memoirs* p. 292, 293.

' Conclusion with the *Scots*; and if they would give
 ' such Assurance for honorable Conditions for him,
 ' as should satisfy him (concerning the Particulars
 ' whereof the King had given to me Instructions)
 ' then he would come to them; if not, he resolved
 ' to dispose otherwise of himself upon my Return.
 ' I came to *Southwell* next Morning, and acquainted
 ' the *French Agent* with these Particulars; who upon
 ' *Thursday* Night told me, they would condescend
 ' to all the Demands, that the King and *Mountrell*
 ' had agreed to make to them, before *Mountrell* came
 ' from *Oxford*, (of which *Mountrell* told me the
 ' Summe) but would not give any Thing under
 ' their Hands. I desired, to avoid Mistakes, that
 ' the Particulars might be set down in Writing, lest
 ' I should afterwards be charged with making a false
 ' Relation. And soe set the Propositions down in
 ' Writing.

' I. That they should secure the King in his Per-
 ' son, and in his Honour.

' II. That they should press the King to doe no-
 ' thing contrary to his Conscience.

' III. That Mr. *Ashburnham* and I should be pro-
 ' tected.

' IV. That if the Parliament refused upon a Mes-
 ' sage from the King, to restore the King to his
 ' Rights and Prerogatives, they should declare for
 ' the King; and take all the King's Friends into
 ' their Protection. And if the Parliament did con-
 ' descend to restore the King, then the *Scots* should
 ' be a Means, that not above four of them should
 ' suffer Banishment; and none at all Death.

' This done, the *French Agent* brought me Word,
 ' that the *Scots* seriously protested the Performance
 ' of all these [Particulars] and writ a little Note
 ' to the King to accept of them, and such Security
 ' as was given to him in the King's Behalf. I came
 ' to the King upon *Friday* Night, and related all,
 ' and he resolved next Morning to goe to them.
 ' And soe upon *Tuesday* Morning we came all to

* *Southwell*, to *Mountrell's Lodgings*, where some
 of the *Scotch Commissioners* came to the King,
 and desired him to march to *Kellum* for Security,
 whither we went after Dinner. That Night, they
 procured an Order from the King for the Lord *Bel-*
lasis for the Surrender of *Newwarke*, that they might
 make the more speedie Repair to *Newcastle*. And
 while the King staid at *Kellum*, pressed the King
 to some Things contrary to former Propositions.
 Upon *Thursday*, we marched along with the *Scot-*
tish Army (as soone as ever the Articles of *Newark*
 were agreed) towards *Newcastle*, whither we came
 upon *Wednesday* after, where we met more Lords-
 Commissioners come from *Scotland*. Then they
 pressed the King to disband *Montross's* Forces,
 and to settle the *Presbyterian Government*; and to
 surrender *Oxford*, and some other Places; contrary
 to their Propositions protested at *Southwell*: and
 desired him to send away Mr. *Ashburnham*, because
 the Parliament had sent a Serjeant at Arms for
 him; and therefore they could not protect him,
 without manifest Breach of Covenant: He being
 a Person excepted, but promised to protect me.
 † Sir, (says he in another Place) I am much
 amazed to heare that the *Scots* should with so
 much Confidence disavow the Knowledge of those

* *Monteith* of *Salmonet* observes (in his History of the Troubles of Great Bri-
 tain p. 236.) ' That *Lesley* being acquainted with his Arrival, who atten-
 ded by some of the principal Officers of the Army went immediately to wait
 upon him, and falling upon his Knees, holding his Sword by the Point, he
 offered it to his Majesty.

' That the King marched always at the Head of the Army, having *Lesley*
 on his left Hand, and all the *Scots* Lords that were there present about him.
 ' Wheresoever he passed, the Bells were rung, and at Night Bonfires were
 made. When he came to *Durham*, the Covenanters Army was quartered in
 that Bishoprick: It was there on the 13th of *May*, that the General caused
 an Order to be published, forbidding all such as had carried Arms against
 the Parliament of *England*, to come near the King's Person, and all those of
 his Army to have any Communication with them.

† Dr. *Michael Hudson*, to Mr. [*John*] *Browne* of *Lincolns-Inn*, touching the
 Designs of the *Scots*; and in Explanation of a certain Passage in one of his for-
 mer Examinations, in which, as he thinks, is there not rightly expressed. Dated
 24. June, 1646. An Original, from Mr. *Hearne's* Appendix to the *Chronicon*
de Dunstable. Vol. 2. pag. 319. Mr. *Peck's* Desiderat. Curios. Vol. 2. B. IX.
 pag. 26, 27.

Particulars, which I have declared in my Examination concerning them, and pretend them to be meere Inventions of my owne, purposely to make a Division between the two Nations. I wish they had been as much ashamed to doe unworthily, as (it seems) they are ashamed to heare of their unworthy Actions. God is my Witness, I had noe designe in this Discovery (out of any Hatred, Malice, or other Ends) to injure the *Scots* by any forged Untruths. But meereely out of the Conscience of my Duty towards my King and Country, to prevent those Mischiefes, which might fall upon both, by such Designes, which tended more to private Ends, than the publick Good either of the King, or this Kingdome; and such Designes indeed, I did imagine the *Scots* might have, after I found they had falsified their Trust both to the King and Parliament. And thereupon I resolved to reveale (tho' not so suddenlie as I was necessitated, by Reason of my unsuspected Surprisal) the whole Truth of such late Passages as had fallen within the Compass of my Knowledge; wherein I was careful to deale so faithfullie, that, if the *Scots* had not injured themselves in their Actions, I am confident I have not injured them in my Relations.

Yet I hear they insift much upon their own Justification, and alledge two Reasons, why Credit should rather be given to their peremptory Deniall, than to my confident Assertion, in Matters concerning themselves: *viz.* 1. Their *known* Integritie. 2. My knowne Infamie. As to the former I shall leave it wholly to you to judge of, who have had more Experience of their Actions than myself, excepting only in these late Passages betweene the King and them) of which I lately made a Relation: But how true, is still (as it seemes) the Point in Question, by Reason of the blemished Reputation of the Relator. And therefore seeing there is no other concurrent Evidence besides myne own, to confirme the Truth of what I have delivered concerning

ing their late Deportment in Matters agitated betwixt the King and them, whiche so much concerns the Publick (unless perhaps the Earle of Ormond's Letter may give some Light to these Passages,) and that they endeavour to detract from my Testimony, by casting publicke Aspersions upon me: I shall desire (if you thinke fitt) to have my Privilege to make my publick Defence to these publick Calumnies. Which Request of myne does not proceed from any *Pharisaical* Opinion of myne own Innocencie from all Manner of Errors, Follies, and Vanities, and those also such, as I am not ambitious, (if there were not a publicke Necessitie in it) to expose to publick Censure; but from a Confidence (grounded upon a Conscioufness to my self) of myne owne Innocencie from any such Enormitys, as may render me a Man of so monstrous and diabolical a Disposition, as by Lyes and Forgeries, to endeavour the Dissolution of the happy Union of these two Kingdomes. For the Prevention whereof, this *Jugling* and *Disimulation*, which the Scots have practist both with King and Parliament, cannot (in my weak Judgment) be the safest Way; nor yet their *Sinister* Practices to evade those Truths which I have revealed. Seinge a short Time must of Necessitie make them more manifest to the whole World.

But Mr. Neal thinks *N. p. 324.* *That this must be the Artifice of Montrevill the French Ambassador, who undertook to negotiate between the two Parties, and drew the credulous and distressed King into the Snare, out of which he could never escape.*

Mr. Echard informs us, that *Montrevil* repaired to the Scots Army * and found the Governor of
 ' that

* History of England. Vol. 2. p. 549. The King in a Letter to the Marquess of Ormond 3d. of April 1646. (Letters concerning State-Affairs Vol. 3. No. 436. p. 455.) has the following Words. ' Having lately received very good Security, that we, and all that do, and shall adhere to us, shall be safe in our Persons, Honours and Consciences in the Scots Army; and that they shall really and effectually joyn with us, and with such as will come in unto us, and joyn
 ' with

that Army much more moderate than he expected; and the presiding Committee of State rather inventing Expedients how they might handsomely recede from the Rigour of their former Demands, than positively adhere to them. They declared themselves highly pleased that the King desired to come to them, and remain in the Army with them, if he might be secured of a good Reception for himself, his Servants and Friends; and the chief Officers of the Army spoke of that as a Thing so much desired, That it could not be in the Power of any to hinder it, if they should attempt it. Even they who had the greatest Influence in the most secret Counsels, endeavour'd to be thought to have much freer Resolutions in that Particular, than they judged seasonable to express in direct Undertakings; and employ'd their known Friends, and some whom the King had recommended to *Montrevill*, to assure him, " That he might safely advise his Majesty " to repair to the Army upon his own Terms; and " that they would send a good Body of their Horse " to meet and conduct him from any Place he should " appoint. "

Upon this Encouragement *Montrevill* prepared a Paper, which after it had the Approbation of those of the greatest Interest and Power of the Army,

with them for our Preservation, and shall imploy their Armies to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well-grounded Peace for the Good of us and our Kingdoms, and in the Recovery of our just Rights; we have resolved to put our selves to the Hazard of passing into the *Scots* Army now lying before *Newark*. How justly after this, the King and his Friends complained of the Treachery of the *Scots*, the Reader is left to judge. Lord *Digby* in a Letter to the Marquess of *Ormond* from *Dublin*, July 4. 1646. [Letters concerning State-Affairs No. 463. pag. 488.] makes the following Complaint. Your Excellence therefore is to take Notice, that his Majesty having, upon most positive Engagements of the *Scots*, both unto the Crown of *France* and unto himself, by the *French* Agent residing with the *Scots*, receiv'd Assurances from them of three Points; namely, that they would not endeavour to force his Conscience, that they would give a sure Retreat among them to all his faithful Servants and Adherents, and lastly, that they would endeavour, by Treaty or by Force, to restore him to, and establish him in his just Rights, put himself voluntarily into their Hands. But being there, he hath found them so far from performing any Part of their Engagements, that they have us'd him, according to his Majesty's own Expression, *barbarously*; and had made him, at the Time of his said last Dispatch (which was the second of *June*) a Prisoner of the strictest Kind.

was

was signed by himself the first Day of *April*, and sent to the King. It contained these Words. “ I doe promise in the Name of the King and Queen Regent, my Master and Mistress, &c. That if the King of *Great Britain* will put himself into the Scots Army, he shall be there received as their *National Sovereign*, and that he shall be with them in all *Freedom of Conscience and Honour*, and that all such of his Subjects and Servants, as shall be there with him, shall be safely and honourably protected in their Persons; and that the said Scots will really and effectually joyn with the said King of *Great Britain*: — That they shall protect all his Majesty’s Party to the utmost of their Power; — and that they shall employ their Armies and Forces, to assist his Majesty in procuring a happy and well grounded Peace, for the Good of his Majesty and the sayd Kingdomes, and in Recovery of his Majesty’s just Rights. Thus the King’s Affairs seem’d very promising, and the King gave an Account of this hopeful Project, to the Marquis of *Ormond* in *Ireland*.” But within a few Days *Montrevil* found such an unaccountable Uneasiness and Backwardness in some of those he had treated with, one denying what he had said to him, and another disclaiming what he had ordered another to say, that he thought himself obliged with all Speed to advise the King of this foul Change, and to dissuade him from trusting his Person to such variable Men: But the Messenger who carried that Letter was taken Prisoner, and tho’ he made his Escape and preserved his Letter, he could not proceed in his Journey, but was compelled to return to him who sent him.

‘ In the mean Time the *Envoy* informed the Committee what he had done, to clear himself from being made a Property to betray the King, and highly resented the Injury done to the King his Master and himself, in receding from what they had so solemnly promised. Upon which they appeared of another Temper, and again desired the King’s Pre-

sence

sence in the Army, and to that Purpose they pro-
 missed as an unanimous Resolution, " That they
 would send a good Body of Horse to meet his Ma-
 jesty at *Burton upon Trent* ; and since they could
 not advance farther with the whole Party, some
 Horse should be sent to wait upon him as far as *Bos-*
worth, whither they hoped his own Horse would
 be able to convey him securely; and they desired
 the King to appoint the Day, and they would not
 fail to be there." They likewise desired, " That
 when their Troops should meet his Majesty, he
 should tell them, *He was going to Scotland* ; which
 would put an Obligation upon them to attend him
 into their Army, without discovering any thing of
 a *Treaty*, which at present ought to be kept secret
 from the Parliament." Of all which * *Montrevil*
 gave the King a full and plain Narration, together
 with what he had written before by his Letter to Se-
 cretary *Nicholas*, of the 15th of *April* ; in which he
 informed his Majesty, " That they would have none
 of those that had followed the King's Party to
 joyn with them, nor so much as those Horse that
 accompanied his Majesty to remain in their Army ;
 that they had with Difficulty allowed, that the two
 Princes lately reconciled to his Majesty, might
 come with the King, with such other Servants
 as were not excepted from Pardon, concerning
 whom they made some Provisions. But as to
 the Marquis of *Montrose*, " They could consent to
 no better Terms, than to have him sent Ambassa-
 dor into any foreign Country, excepting *France*."
 Then he mentions the King's settling the *Presby-*
terian Government, and concludes with these Words,
 " If his Majesty has any other Refuge or Means to
 make better Conditions, I think he ought not to
 accept of these : But if he sees all things desperate
 every where else, and that he and his Servants can-
 not be secure with his Parliament, I dare yet assure
 him, that tho' he and his Servants may not be here

* See Sir *Philip Warwick's* Memoirs, p. 292, 293.

" with

“ with all the Satisfaction he might desire, yet be especially shall be as secure as possible.” In another Letter the Day after to the same Secretary, he has these Words, “ I have Orders from the Deputy of Scotland to assure you, that they will not herein fail, as soon as they shall know the Day; and that the King shall be received into the Army as has been promised, and his Conscience shall not be forced.” And in the last Letter which the King or his Secretary received from him, dated the 20th of April, after some Caution given to his Majesty, he has these Words, “ The Dispositions of the Chiefs of the Scots Army is such as the King can desire; they begin to draw off their Troops towards Burton, and the hindering of his Majesty from falling into the Hands of the English is of so great Importance to them, that it cannot be believed, but that they will do all that lies in their Power to prevent it.

Mr. Echard after giving an Account of his Majesty's leaving Oxford, and the Manner of his coming to the Scotch Army, and their Reception of him, concludes his Account in the following Words, “ * But his Majesty came no sooner to Newcastle, where he was received with all outward Pomp, than Monsieur Montrevil was restrained from having any Conference with him, and Mr. Ashburnham was advised to shift for himself, or else he should be delivered up to the Parliament. However Montrevil shew'd a brave Resentment, and sufficiently declared what had passed between them, and all the solemn Promises they had made, and so, with Mr. Ashburnham left the Nation, and repaired to Paris, where the Prince of Wales arrived soon after. This Minister to prevent any Discovery was restrained from coming to the Court,

* Id. p. 553. Mr. Whitlock informs us (Mem. p. 234. Edit. 1682.) “ That a Scotch Minister preached boldly before the King at Newcastle, and after his Sermon called for the fifty second Psalm, which begins, *Why dost thou Tyrant boast thy self, Thy wicked Works to praise?* His Majesty thereupon stood up, and called for the fifty sixth Psalm, which begins, *Have Mercy, Lord, on me I pray, For Man would me devour.* The People waved the Minister's Psalm, and sung that which the King called for.

forbid to remain in *Paris*, and laid under a formed
 declared Dislike till his Death, which with Grief of
 Mind not long after ensued :’ So subtle and secret
 was the Cardinal in his Negotiations with *England* and
Scotland. The Inclination of the *Rebel Scots* to have
 the King in their Custody, appears from their Army’s
 bunting him from Place to Place, and from an Original
 Examination of Major *Edward Smith*, &c. for
 which I refer the Reader to the * *Appendix*.

N. p. 324. Before the King left Oxford, he had
 commissioned the Marquis of Ormonde, to conclude a
 Peace with the Irish Papists, in hopes of receiving Suc-
 cours from thence, which gave great Offence to the Par-
 liament ; but though his Majesty upon surrendering him-
 self to the Scots, writ to the Marquis June 11. not to
 proceed, he ventured to put the finishing Hand to the
 Treaty July 28. 1646. upon the following scandalous
 Articles, which surely he durst not have consented to with-
 out some private Commission from the King or Queen.

Lord Digby, in his Declaration about the Peace of
Ireland, July 28. 1646. affords us the following An-
 swer. ‘ † Declare to his Excellency, the Lord Lieu-
 tenant and Council of his Majestie’s Kingdom of
 Ireland, that the said Letter of the 11th of June,
 is either a surreptitious Letter, or a forged one from
 his Majestie, procured upon some false Affirmation
 of the State of his Affairs, and most contrary to
 what I know to be his free Resolution, and uncon-
 strain’d Will and Pleasure. And I doe further de-
 clare with the same Solemnity and Engagement of
 my Life, that if the Peace of *Ireland* shall not be
 presently concluded, the Hinderers of it are the Oc-

* *Appendix* No. 56, 57, 58, 59.

† Letters concerning State Affairs 1735. Vol. 3. No. 466. p. 491. In a for-
 mer Letter from Lord Digby to the Marquis of Ormonde in 1643. (Letters concern-
 ing State Affairs Vol. 3. No. 232. p. 242.) is the following Caution against
 Counterfeits, ‘ your Excellence will be pleased to take Notice, that since his Ma-
 jesty honoured me with the Place I hold, he hath settled an Order that nothing
 shall pass, nor be imputed a Grant from him that is not attested by one of his Se-
 cretaries, or in martial Affairs by a Secretary of the Council of War, which your
 Excellence will be pleased to observe, in case any thing should be brought you un-
 der the King’s Hand *unsubscribed*.

' cation of subverting and destroying the main Foun-
 ' dation resolved and laid by his Majestie, for the
 ' Recovery of his own, his Crown and Posterity's
 ' Rights, as aforesaid; whether by Accommodation
 ' or War; for the Prevention of which irreparable
 ' Mischief, if there should be the least Danger there-
 ' of by the Scruples of any, I will freely take the
 ' whole Matter upon my self to answer to his Majesty,
 ' as his Secretary of State, with my Life, this De-
 ' claration of his Will, &c.

And how far it was from being a scandalous Treaty,
 I think abundantly appears, from *the humble* Remon-
 strance of the *Protestant* Archbishops, Bishops, and
 inferior Clergy of the Kingdom of Ireland.

* *To the most Honourable the Lord Lieutenant
 his Excellence.*

May it please your Excellence,

' **W**E the Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of
 ' the Clergy of this Kingdom subscribing,
 ' are wonderfully sensible how your Excellency out of
 ' Zeal to God's Glory, and to the true *Protestant*
 ' Religion, and out of Loyalty to his Majestie, hath
 ' in this great Distemper with much Hazard, singular
 ' Wisdom, and vigilant Care, preserv'd not only in
 ' this City, but in all the Out-Garrisons, the free and
 ' full Exercise of the true reformed Religion, ac-
 ' cording to the Liturgy and Canons so many Years
 ' receiv'd in the Church, which with sad and bleeding
 ' Hearts, we may say is more than we know to be in
 ' any part of the three Dominions.

' Also we do most heartily acknowledge that by
 ' your very great Pains and Labour you have at last
 ' concluded a most necessary Peace, which we hum-
 ' bly conceive to be the only Means to continue
 ' those Blessings of Religion and Loyalty among us,
 ' and to be the only hopeful Way to reduce this
 ' Kingdome wholly to his Majesty's Obedience.

* Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 471. p. 493. &c.

And

‘ And withal we do ingenuously profess, that out
 ‘ of your Piety and Nobleness, you have vindicated
 ‘ our Callings and Places from Contempt, protected
 ‘ us from personal Injurys and provided a Subsistence
 ‘ for us, without the which many of us had undoubt-
 ‘ edly starved.

‘ Out of a deep Sense of all which, and many more
 ‘ Favours than we are able to express, we were the
 ‘ most unthankful of all Men, if we should not bless
 ‘ God for your Excellence, and return to you our
 ‘ most humble and hearty Thanks, faithfully pro-
 ‘ mising to continue our fervent Prayers to God,
 ‘ and to contribute our very best Endeavours for
 ‘ Strengthening your Hands, in managing the great
 ‘ Trust his Majesty reposeth in you, and in maintain-
 ‘ ing Religion, and the Peace now established
 ‘ among us.

‘ Having made this just and necessary Remon-
 ‘ strance of our Gratitude and Resolutions, we doe
 ‘ most humbly beseech your Lordship to continue
 ‘ (as we are exceeding confident you will) your care
 ‘ to preserve the Religion, Book of Service, publick
 ‘ Worship in the Decency and Comeliness thereof,
 ‘ and the true Apostolical Government of the Church
 ‘ now exercised among us, against all Opposition what-
 ‘ soever, and graciously persist in your care for pro-
 ‘ viding some competent Maintenance for us, till we
 ‘ may conveniently return to our Benefices; and if
 ‘ any of our Number shall be found disaffected to Re-
 ‘ ligion, Book of Service, publick Worship, Go-
 ‘ vernment of the Church, his Majestie’s Service, or
 ‘ Disturbers of the present Peace, we doe not suppli-
 ‘ cate for such, but leave them to your Lordship to
 ‘ be proceeded with as you shall find convenient.

Dublin Castle the 11th. and 13th.
 of Aug. 1646.

La. Dublin.

Lewis Laonen.

Hen. Dunensis.

Rob. Limerick.

Gr. Ossory.

Henr. Clogher.

Q

Job.

- Job. Tuamen.*
W. Daren.
Geo. Cloyne.
Hen. Elphinen.
W. Clonfertten.
Ja. Margetson, Dean of
Christ Church.
Benjamin Culme, Dean of
S. Patricks.
Joan Creghton, Canc.
E. Parry.
Ja. Sibbald.
H. Hall. Preb. S. Michaelis.
Job. Parker. Preb. S. Mi-
chani.
Godfr. Rodes, Thr.
Lewis Downes.
W. Bulkeley, Archidiac.
Dublin.
Tho. Marshall.
Rob. Parry, Preb. S. Au-
doeni.
Walter Reyler, Chanc. of
Elphin.
Anthony Proctor, Decan.
Fernen.
Edw. Sing.
Rich. Deane.
Jos. Prier.
Sam. Haukes.
Mart. Archdall. Archidiac.
Fernen.
Rich. Price.
Ro. Browne.
Tho. Crofton.
Rich. Underwood, Preb.
Fernen.
Geo. Dodwell.
Thom. Walworth.
Gilbert Dean, Preb. de
- Tassagard.*
Nic. Walsh.
Rich. Powell, Preb. Wick-
low.
Donnatius Conner.
Rob. Dixon.
W. Sugden.
Tho. Hacket.
Jo. Brookebanke.
Nathaniel Hollinston.
Jonathan White.
Nich. Meyler, Canc.
Edmond Eustace.
Rob. Jones.
Chr. Golborne, Canc.
Rich. Burgin.
Nich. Greaves, Dec. Drum-
mor.
Jos. Ware, Decan. Elphin.
Thom. Johnson.
H. Echlin.
Owen Darroghe.
Walter Ogilby.
John Heath.
W. Metcalfe.
Hugh Hanna.
John Sharpe.
Godfrey Daniel.
Henry Byrch.
James Meyler.
Rob. Hamilton.
Edw. Williamson.
Rich. Runleborne.
Jo. Linsey.
Valentine Goodband, Preb.
de Coolstus & Killogie.
Hen. Dodwell.
Edw. Walter, Preb.
Geo. Brice.
Adam Jones.

B. Cantilon.

Rich. Matthewson.

Rich. Ellis.

John Reevann, Preb. of
Mayne.

Barnabas Bolger.

Edw. Slacke.

Thom. Fleming.

Walt. Fraser.

Dionisius Garth, for the

Prebend de *Loick* in Dio-
ces. *Laonen*.*Randle Foxwell*.*Jeremy Flavone*.*Tho. Mitchell*.*Tho. Cosby*.*W. Selby*.*Franc. Sympson*, Rector Ec-
clesiae de *Kilmore* in
Diocesi *Clogherensi*.

The Articles of Peace with the *Irish Papists* Mr. *Neal* has curtailed in more Instances than one. As they stand in *Rushworth*, the Author he himself quotes, they are in Number thirty, and take up almost twelve Pages in Folio; but he, with his usual Art and Dexterity, has reduced them to ten Articles, and comprized them within the Compass of little more than one Octavo Page with inverted Commas; but to give this worthy Gentleman (at whose Service I am, and always shall be to assist him in the Improvement of his History of the *Puritans*) a farther Examination, I shall endeavour to prove, that even to one or two of his adopted Articles he has not done common Justice.

N. p. 324. 1. Art. *That the Roman Catholicks of that Kingdome shall be discharged from the taking the Oath of Supremacy.*

Thus far is true, but by the said Article * they were bound to take the Oath of Allegiance; and with the Regard to the Oath of Supremacy, there are several Provisoos, which the Reader will meet with in *Rushworth*, that plainly prove what Liberty Mr. *Neal* takes with his Authorities, in curtailing of them.

N. p. 325. Art. 9. *That an Act of Oblivion be past, in the next Parliament, to extend to all the Roman Catholicks and their Heirs, absolving them of all Treasons and Offences whatsoever, and particularly of the Mas- sacre of 1641.*

* *Rushworth's Collections*, Vol. 6. p. 402.

Mr. Neal sure, has more Modesty than to assert, that the *Massacre of Ireland* is specified in this Article. Which is in reality the 15th and in which there seems to be a Proviso against the Barbarities of that *Massacre*.

* Provided that such barbarous and inhuman crimes, as shall be particulariz'd and agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Viscount Mountgarret, &c. or any five or more of them, as to the Actors or Procurers thereof, be left to be tried and adjudged by such indifferent Commissioners, as shall be agreed upon by the said Lord Lieutenant, and the Lord Viscount Mountgarret, or any five or more of them.

N. *ibid.* Was this the Way to establish a good Understanding between the King and his two Houses? or could they believe that his Majesty meant the Security of the Protestant Religion and the Extirpation of Popery in England, when his † General consented to such a Peace in Ireland, without being reproached or disgraced for it?

* *Rushworth.* Vol. 6. p. 403.

† The Marquess of Ormond declared against a dishonourable Peace in a Letter to the King, the eighth of May 1654. [Letters concerning State Affairs. Vol. 3. No. 385. p. 403.] ' If Peace (says he) cannot be had upon Conditions of Honour and Safety to your Majesty, and in some Degree of Contentment to your Council and to your Protestant Subjects here, and that your Majesty cannot immediately send hither Money and other Necessaries for the Support of your Army and other Charges, I see not by what other Way, we can so much as endeavour with any probability of Success to prevent the Revolting, Famineing, and other as certain Destruction of all that appears for your Majesty here. And in another Letter from the Marquess of Ormond, and the Council of Ireland to the King, 22 June, 1646. [Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 559. p. 480.] are the following Words. ' We consider'd that albeit the still farther renewing of Cessations from Time to Time, will in short Time weaken, and much decay our Strength, especially while the Soldier is unprovided for (as now he is) yet until by your Majestie's Appointment, we be enabled to prosecute a War (if such shall be your Majestie's Pleasure) we must resolve to undergo the Inconvenience of Cessations, so to avoid greater Mischief; and particularly, it will be necessary to renew the present Cessation for some further Time, beyond the 13. of July, to the End in the Interim we may be so reliev'd, as may enable us to preserve your Majestie's Interest and Royal Sovereignty here.

' If we should at this Time make that Declaration which they desire, we being so disabled as we are to prosecute a War, we foresee clearly, that then we should draw against us more Forces of the *Irish*, than in our present Condition we are enabled with Means to resist: Which might endanger this Place [*Dublin*,] and consequently all your Majestie's Loyal Subjects hereabouts.

Is this the Way for Mr. Neal to gain Credit to his History of the *Puritans*? or is this the Way to *establish a good Understanding* between himself and his impartial Readers? or can they reasonably believe, that Mr. Neal means to represent historical Facts fairly whilst he is labouring upon all Occasions (whether proper or improper, it matters not) to blast the *Royal Martyr's* Credit? I think I may take upon me to say, that some of the *English Papists* shew'd more Loyalty to their Sovereign at that Time, than the united Body of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. Their Loyalty of late Years indeed, (if high flown Compliments may amount to Proof) has been very great. But to proceed to the Consideration of this Paragraph. Sufficient Authorities have already been produced in Proof, that the Earl of Ormond was under an absolute Necessity at that Time, of acting as he did. Besides, 'tis plain the Peace was thought so disadvantageous by the *Confederate Catholics* in Ireland, * That the *Nuncio* and his Council committed to Prison those Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had been Commissioners in treating and concluding this Peace, and had given out Threats and Menaces, that they should lose their Heads, for their Transgressions: Tho' the Assembly set them again at Liberty, but declared the Peace invalid at the same Time.

N. p. 326. *Nay after a long Treaty with the Parliamentary Commissioners, he refused to deliver up the Forts and Garrisons into their Hands, insomuch that after six Weeks Attendance, they were obliged to return to their Ships, and carry back the Supplies, they had brought for the Garrisons.*

Mr. Neal is not so kind to afford us any Authority in Proof of this Assertion. For the Disproof of which, we have Lord Clarendon's (which none but Mr. Oldmixon, and his Clan will presume to call in question.)

* Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in Ireland. pag. 61, 62.

He informs us, * That the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, who were admitted into *Dublin* to treat with the Lord *Lieutenant*, observed the very ill Condition the Town was in, besieged by two strong Armies, by whom they *within* every Hour expected to be assaulted, concluded, that the want of Food, and all other Necessaries for Defence, would compel the *Marquess*, with the Importuning and Clamour of the Inhabitants and Soldiers, to receive Supply of Men, Money, and Victuals (which they had brought) on any Terms, and therefore insisted on very unreasonable and extravagant Demands, and refused to consent that the *Marquess* should send any Messenger to the King; That upon Information how the Cause stood, he might receive his Majesty's Directions what to doe; and without which, he was always resolved not to proceed to any Conjunction with them; and so had privately dispatch'd several Expresses to the King, (as soon as he discerned clearly that the *Irish* were so terrify'd by the *Nuncio*, and his Excommunication, that there was little Hope of Good from them) with Information of the State of Affairs, and expected every Day a Return of some of the said Messengers, with the Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure. All Things being in this Posture, the Commissioners from the two Houses returned again to their Ships, and carried all the Supplies they had brought to the Parliament Garrisons, in the Province of *Ulster*, being so much more incensed against the Lord *Lieutenant* for declining an entire Union with them, and inclining (as they say he did) to a new Confidence in the *Irish*. He tells us in another Place, † That the *Marquiss* received Information, that the King was delivered by the *Scots* to the Commissioners of the two Houses of Parliament, who were then treating with him for

* Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion in Ireland. pag. 53, 54.

† Id. pag. 65, 66.

the settling of Peace in all his Dominions, and about the same Time Persons of Quality arrived at *Dublin*, having been privately dispatched with Signification of his Majesty's Pleasure upon the Advertisment he had receiv'd of the Condition of *Ireland*, to this purpose: *That if it were possible for the Marquiss to keep Dublin, and the other Garrisons under the same entire Obedience to his Majesty; but if there were, or should be a Necessity of giving them up to any other Power, he should rather put them into the Hands of the English, than the Irish.* Which he afterwards did.

He tells us farther, that * The Necessities and Streights the Lord *Lieutenant* was then in, are before mentioned and remembred; the Fortifications and Works were in most Places too weak to keep out an Enemy; no Magazine of Victuals to endure a Siege; no Money to retain Soldiers from Mutinying, till he might obtain Relief from *England*, (which he must have been compelled to desire,) there was no Way to prevent the fatal Issue of those Distresses, but by procuring a present Supply of Money, which might in some Degree provide for each Extremity; and for compassing hereof, he brought in all his own Money, which upon the Sale or Mortgaging of several Parts of his Estate, he had raised, for the Support of himself and his Family, and became likewise bound to other Persons for considerable Sums, with an express Promise upon his Honour, that whatsoever Course he should be compelled to take, if he should be forced to deliver *Dublin* into the Hands of the Parliament, He would make such Conditions for the Repayment of the Money, which upon that Occasion should be lent, that he would not himself quit the Place, till it was performed; and by these Means alone, and upon these Terms, he had procured so much Money as composed the present Distemper

* Id. p. 73, 74, 75.

of the Soldiers, and supplied those Wants that could not be borne.

* When he was a second Time necessitated to send to the Parliament, and offered to put the Town into their Hands upon the Conditions before consented to by them; He demanded that 8000 Pound of the Money might be presently paid in England, to Persons intrusted by him, and 3000 Pound at *Dublin* before the Delivery of the Town, towards the Satisfaction of what had been borrowed as aforesaid, and that Bills of Exchange accepted by good and responsible Merchants, might be delivered to him; all which they consented to, and promised to perform. But when the Commissioners came to *Dublin*, the Bills, which they brought for 10000 Pound were not accepted, nor drawn in such Manner, as might make them valid. Upon which failing on their Part, the Lord *Lieutenant* made those last Offers to the *Irish*, which are before remembred; but finding no Good to be done there, he was content to take the Words and Protestations of the Commissioners, that the said 10000 Pound should be paid as soon as they arrived in England, which they were again so far from making good, that they paid him only inconsiderable Summs, at several Payments, and had the greatest Part still in their Hands, when he was forced to leave the Kingdom, and which he could † never re-

* Id. ib. p. 75, 76.

† Lord *Digby* in a Letter to the Marquess of *Ormonde* (Letters concerning State Affairs, Vol. 3. No. 526. p. 535.) gives the following Account of their treacherous Behaviour in another Case, ' Since the Writing of this it was judged the best Course for Mr. *Du Moulin* to write the inclosed Letter to Captain *Willoughby* (Captain of one of the Ships sent by the Rebels in England) upon which his Frigate fell down to the *Ring's End*, and there Captain *Willoughby* sent one Captain *Clarke* to her with a Flag of Truce, assuring her, that if she fell down to his Ship, and would admit of a civil Search, she should goe away when she pleased; in case there was nothing found in her prejudicial to the Parliament. Whereupon having nothing at all in her but what is mentioned in Mr. *Du Moulin's* Letter, she went down to Captain *Willoughby's* Ship, where instead of the Freedome promised, she was by her seized and rifled; and sent this other Letter inclosed to Mr. *Du Moulin*. I leave it to your Excellence's Judgment, to doe what your Excellence thinks fit upon it. As for the Vessel, I make no Question, but there will be very sufficient Reparations had in France. This is a notorious Instance of the Perfidioufness of those Fanatical Rebels,

cover from them, they paying it to some of the Creditors, without any Consent of his; and only to such, as had Interest amongst them, and for whose Sake alone, they paid the same.

In his Account of the Conference between the King and Mr. *Alexander Henderson* upon the Subject of Episcopacy and the Coronation Oath he tells us,

N. p. 337. *That the Debate was carried on in Writing: That the King drew up his own Papers, and gave them to Sir Robert Murray to transcribe, and deliver to Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Henderson's Hand not being so legible as his, Sir Robert by the King's Appointment transcribed Mr. Henderson's Papers for his Majesty's Use.* *Hamil. M.* p. 227. It should be 277.

But then he omits seemingly with Design Bishop *Burnet's* Account of the King's Superiority in this Controversy. 'Mr. *Henderson* (says Bishop *Burnet* in the Place referr'd to) was pitched upon as the Man of great Abilities and Discretion for that Task, and during the Month of *June*, Papers pass'd to and again betwixt the King and him; of which they being so often published, I shall say no more, but that from these it appears, * Had his Majesty's Armes been as strong as his Reason was, he had been every Way unconquerable, since none have the *Disingenuity to deny the great Advantage his Majesty had in all these Writings*; and this was when the Help of his Chaplains could not be suspected, they being so far from him; and indeed it is strange to see a Prince not only to hold up with, but so far to *outrun* so great a *Theologue*, in a Controversy which had exercis'd his Thoughts and Studies for so many Years, and that the King drew with his own Hand all his Papers without the help of any, is averr'd by the Person who alone was privy to the interchanging of them, that worthy and

* See Sir *Philip Warwick's* Memoirs p. 294. It is observ'd by Mr. *Long* (Review of *Baxter's* Life p. 45.) 'That when *Henderson* was baffled by the King, Mr. *Cant*, *Blair*, and *Douglas* disputed with him upon the same Points, but more by railing, than reasoning with him, one of which, (besides many rude Expressions in his Sermon before the King) call'd for the 52. *Psalms*, as has been already observ'd.

‘ accomplishd Gentleman *Robert Murray*, who at that
 ‘ Time was known to his Majesty. And Mr. *Collier*
 after giving us the Substance of the King’s, and Mr.
Henderson’s Papers says: ‘ * Thus I have reported
 ‘ the Substance of the Debate, and on which Side the
 ‘ Victory lies, shall be left to the Reader. By his
 ‘ Majesty’s Manner one would almost have thought,
 ‘ he had lain under no Mortification. That the Re-
 ‘ bellion had been crushd, and that his Affairs had
 ‘ been in the easiest Posture imaginable. He disco-
 ‘ vers no Marks of Dejection or Disturbance. He
 ‘ lays down solid Principles, looks through *Hender-*
 ‘ *son’s* Discourse with great Penetration, attacks him
 ‘ in his main Strength, and argues with Force and
 ‘ Perspicuity: And all this without being furnished
 ‘ with common Conveniences, without Books or Di-
 ‘ vines to assist him.

After giving an imperfect Abstract of the Papers
 that passd betwixt the King, and Mr. *Henderson*,
 Mr. *Neal* makes the following Remark.

*N. p. 347. ’Tis very surprizing that his Majesty should
 be so much intangled with that Part of his Coronation
 Oath, which relates to the Church, when for fifteen Years
 together, he broke through all the Bounds of it with Re-
 lation to the civil Liberties of his Subjects without the
 least Remorse.*

And could the Impartial Mr. *Neal* after all assert
 this without a Blush? If he did, the Reader will
 easily judge under what Class of Writers he deserves
 to be rank’d. † ‘ Where are the great Breaches of

* *Collier’s Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 848.*

† The Kingdome’s Answer to the Declaration of no further Addressee, &c.
 1648. p. 11. penes me. ‘ At the first Report of your Commotions (says the
 ‘ famed *Deodate* in his Letter to the Ecclesiastical Assembly at London p. 75.)
 ‘ our Minds were possessd with a good Hope, that all past Offences might
 ‘ with the same Promptitude and Facility be forthwith repaired, and all Matters
 ‘ composd; so that what Actions or Counsels should appear amiss, might by
 ‘ the Benignity of the best of Princes be easily redress’d: and consequently both
 ‘ Church and Commonwealth without Noise or Bloodshed be kept in Order. In
 ‘ pursuance of all which we could not but admire the happy and glorious Be-
 ‘ ginnings of the Parliament and the more than Fatherly Affection of his most
 ‘ gracious Majesty evidenced by his enacting those Laws, from the which for the
 ‘ Time to come, there was a clear Hope of Government full of Equity, and freed
 ‘ from all Corruption, an Example not so rare, as indeed singular in this our
 ‘ wild Generation so fertile of violent Power of Princes.

his Coronation Oath (says a Writer who lived in those Times) you complain of? He hath sworn to protect his People, and because he will not give over his Power to protect, to you, he is perjured. Hath he not all his Life Time been a virtuous temperate Prince in his Person, an Example to his Subjects in his daily Devotions? Did you not use to represent him as a weak Man, whose Wisdom hath so convinced you, that you are now forced to say he is an ill Man? And why should we believe you in other Things, when you would have misguid ed us in that Particular?

Mr. Neal's next Attempt, is to invalidate Mr. Henderson's Recantation, in which is a more ample Character of the Royal Martyr, than he is willing to allow him. But how far his Authorities will be admitted in Confutation of the generally receiv'd Opinion, I will not take upon me to say. He tells us,

N. p. 349. That Mr. Echard confesses, he had been informed, that this Declaration was suprious, but could find no Authority to support such an Assertion.

Mr. Neal is so wise, as not to let us know, where Mr. Echard makes this Confession. It is not in his second Volume p. 557, 558. where he gives an Account of Mr. Henderson's Dispute with, and Character of the King, nor any where else, as far as I can learn from the faulty *Index*, or rather *Libel* upon that History, drawn up (if I am rightly informed) by the Famed Mr. Oldmixon. But Mr. Neal has other Evidence.

N. Ibid. A Memorial sent him by one of the principal Divines at Edinburgh, who informs him, that the Story was invented by one of the Scots Episcopal Writers, who fled to London, and was first published in the Year 1648. in a small Pamphlet in Quarto.

But he is so prudent as to keep the Name of his *Memorialist* out of view. Why did he not name him, if a Person of so much Credit and Authority? And what Proof does his *Scotch Memorialist* bring, that the Story was invented by one of the Scots Episcopal Writers?

Writers? It does not appear from the Tract itself. The Title of which is, **The Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson, Principal Minister of the Word of God at Edenbrough and chief Commissioner from the Kirk of Scotland to the Parliament and Synod of England, made upon his Death Bed.*

With two Verses from *Hosea* 10. and *Psalms* 63. Printed An. Dom. 1648. in 12. Pages in Quarto.

Now the Reason given by Mr. Benjamin Bennet his *English Memorialist*, why it could not be wrote by Mr. *Henderson*, is, (‘† Because the Style declares it ‘an Imposture. It makes the pretended Author ‘speak so unlike a *Scotchman*— as is a strong Presumption that Mr. *Henderson* never penn’d it.) If it carries any Inference along with it, it will as strongly infer that, for the same Reason, it could not be invented by one of the *Scots episcopal Writers*.

But his Evidence from his *Scots Memorialist* proceeds.

N. Ib. *That upon publishing the foresaid Story to the World, the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland appointed a Committee to examine the Affair, who after a full Enquiry, by their Act of August 7, 1648, declared the whole to be a Forgery, as may be seen by the printed Acts of the General Assembly for that Year, Quarto p. 420.*

But still this rests in a great Measure upon the Evidence of his anonymous *Scots Memorialist*, till he has told us when and where those Acts were printed, and how they are vouched: And even then it is not improbable, but that we may find Reason to disbelieve this Evidence, unless he can give us demonstrative Proof, that the General Assembly in their publick Acts, never asserted a Falsehood. A notorious one from the *Scots Reformers* I have already produced, [Impartial Examination of Mr. *Neal*’s 2^d,

* Publick Library Cambridge Class 19. 7. 34. Printed likewise amongst the Original Papers at the End of Vol. 2. Part. 2. of Lord *Clarendon*’s History of the Rebellion, in Octavo 1717. p. 73.

† Mr. *Bennet*’s Defence of the Memorial of the Reformation. p. 133.

Vol. p. 10.] and I wish that was the only * Instance that could be produced.

But to proceed to his next Evidence, Mr. Benjamin Bennet informs him [in his Defence of his Memorial p. 134.] That, all he spoke upon his Death Bed, shewed, his Judgment was the same as before, about Church Reformation; this was attested before the Assembly by several Ministers who visited him, and particularly by two who constantly attended him from the Time he came home, till the Time he expired. After this and a great deal more to the same purpose, they declared the above-mentioned Paper entitled "*A Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson's, to be forged, scandalous, and false.*"

Here is additional Evidence indeed, but what Proof does Mr. Bennet bring for it? No more than his anonymous *Scots Memorialist* had done before, his bare *ipse dixit*, and how much that was to be depended upon, the Writer of the *Caveat against Mr. Bennet*, in Answer to his Defence of his Memorial, has sufficiently proved, from his asserting the following Untruth in his Memorial, and persisting in it, in his Defence, That he had an Edition of Sparrow's Collections printed by John Garthwait, in which was contain'd the *Reformatio Legum*, as Part of the Collection: When in Truth, it was only bound up with Sparrow, which at first occasion'd that Mistake, which afterwards Mr. Bennet was unwilling to retract.

Besides, Mr. Bennet seems to have known of no other Edition of this Recantation, than what Dr. Hollingworth published. For he says, *It was published in a long Paper, which Dr. Hollingworth calls the Declaration of Mr. Alexander Henderson* (Defence

* They (says Dr. Hollingworth, Preface to Mr. Symon's Vindication of King Charles I. republished 1693.) that had been so treacherous to a condescending Prince, who left them in 41. so fully satisfied, as to send twenty thousand to fight against him afterwards in England; that had sanctified the most horrid Rebellion, and who had committed a thousand unheard of Barbarities upon the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergie of their own Nation, are not to be wondred at, if they impudently vote a true Declaration of a Dying Penitent, a Forgery; especially such a one as smote them, and their base Cause through the fifth Rib.

of the Memorial p. 130.) *And that the whole Matter remain'd a Secret under the Seal of Confession, till Dr. Hollingworth and his Friends were pleased to divulge it.* (Def. Mem. p. 133.) which Mr. Neal owns was in 1693. in his *Character of King Charles the first.* And yet Mr. Bennet at the same Time observes, *That the General Assembly declared it a Forgery Anno 1648.* above 40. Years before the Publication of it by Dr. *Hollingworth*, whom Mr. Bennet took to be the first Publisher.

But to proceed to another Branch of Mr. Bennet's Proof, the Attestation of the several Ministers who visited Mr. *Henderson* during his Illness. But what if this has been already answer'd in the Tract before mentioned, intitled, *A Caveat against Mr. Benjamin Bennet, a meer Pretender to History and Criticism, &c.* published 1724. p. 29. In which 'tis confuted from a Letter of Mr. *John Sage's* the famed Author of *the Principles of the Cyprianic Age*, in the following Words. ' * Mr. *Robert Freebairn*, Archdeacon of ' *Dumblain*, and Minister of *Gask*, and *Strathern*, a ' Person of great Worth and Integrity, gave me this ' following Account. That while Mr. *Henderson* was in ' his Decay, of which he died, Mr. *John Freebairn*, ' Father of this Mr. *Robert*, and one Mr. *Rue*, and ' another Minister (whose Name I have forgot) went ' together to visit him. He the said Mr. *Robert*, ' who was then a Preacher, went along with them; ' after some Things had passed in Discourse, one of ' the Ministers address'd himself to Mr. *Henderson* to ' this purpose; that now in all likelihood he was ' dying, that he had been very much concern'd in ' the publick Commotions, which for some Years ' before had happen'd in *Scotland*; That his Testi- ' mony after his Death would be of great Weight ' with all those that were zealous for the Cause, &c. ' That therefore it was very proper that he should ' lay himself open to those that were then present,

• The Life of Mr. *John Sage* p. 72. *penes me.*

' that they might be in a Condition to encourage
 ' their Brethren, &c. To which Mr. *Henderson*
 ' composedly, and deliberately replied to this pur-
 ' pose. That he had been very active in *overturning*
 ' *Episcopacy*, and *encouraging* the *Rebellion*; but he
 ' took God to Witness, that he proposed nothing to
 ' himself when he began, but the Security of Reli-
 ' gion and the *Kirk*, in opposition to *Popery*, which
 ' he was made to believe was at the Bottom of the
 ' King's Designs; but now he was sensible that his
 ' Fears were groundless; he had Opportunities of
 ' conversing freely with the King, and he was well
 ' satisfied, that he was as *sincere* a *Protestant*, as any
 ' in his Dominions: He was heartily sorry, and hum-
 ' bly beg'd God's Pardon for it, that he had been so
 ' forward in a Course so unjustifiable: That if it
 ' should please God to restore him to Health and
 ' Strength, he would goe no further on in that Course,
 ' and he was heartily afraid, that they had all gone
 ' too far already: Nothing was so proper for them
 ' as to retract, and return to their Duty to his Maje-
 ' sty, who was the *Learnedst*, the most *Religious*, and
 ' every way the best King, that ever did sit upon a
 ' Throne in Britain. This his Discourse so surpriz'd
 ' them, that they for some Time sat silent: at length
 ' one of them (I think it was Mr. *Rue*) bespake the
 ' Rest of them after this Manner. *Brethren*, this
 ' our Brother is in a high Fever, and Raving, you
 ' ought not to heed what he says. No, says Mr. *Hen-*
 ' *derson*, I am very weak indeed, but am not at all
 ' raving, blessed be God, who for his Infinite Mercy
 ' allows the use of my Reason in this my low Estate,
 ' in which I have as much as ever; I hope I have
 ' spoken no Incoherences, and what I have said, I
 ' will say over again; Then he resumed what he had
 ' said, and enlarged upon it, and desired them in the
 ' Name of God to believe what he spoke was from his
 ' Heart, and with the Sincerity and Seriousness
 ' which became a dying Person. After they had
 ' taken their Leave, the three Ministers enjoyed
 ' Mr.

‘ Mr. *Robert Freebairn* a profound Silence of what
 ‘ he had heard, discharging him to communicate it
 ‘ to any Person whatsoever, and they added Threat-
 ‘ nings also to their Prohibition: But he (as he told
 ‘ me himself) boldly told them, that he thought
 ‘ himself bound in Conscience to declare what he
 ‘ had heard, as he had occasion, God’s Glory re-
 ‘ quired it, and it was Mr. * *Henderson’s* Purpose,
 ‘ that it shall be *propaled* and propagated. This Ac-
 ‘ count I had oftner than once from Mr. *Freebairn’s*
 ‘ own Mouth; He died about 21. or 22. Years agoe,
 ‘ aged about 70. *I am Sir,*

Yours

John Sage.

The Writer of the *Caveat*, in Answer to Mr.
Bennet adds (p. 31.) ‘ I have lately heard this very
 ‘ Account confirm’d by a Person of Credit, who had
 ‘ it from Mr. *Freebairn’s* own Son, (now) or very
 ‘ lately a deprived Bishop in *Scotland*.

And has not Mr. *Neal* furnished us with *excellent Evi-*
dence after all, that agrees at this Rate? His Anonymous
Scots Memorialist, says that it was published by a *Scots*
Episcopal Writer in the Year 1648. Mr. *Bennet* his *English*
Memorialist, That it could not be *Henderson’s* Re-
 cantation, and that the Style declares it an *Imposture*,
 it makes the Pretended Author speak so unlike a *Scotch*
Man; and that it was first published by Dr. *Holling-*
worth an *English* Divine in 1648. (when probably the
 Dr. was not born) and when ’tis plain from Mr.
Neal’s Confession (as is before observed) that the Pub-
 lication of it by Dr. *Hollingworth*, was in the Year
 1693. forty five Years after Mr. *Bennet’s* Date of
 Time (tho’ Mr. *Neal* calls it between thirty and
 forty Years from 1648. to 1693.) Judge Reader how

* A Writer in those Times tells us, ‘ That Mr. *Henderson* in his Discour-
 ‘ ses and Disputes with his present Majesty found him another *Solomon*, and
 ‘ therefore in his Penitential Expiring, declared him to be a most pious and learn-
 ‘ ed Prince, and was sorry that he had been so far injured. [*Independent’s*
 ‘ *Loyalty*, or the most barbarous Plot to murder his sacred Majesty, very fully
 ‘ discovered p. 19. Printed 1648. *paves me.*]

admirably well concerted this Evidence is, and whether it is not sufficient to destroy the Testimony of * all our *Historians*, who have asserted this *Recantation* to be *genuine*.

Mr. *Neal* (after what he calls a Detection of Mr. *Henderson's* Recantation) proceeds to the Propositions of the Members at *Westminster* to the King at *Newcastle*, read to him 24th of *July*; the Purport of which he gives us from *Rushworth* and *Rapin*, but how fairly, the Reader must be left to judge, after comparing him with his own Authorities. After which he informs us, that Duke *Hamilton* and the *Scots* Commissioners pressed his Majesty to a Compliance; and the Lord *Chancellor* of that Kingdom made a Speech to him upon that Occasion. Of the Falseness of which several Assertions, every Reader will be able to judge for himself; and this he calls *plain Dealing*.

N. p. 355. *The King's best Friends pray'd his Majesty to consider his present Circumstances, and not to hazard his Crown for a Form of Church Government; or if he had no Regard to himself, to consider his Royal Posterity. But the King replied, that his Conscience was dearer to him than his Crown; that till he receiv'd better Satisfaction about the Divine Right of Episcopacy, and the Obligations of his Coronation Oath, no Consideration should prevail with him. He told the Officers of the Army he neither could nor would take the Covenant, till he had heard from the Queen. Ham. Mem. p. 218.*

And did not the King in all these Respects act as became him? Mr. *Neal* I should have imagined, instead of condemning, would have commended him, for acting agreeably to his Honour and Conscience. Must an unbounded Liberty of acting agreeably to their Opinions, be justified in every private *Secretary*; and must the King be the only Person who is to

* Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. of the Rebellion Vol. 3. p. 24. B. *Kenner's* Compleat Collections. Vol. 3. p. 174. Mr. *Eccard's* History of England. Vol. 2. p. 557, 558. Dr. *Hicks's* *Ravillas Redivivus*, p. 14. Dean *Barwick's* Life p. 372. Mr. *Salmon's* Chronological Historian, p. 95.

be restrained in this Respect? But let us see whether Bishop *Burnet* will bear him out in all that he here asserts. “ * His Majesty (says he) said, “ His Conscience was dearer to him than his Crown, and he would willingly run the Hazard of all his Crowns below, rather than endanger that above; that hitherto, he had received no Satisfaction to his Conscience in these two great Points at which he stuck, and till that were done, no Consideration whatsoever would prevail. The Quiet of his Kingdom, and the Settlement of his Throne, were indeed to be purchased at any Rate; but the Peace of his Conscience must be preferr’d by him to all Things.” And on these Grounds did his Majesty still continue unshaken, notwithstanding all Hazards.’ Not one Syllable (that I can find) of his not taking the Covenant till he had heard from the Queen. An Interpolation (I fear) of Mr. Neal’s, who takes the Liberty of making King *Charles* the first say and do what he pleases, in order to serve his own Purpose.

N. p. 355. *When the ten Days for considering the Propositions were expired, his Majesty gave the Commissioners his Answer in a Paper directed to the House of Peers to this effect. “ That the Propositions contain’d so great Alterations both in Church and State, that his Majesty could not give a particular and positive Answer to them:” But after some few Concessions hereafter to be mentioned, he proposes to come to London, or any of his Houses thereabouts, and enter upon a personal Treaty with both Houses, and he conjures them as Christians, and Subjects, and as Men that desire to leave a good Name behind them, to accept of this Proposal, that the unhappy Distractions of the Nation may be peaceably settled.*

Were we not assured, that the King was always disposed to be serious, the Conclusion of this Paragraph might look like Banter. His Majesty’s Answer is still in being, and is as follows.

* *Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton.* p. 281.

* *Charles R.*

THE Propositions tendred to his Majesty by the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of *England* at *Westminster*, and the Commissioners of the Parliament of *Scotland* (to which the Howses of Parliament have taken twice so many Months for Deliberation, as they have assigned Daies for his Majestie's Answer) doe import so great Alterations in Government both in the Church, and Kingdome, as it is very difficult to returne a particular and positive Answer, before a full Debate, wherein these Propositions and the necessary Explanations, true Sense and Reason thereof be rightly weighed and understood, and that his Majesty upon a full View of the whole Propositions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away, and changed: In all which his Majesty finds (upon Discourse with the said Commissioners) that they are so bound up from any Capacitie, either to give Reasons for the Demandes they bringe, or to give Eare to suche Desires as his Majesty is to propound; as it is impossible for him to give such a present Judgement of and answer to these Propositions, whereby he can answer to God, that a safe and well grounded Peace will ensue: (which is evident to all the World can never be, unless the just Power of the Crowne, as well as the Freedom and Proprietie of the Subject, with the just Libertie and Priviledges of Parliament be likewise settled.) To whiche End his Majesty desireth and proposeth to come to *London* (or any of his Howses thereabouts) upon the publique Faith and Security of the two Howses of his Parliament, and the *Scots* Commissioners, that he shall be there with Freedom, Honour and Safetie, where by his personal Presence, he may not only raise a mutual Confi-

' dence betwixt him and his People, but alsoe have
 ' these Doubts cleered, and these Difficulties explained
 ' unto him, which he now conceaves to be destructive
 ' of his just Regal Power, if he should give a full
 ' Consent to these Propositions as they now stand.
 ' As likewise, that he might make known to them
 ' such his reasonable Demandes, as hee is most as-
 ' sured, will be very much conducive to that hap-
 ' pie Peace which all good Men desire and pray for;
 ' by the settling of Religion, the just Privileges of
 ' Parliament, with the Freedome and Propriety of
 ' the Subject. And his Majesty assures them, that
 ' as he cann never condiscende unto what is abso-
 ' lutely distructive to that just Power, whiche by the
 ' Lawes of God and the Land he is borne unto, so
 ' he will chearefully grant and give his Assent unto
 ' all suche Billes (at the Desires of his Howses) or
 ' reasonable Demands for *Scotland*, which shall be
 ' really for the Good and Peace of his People, not
 ' having a Regard to his own Particuler, (much less
 ' of any Bodies else) in Respect to the Happines
 ' of these Kingdomes; Wherefore his Majestie con-
 ' jures them as *Christians*, as Subjects, as Men who
 ' desire to leave a good Name behind them, that
 ' they will receive and make use of this Answer,
 ' that all Issues of Blood may be stopped, and these
 ' unhappie Differences peaceably settled.

Att *Newcastle* the first Day of *August* 1646.

*To the Speaker of the Howse of Peeres
 pro Tempore, to be communicated
 to the Lords and Commons in
 the Parliament of England, as-
 sembled at Westminster and to the
 Commissioners of Parliament of Scot-
 land at London.*

Charles R.

‘ Upon Assurance of a happie Agreement his
 ‘ Majestie will immediately send for the * Prince
 ‘ his Sonne, absolutely Answering for his perfect
 ‘ Obedience.

Exam’ per me Daniel Earle Sec.

N. p. 358. *In the mean Time the English Parliament were debating with the Scots Commissioners at London, the Right of disposing of the King’s Person, the latter claiming an equal Right to him with the former; But the Parliament voted, that the Kingdom of Scotland had no joint Right to dispose of the Person of the King in the Kingdom of England; to which the Scots would hardly have submitted, but for fear of engaging in a new War, and of losing all their Arrears.*

I thought the Parliament had been sure of their delivering up the King, by what he says (p. 356.) *That when the King’s Answer was reported to the House, August 12, it was resolved to settle Accounts with the Scots, and receive the King into their own Custody. So that the Dispute afterwards concerning their Right of disposing of the King (it seems) was downright Farce and Grimace. Lord Clarendon informs us,*
 ‘ † That when the Scots had secured the Peace and
 ‘ Quiet of their own Country, by disbanding the
 ‘ Forces under the Marquis of Montrose, and by

* The Prince of Wales was at this Time out of their Power, and they were endeavouring to decoy him into the Toils they had laid for him, as appears from their Letter, and his Answer. [Appendix No. 60. 61.] Which had they effected, I think it may reasonably be presumed (The Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and Princess Elizabeth being their Prisoners, and the King assuredly at their Command, upon Payment of an exorbitant Price for him to the Scots) that they would have cut off the whole Royal Family at once (excepting the Princess of Orange) to make Way for their Darling Republick.

Mr. Birkenhead (Paul’s Church Yard Cent. 3. p. 18.) puts the following Query.
 ‘ Whether it be not great Curtesy in the Parliament to the Duke of Gloucester, when they had taken away his Father’s Estate, to offer to bind him Apprentice to a Handicraft Trade?

† History of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 26. See likewise Sir Philip Warwick’s Memoirs. p. 295.

‘ his transporting himself beyond the Seas, and by
 ‘ putting to Death several Persons of Name, who
 ‘ had followed the Marquis, and had been taken
 ‘ Prisoners, amongst whom Sir *Robert Spotswood* was
 ‘ one, a worthy, honest, loyal Gentleman, and as
 ‘ wise a Man as that Nation had at that Time, (whom
 ‘ the King had made Secretary of State of that King-
 ‘ dome, in the Place of the Earl of *Lanrick*, who
 ‘ was then in Armes against him, which it may be
 ‘ was a principal Cause, that the other was put to
 ‘ Death) and when they had with such Solemnity
 ‘ and Resolution made it plain and evident, that they
 ‘ could not without the most barefaced Violation of
 ‘ their Faith and Allegiance, and of the fundamen-
 ‘ tal Principle of the *Christian* Religion, ever deliver
 ‘ up their native King, who had put himself into
 ‘ their Hands, into the Hands of the Parliament,
 ‘ against his own Will and Consent. And when
 ‘ the Earl of *Lowden* had publickly declared to the
 ‘ two Houses of Parliament in a Conference, “That
 ‘ “ an Eternal Infamy would lie upon them, and the
 ‘ “ whole Nation, if they should deliver the Person
 ‘ “ of the King; the securing of which, was equally
 ‘ “ their Duty, as it was the Parliament’s, and the
 ‘ “ Disposal of his Person in order to that Security did
 ‘ “ equally belong to them as the Parliament.”
 However they said, “ They would use all the Per-
 “ swasion, and all the Importunity they could with
 “ the King, that his Majesty might yield and con-
 “ sent to the Propositions the Parliament had sent
 “ to them.

*N. p. 360. The Summ of two hundred thousand Pounds
 being half the Arrears due to the Scots Army, having
 been paid them by Agreement before they marched out of
 Newcastle, it has been commonly said they sold their
 King. An unjust and malicious Aspersiō! It ought
 to be considered, that the Money was their Due before the
 King delivered himself into their Hands. For that in
 settling the Accounts between the two Nations, the King’s
 Name was not mentioned.*

I should be glad to see this Matter fully cleared up, and have it proved that the *Scots* did not sell their King, or at least did not give him up for the Lucre of the two hundred thousand Pounds, which they receiv'd before they left *Newcastle upon Tyne*. It has been commonly said, that they *sold him*, and if Mr. *Neal's* Assertion is all that can be brought in Disproof of the Charge, I can't see how they can ever get clear of this *Imputation*.

Lord *Clarendon* informs us, ‘ * That the General Assembly of the Kirk was then sitting in *Scotland*, and had petitioned the *Conservators of the Peace of the Kingdome*, “ That if the King should refuse to give Satisfaction to his Parliament, he might not be permitted to come into *Scotland*.” This Kind of Argumentation did more provoke, than persuade the King; he told them with great *Resolution* and *Magnanimity*, “ That no Condition they could reduce him to, could be half so miserable and grievous to him, as that which they would persuade him to reduce himself to; and therefore bid them proceed their own Way; and that though they had all forsaken him, God had not.”

‘ The *Parliament* had now receiv'd the Answer they expected, and forthwith required, “ The *Scots* to quit the Kingdom, and to deliver the Person of the King to such Persons as they should appoint to receive him.” Who should attend upon his Majesty from *Newcastle* to *Holmby*, a House of his, at a small Distance from *Northampton*, a Town and Country of very eminent Disaffection to the King, throughout the War; and declared, “ That his Majesty should be treated with Respect, to the Safety and Preservation of his Person according to the Covenant, and at his coming to *Holmby*, he should be attended by such as they should appoint; and that, when the *Scots* were removed out of *England*, the *Parliament* would joyn with

* History of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 28.

“ their Brethren of *Scotland* again to perswade the
 “ King to pass the Propositions, which if he refused
 “ to doe, the House would doe nothing that might
 “ break the Union of the two Kingdoms, but would
 “ endeavour to preserve the same.

“ The *Scots* now begun again to talk sturdily, and
 “ denied, “ * That the Parliament of *England* had
 “ Power absolutely to dispose of the Person of the
 “ King, without their Approbation,” and the Par-
 “ liament as loudly replied, “ That they had no-
 “ thing to doe in *England*, but to observe their Or-
 “ ders;” and added such Threats to their Reasons
 “ as might let them see, they had a great Contempt
 “ of their Power, and would exact Obedience from
 “ them, if they refused to yield it. But these Dif-
 “ courses were only kept up, till they could adjust
 “ all Accounts between them, and agree what Price
 “ they should pay for the Delivery of his Person,
 “ whom one Side was resolved to have, and the other
 “ Side was resolved not to keep; and so they agreed;
 “ and upon the Payment of *two hundred thousand*
 “ *Pounds* in Hand, and Security for as much more,
 “ upon Days agreed upon, the *Scots* delivered the
 “ King up into such Hands as the Parliament ap-
 “ pointed to receive him.

“ In this infamous Manner, that excellent Prince
 “ was in the End of *January* given up, by his *Scots*
 “ Subjects, to those of his *English* who were intrusted
 “ by his Parliament to receive him; which had ap-
 “ pointed a Committee of Lords and Commons, to
 “ goe to the Place agreed upon with a Party of Horse
 “ and Foot of the Army, which were subject to the
 “ Orders of that Committee, and the Committee it-
 “ self to goe to *Newcastle* to receive that Town, as

* Mr. *Gilbert Rule*, a late *Scottish Presbyterian Preacher*, gave this Reason for their delivering him up, “ That he was the King of the *English*, as well as
 “ theirs, and they could not withhold him from them.” “ So that the whole
 “ Matter (says the celebrated Mr. *Sage* in Answer, Pref. o *fundamental Charter of*
Presbytery) “ was no more than if ane *English Ox* had strayed, or been stolen,
 “ and falling into the Hands of *Scottish Presbyterians*, they had restored him,
 “ and got so much for Reward: at most it was not the *Oxe's Price*.

‘ well as the King ; where, and to whom his Majesty
‘ was delivered.

* The plain Truth is, (says Sir *William Dugdale*)
‘ That all this fencing with Arguments, came at last
‘ to a meer Money Business; for whereas the *Grandeess*
‘ at *Westminster* by Stipulation with the *Scots* for their
‘ Expedition into *England*, had promised to pay
‘ them after the Rate of thirty thousand Pounds *per*
‘ *Menſem*, so long as they should have occasion to
‘ make use of their Army, and all being done, to
‘ give them for the Pains, Hazard and Charges the
‘ said Army should undergoe, a due Recompence
‘ by way of *Brotherly Assistance*, towards the Perfor-
‘ mance of which Agreement, tho’ the *Grandeess* did
‘ manifest, that besides much free Quarter, the *Scots*
‘ Army had monthly received nineteen thousand,
‘ and seven hundred Pounds, and for the last Year
‘ ending *ultimo Octobris*, seventy two thousand nine
‘ hundred seventy two Pounds, two Shillings and
‘ eleven Pence for the Customes and other Impositi-
‘ ons upon *Coals* only: The *Brethren* nevertheless
‘ having then the better End of the Staff in their
‘ Hands, as being possessed of the King, delivered
‘ in unto them an Account of Arrears, besides Losses
‘ of no less than a Million of Money, their free Quar-
‘ ter reckoned; but with a kind Intimation that they
‘ would accept of a less Summ, in Gros for a full
‘ Discharge of all.

‘ Whereupon a Committee being appointed to
‘ treat with them thereon, and Times of Payment,
‘ they then stooped to the one Half, *viz.* five hun-
‘ dred thousand Pounds, whereof two hundred thou-
‘ sand Pounds to be paid upon the Departure of their
‘ Army, and the Rest within twelve Months.

‘ Much Dispute (indeed) they had about this Bu-
‘ siness, yea some high Words, but at length four
‘ hundred thousand Pounds was the Summ agreed on;
‘ the one half in Hand upon delivering up the King,

* Short View of the late Troubles, &c. p. 231, 232.

‘ which

‘ which Summ without more adoe, * *stop'd the Mouths*
 ‘ of those *Vultures*, and put a Period to all this hor-
 ‘ Contest: All their *Oaths* and *Obligations*, whereon
 ‘ they had so much insisted, merely to heighten the
 ‘ Price of their Sovereign, being then set aside, as
 ‘ is notoriously known.

‘ Being thus sold † and delivered to the Earls of
 ‘ *Pembroke*, *Denbigh*, and Lord *Montagu* of *Boughton*,
 ‘ Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Walter*
 ‘ *Earle*, Sir *John Cook*, *John Crew* Esq; and Major
 ‘ General *Browne* (Commissioners from the Members
 ‘ at *Westminster*) to be carried to *Holdenby* House
 ‘ in *Northamptonshire*, his Majestie hoped, that he
 ‘ might have two of his own Chaplains admitted to
 ‘ attend him in this sad and disconsolate Condition,
 ‘ (having not one Servant of his own about him) but
 ‘ that Request would not be granted though again
 ‘ seconded.

‘ Thus did the *Bonny Scots* part with their *Na-*
 ‘ *tive King*, leaving those Northern Counties miserably
 ‘ beggar'd by many grievous Taxes imposed on them
 ‘ by their Army, and most lamentable Oppressions
 ‘ of free Quarter. Which Burthens were so heavy,
 ‘ that the Inhabitants of *Cleveland*, by their Petition
 ‘ to the Members at *Westminster*, and Letter there-
 ‘ with sent, complained that their Oppressions were
 ‘ greater than those who suffered by the *Turks*, both in
 ‘ their Persons and Estates; those under the *Turks*
 ‘ being quit for a fifth Part, whereas, they in one

* On Saturday (*Echard* Vol. 2. p. 564.) the 30th. of *January*, a Day of the
 ‘ King's Imprisonment and Martyrdom, they delivered up their native Prince, and
 ‘ left the Town of *Newcastle*.

† An anonymous Writer of those Times (in a Tract, intitled: *The Case of*
the King Stated 1647. p. 5. See likewise p. 16, 17, 18. Publ. Libr. *Cam-*
bridge Class. 19. 7. 32.) observes, ‘ That this was a happy Occasion for the
 ‘ *Scots* to bring their own Ends about with the Houses, who knowing that the
 ‘ Person of the King was a *Jewel* that the two Houses would purchase at any
 ‘ Price, (they not thinking themselves secure without such a Possession:) It
 ‘ was not long e're they struck a Bargain to deliver his Majesty into the Hands
 ‘ of Commissioners approved by the Houses to receive him: which was done
 ‘ accordingly [*prob Deum atque Hominum fidem!*] and the *Scots* receiv'd two hun-
 ‘ dred thousand Pounds in Part of their Arrears, and had a Time set for the
 ‘ Payment of their Residues.

Year did pay their whole Revenues seven times over. *We are* (say they in their Letters) *the absolute Slaves, that ever was read of: For they assess us at their Pleasures, leavy as they please if they bid us goe and ride, none dare refuse, they kill us in bot Blood, beat us in Cold, &c. In a Word, our Stock is already wasted, our little Corn we had ill gotten in, by Reason of the great Moisture, we are now thrashing it for the Scots, we are eating our last Bread. Who have been able to get away, are gone.*

The Perfect Diurnal further adds; *The Country puts up many Complaints, Bedall, a little Town in York-shire of 57 Pound old Rents, and Ayscough a lesser Village of 42 Pound have put their several Complaints, that they have in less than five Months last past, paid to the Scots Army quartering upon them, almost two thousand Pounds, besides former Billetttings and Taxes: by which sad Sufferings some have left their Houses, others at the Point of leaving theirs also.*

Letters from Richmondshire did likewise intimate, that two Constableries of that County, the Rent whereof amounted to no more than ninety nine Pounds per Annum, were assessed by the Scottish Army, and paid in free Quarter, no less than nineteen hundred Pounds in four Months. But having made such a fair Market of the King, leaving those Countries thus barrased, they marched back over Twced upon the elevenib of February.

Mr. * *Collier* directly charges the Scots with the Sale of the King, • The two Houses (says he) had bought the King of the *Covenanting Scots* for 200000 Pounds, and wanted to be furnished for paying the Purchase Money. But granting that all this does not amount to full Proof; yet I am willing to believe what follows, will make it out in a great Measure.

Mr. *Neal* insinuates, that the Money, viz. 400000 Pounds was due to them before the King surrendered himself into the Hands of the Scots. This he will

* *Collier's Eccles. Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 848.

find it a hard Matter to prove. The King went into their Army about the middle of *April* 1646. And from the following Original Letter it appears, I think, that on the 12th of *November* 1645, there was but 17000 Pounds due to them.

* *My Lord,*

• **W**EE are desired by his Excellency the Earl
 • of *Leven*, to acquaint both Houses, that the
 • *Scottish* Army is speedily to march towards *Newwarke*,
 • and further to represent their extreme Wants and
 • pressing Necessities, by Reason they have neither
 • Moneys for their Entertainment, nor Cloathes to
 • defend them from the Injury of the Weather, and
 • so are exceedingly disabled from performing that
 • Service which may be expected. It is therefore
 • our earnest Request to the honourable Houses, that
 • an Ordinance may pass for their Repayment, who
 • shall lend any Money for the advancing a Month's
 • Pay to the *Scottish* Army. That they would give Or-
 • der for the present providing them with Cloaths,
 • and for their present Subsistence appoint the Coun-
 • ties to afford them free Quarter. We have divers
 • Times represented to the Houses, that the Com-
 • mittee of *Goldsmiths Hall* are charged by Order of
 • the House of Commons to pay the *Scottish* Army
 • out of the Composition of Delinquents 31000
 • Pounds, whereof is only paid as yet 14000. and
 • rests 17000 Pounds. And we doe earnestlye entreat,
 • that Moneys may not be drawne upon the Commit-
 • tee at *Goldsmiths Hall* for other Uses, whereby they
 • are disabled to advance any considerable Supply for
 • that Army, or in any Measure to satisfy the Ex-
 • pectation of the Houses, in providing for their
 • Maintenance; this being a main Obstruction, and
 • exceedingly prejudicial to that Army. Wee doubt

not but the Houses will remove it, and settle such a Course of their future Entertainment, as that Army may be enabled for the publick Service, the advancing whereof is their earnest Desire. And also of

Your Lordships very affectionat

Freinds and Servants,

*Worcester House 12 Nov.
1645.*

Loudun.

Balmerino.

My Lord, we earnestly desire you to put the House in mind to return an Answer to our former Paper.

For the right honorable my Lord Gray of Worke, Speaker of the House of Lords. The like Letter sent to Lenthall, with the Title of Speaker of the House of Commons, with the additional Names of Charles Erskin, Hen. Kennedy. [N. 20.]

Now if we even grant, that the Scots received no Pay after this, which 'tis unreasonable to suppose, yet their whole Pay from the 12th of November 1645. to the 12th of April 1646. a few Days before the King went in to their Army, was five Months, which at the Rate of 31000 Pounds per Month, if their Troops consisted of 21 thousand effective Men, was but 155000 Pounds, to which if we add 17000 Pounds claim'd as due to them by the Earl of Loudun, and Lord Balmerinock, makes but 172000 Pounds, and falls far short even of the 200000 Pounds paid them. And yet these *modest Gentlemen*, when they came to state their Accounts, pretended that the Arrears due to them were * two Millions. When 'tis apparent, that if they had not received one Penny, either in Money or free Quarter,

* *Rapin's Hist. of England. Vol. 12. p. 346.*

their

their whole Due from their first coming in, to September 1646. when they pretended fairly to state their Account, was but 992000 Pound.

But to proceed upon Mr. *Neal's* Calculation, supposing that the Summ of 172000 Pounds due to them at the King's delivering himself (as he calls it) into their Hands; yet free Quarter must be deducted, which amounted to one half. So that in reality but 86000 Pounds was due at that Time. But I think it is plain, that even *that* was not due, for it was after this Time, that they made such * Havock upon the Counties of *Nottingham, York, Durham, and Northumberland*, and no Doubt in free Quarter, Plunder and Exactions, they receiv'd much more than their stated Allowance amounted to; to which we may add the frequent Complaints made by the Committees of *York and Nottingham, &c.* concerning their Plundering, &c. already referred to in the Appendix. But the Account stated in 1646, and reported to the Commons sitting at *Westminster*, the Original still in being seems to put it out of Dispute. Wherein the

	l.	s.	d.
† Scots Account is charged at	992000	0	0
And their Receipts in Money	1462769	5	3
Free Quarter, &c.			
Near five hundred thousand Pounds more than their Due.			

Indeed they § excepted to the Account, but how just those Exceptions were, every Reader will be able to judge, from the slightest Observation. Those Gentlemen set out very unluckily, stumble at the Threshold, and in their very first Exception assert a notorious Falshood, viz. *That there was no such Clause in the Treaty as that the Scottish Army should continue in England the Numbers of 18000 Foot, 2000 Horse, and one thousand Dragoons.*

* See a further Account of their Plundering. Appendix, No. 62, 63.

† Appendix, No. 64.

§ Appendix, No. 65.

They that could assert such a Falshood, were capable of asserting any Thing. The second Article of the Treaty follows. * ' That an Army to this purpose shall be levied forthwith, consisting of 18000 Foot effective, and 2000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoones effective, with a suitable Train of Artillery, to be ready at some General Rendezvous near the Borders of *England*, to march into *England* for the Purposes aforesaid with all convenient Speed, the said Foot and Horse to be well and compleatly armed, and provided with Victuals and Pay for forty Days, and the said Train of Artillery to be fitted in all Points ready to march.

Their next Assertion is equally false: *That there was omitted in their Account, about ten hundred thousand Pounds: which the Committee residing in the Scottish Army was able to make out.*

Whereas by the fifth Article, it is provided, ' † That towards defraying thereof shall be monthly allowed, and pay'd the Summ of 30000 Pounds Sterling, out of the Estates and Revenues of *Papists, Prelates, Malignants, &c.* and in case the said 30000 Pounds monthly, was not paid monthly, as aforesaid, the Kingdome of *England* shall give the publick Faith for the paying the Remainder unpaid with all possible Speed, allowing the Rate of eight *per Cent.* for the Time of the Performance thereof.' In the said Article indeed, there is a *Proviso*, ' That in case the States of the Kingdome of *Scotland* have occasion to demand farther Satisfaction of *England*, when the Peace of both Kingdomes was settled; they shall by Way of Brotherly Affi-

* *Rajbworth's Collections*. Vol. 5. p. 486. In a Letter from the Scots Army 10th of April 1646. signed *A. Henderson* [*Dr. Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. 19. No. 148.] are the following Words: " In Answer to your Lordship's Paper of the seventh Instant, we are to shew you, that since our coming to this Place (*Colingham*) wee have not much look'd upon the Treaty, nor should wee ever by that, have found out any supernumerary Forces in our Army: For wee conceive by the Treaty wee are obliged to bring in the Number therein specified at least; But if wee had brought in Triple the Number, they would have been at that Time very acceptable to the Kingdome.

† *Rajbworth*. Vol. 5. p. 486.

‘ stance have due Recompence made them.’ For which they *modestly* insinuate, that instead of thirty thousand Pounds *per Menssem*, they were entitled to sixty at least.

They had been in *England* 32 Months, in the stating the Account 31000 Pounds *per Month* was allow’d (thirty two thousand Pounds in the whole more than the Summ contracted for) which amounted in the whole to 992000 Pounds. Even with this Addition they were not contented, but had the *Modesty* to declare, that above a Million more was due to them; which was owing for *Brotherly Assistance*, and the horrid Outrages and Barbarities committed by them wherever they came. Which tho’ they pretend to disclaim in the Close of their Exceptions, fully appears in Complaints from the Committees at *Nottingham*, *York*, and other Parts, already referr’d to in the *Appendix*. And as their Exceptions are not grounded upon any Certainty, *but that they don’t understand such an Article, or ’tis impossible that such and such Articles could amount to near the Summs specified*: The Reader will be able to judge whether these *perfidious Rebels* were not determined to sell their King, upon the best Terms they were able, and the *English Rebels* determined to have him out of their Hands, cost what it would.

The Marquess of *Montrose* charges it home upon them, in his Declaration in the Year 1649. ‘*Howbeit (says he) there hath been (and still are) an horrid and infamous Faction of Rebels within the Kingdom of *Scotland* [who causlessly at first did hatch Rebellion against his late Majesty of glorious Memory, and when he had granted unto them (by their own Acknowledgement) all their violent and most unjust Desys, they were so far from resting notwith-

* Declaration of his Excellency *James*, Marquess of *Montrose*, Earl of *Kinnairn*, Lord *Græme*, Baron of *Montdeu*, Lieutenant Governour and Capitaine General for his Majestie of the Kingdome of *Scotland*. At *Gottenberge*. Anno 1649. p. 2, 3, 4. *penes me*. See likewise Dr. *Williams’s MS. Collections*. Vol. 16. No. 17.

• standing satisfied (as being themselves able to fynd
 • no further Pretences) they did perniciously solicit
 • ane Party in the Kingdome of *England* to beginn;
 • where Shame and Necessity forced them to breake
 • off, and when those of the *English* (being by much
 • less wicked) would often have been satisfied by his
 • Majesty's extraordinary Concession (they then not
 • intending the desperate Lengths, which fatall Suc-
 • cess and their hollow Practisers did thereafter dryve
 • them to) then did they still thrust in Oyll to the
 • Fyre, and Ganger to the Wound, untill they had
 • randred all irrecoverable.

“ Neither were they contented in the *Fox Skin*
 “ alone to act this their so brutish a Tragedy, which
 “ indeed could never have served their Ends, but
 “ while they had received all imaginable Satisfaction
 “ (as their very own Acts of Parliament doth Wit-
 “ nesses, wherein they say, that his late Majesty *par-*
 “ *ted a contented King, from a contented People*) find-
 “ ing their Rebell Brood whom they had begot in
 “ *England* beginning to lessen, and that his Maje-
 “ sty's Party appeared to have by much the better,
 “ they not only contrary to the Duty of true Sub-
 “ jects, but to *all Faith, Covenants, Oaths, Attesta-*
 “ *tions*, to which they had so often invoked, God,
 “ his Angels, the World, and all as Witnesses, did
 “ enter with a strong Army the Kingdome of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, persecute their Prince in a foreign Nation,
 “ assist a Company of stranger Rebels against their
 “ native King, and those of his Loyal Party within
 “ that same Kingdome; except for which, the whole
 “ World does know, his Majesty had without all
 “ Peradventure prevailed.

“ And not ashamed of all this, which even many
 “ of their own Partie did blush to avow, when his
 “ late Majesty was by (God knows how many) un-
 “ happy Treacheries redacted to think upon extreme
 “ Courses for his Safety, he was pleased out of his foe
 “ much invincible Goodness, and natural Inclination
 “ towards his native People, notwithstanding all
 S “ their

“ their former Villanies, to choose that ignoble
 “ Partie to fall upon, thinking that those whom his
 “ Greatness, and their Duty could not oblige, his
 “ Misery and their Compassion might perhaps move
 “ with Pity; yet too justly fearing their * *Punique*
 “ *Faith*, he first resolved to engage them by a Treaty,
 “ after which, when by many Intercourses, his Ma-
 “ jestie had received all Manner of Assurance (which
 “ tho’ Shame would make them willingly excuse,
 “ yet Guilt will let them have nothing to say for it,
 “ it being so undenyable, and to all the Worlde so
 “ knowne a Truth [*casting himself in their Hands,*
 “ *they contrary to all Faith and Passion, Trust of*
 “ *Friends, Duty of Subjects, Laws of Hospitality, Na-*
 “ *ture, Nations, Divine and Humane, to which there*
 “ *hath never been precedent, nor can ever be a*
 “ *Follower, most infamously, and beyond all imaginable*
 “ *Expression of invincible Baseness, to the Blush of Chri-*
 “ *stians, and the Abomination of all Mankind, sold*
 “ *their sovereign Master to their merciless Fellow-Traitors,*
 “ *to be destroyed; With whom how they have conspired*
 “ *his Destruction, their secret Intercourses both before,*
 “ *and in the Time, and since his horrid Murder doe*
 “ *too too evidently declare.*

I don’t pretend after all, to charge this upon the
 Scots as a *National-Act*. I doubt not but the King
 had in that his native Kingdome abundantly more
 † Friends, than § Enemies. But the Baseness of their
 Army was inexcusable, who, when they had decoy’d
 the King by a Promise of Safety and Security to his
 person and Honour, into their Net, and prevail’d
 upon him to order all his Garrisons to be surrendred,

* Severe is the Character given of them by the Writer of the *Loyal Sacrifice*,
 &c. p. 38. from *Historians*, and *Chronologers* in the following Words. *Caldonia*
perfidia Emblemata; Justitia Anathema; Injuria Scena; nequitia plena; amicitia
aliena. Vid. *Fabian*, in *Chron. Froissard*, *Polid. Languet in Epit. Cooper.* *Ibid.*
Barc. in *Icon. Anim. Præcipue Muræ.* in *Calliop. Calid.* Mr. Long of *Exeter*.
 (Review of *Baxter’s Life* p. 159.) says, ‘ That he had heard a Report of a
 † Rebel in Scotland, who being under Condemnation, was put in mind of beg-
 ging Pardon, and saying God bless the King. But his Answer was, That he
 would not purchase his Life at so dear a Rate.

† Appendix No. 68. § Appendix No. 69.

viz. *Newark*, * *Oxford*, *Worcester*, *Wallingford*, *Litchfield*, *Ragland*, &c. and † *Montrofs* with his brave and gallant Army to disband, by which Means they had rendred him defenceless. They who no doubt came in upon no other Motives than § Plunder and Pay, made the best Bargain they could for themselves, and sold their King for the filthy Lucre of four hundred thousand Pounds. Two of which were paid, as appears from their Original Acquittances still in being, Copies of which the Reader will meet with in the || *Appendix*. And to prove what Obligations the Rebels of *England* had to their *Brethren* of *Scotland*, for their *Brotherly Assistance*, we need only compute the Expences of their two Rebellions, and we shall find the Summ to be of large Amount. For the first Rebellion, (the Particulars specified in the

		l.	s.	d.
Summs are as follow, charged by <i>Adam Blair</i> .	{	514128	09	00
		271500	00	00
The Account reported of their second Rebellion 1646.	{	1462769	05	03
Add what was paid to <i>John Drummond</i> , for the <i>Scots</i> deliver- ing up the King.	{	200000	00	00
Summ Total,		2448397	14	03

* *Sir Phil. Warwick's Memoirs*. p. 294.

† *Monteith's History of the Troubles of Great Britain*, published 1735. pag. 234. *Salmon's Chronological Historian*. p. 94.

§ The Writer of the *Loyal Sacrifice* preiented in the Lives and Deaths of *Sir Charles Lucas*, and *Sir George Lisle* 1648. p. 27. (*penes me*) observes, ' That it was never yet known, that the *Blew Bonnet* would enter the Lifts upon the gilded Promises of a publick Faith, or the *Huxters* cold Hope of *Best-be-trust*. And when all this is done, be confident, their Hands will be more ready to receive it, then their Hearts to earn it. It has been ever observed of the *Peasantry* of that Nation, that they could feed better then fight; *Plundering* was their only *Master-Piece* which they could finger with such Dexterity, as if they had been nursed, and bred up in that Trade from their Infancy.

|| *Appendix* No. 66, 67. Lord *Digby* in a Letter to the Marquess of *Ormonde*, June 17. 1646. (Letters concerning State Affairs. No. 456. p. 477.) has the following Remark upon the *Scots*, not much to their Credit. ' The *Scots* are likely to fail both Ours, and *France's* Expectations, and to make use of the King's Person, only to force him to what they aim'd at with the Parliament all this while, in so much as you are to consider the King at present among them, in *Shew* and *Formalitys*, treated as a King, but really worse than a Prisoner; for besides the Guards about him, and strict Observation of his Person, He had no Kind of Liberty of Mind, since all Power of expressing any Thing, but what they will have him, is taken away. ** *Appendix* No. 70.

It appears from an Original Certificate from *Goldsmiths Hall*, that the Members at *Westminster* were in so great a Hurry to get the King into their Hands, that they borrowed the * two hundred thousand Pounds, to pay the *Scots*, for their Purchase, which was not wholly discharged the 18th of *January* 1647.

C H A P. VIII.

Proceedings of the Assembly, &c.

N. p. 378. **T**HE reverend Mr. Charles Herle took Possession of the Prolocutor's Chair, July 22, 1646. in the Room of the late Dr. Twisse.

‘ This Man afterwards, † in 1654. was by Authority of Parliament, appointed one of the Assistants to the Commissioners of *Lanc.* for the Ejection of such, whom they then called *scandalous* and *ignorant Ministers* and *Schoolmasters*; in which Office, he with *If. Ambrose* of *Preston*, *Edward Gee* of *Eccleston*, &c. shewed great Severity against them. And how well qualified he was for dirty Work, his publick Sermons sufficiently testify. ‘ § Doe Justice (says he) to the Greatest, *Saul's* Sons are not spared; no nor *Agag*, nor *Benbadad*, tho' themselves Kings; *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, tho' Princes of the People, must be pursued into their Tents.

‘ || What an Army of Martyrs has God given to the Fire for our Reformation at first? What a *Kalendar* of Traytors has he given to the Gallows, for our Preservation since.

* *Appendix.* No. 83. Mr. *Whitlock* (*Memorials* p. 234.) informs us, That nine hundred Pounds were allowed to the Tellers of the two hundred thousand Pounds, and sixteen hundred Pounds for the Charge of the Carriage of it.

† *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 238.

§ Herle's Fast Sermon before the Commons, November 15, 1644. p. 37. Assembly's Sermon.

|| Herle's before the Commons, November 3. 1642. p. 37.

N. p. 379. *The House of Commons having voted the Assembly Thanks, [viz. for their humble Advice concerning a Confession of Faith] desired them to insert the Proofs of the several Articles in their proper Places, and then to print six hundred Copies and no more. MS. penes me.*

If his *Manuscript* is in other Instances, as faulty as 'tis here, 'tis more than probable, that some Part of it at least is transcribed from faulty printed Accounts. *Rushworth* indeed says [Vol. 6. p. 473.] there was an Order for the printing 600 Copies; but *Rushworth*, 'tis plain is not infallible, as appears from the Original Answer of the Assembly, still in being; a Copy of which I refer the Reader to in the * *Appendix*.

N. p. 382. *The shorter Catechism was presented to the House of Commons, November 5. but the larger by Reason of the marginal Proofs from Scripture, which the Houses desired might be inserted, was not ready till the 14th of April 1648.*

† The Original *Manuscript Catechisms* both shorter, and larger, are still in being, and a § Duplicate of the larger *Catechism*, both signed by *Charles Herle*, *Prolocutor*, *Cornelius Burgess*, *Assessor*, *Henry Robrough*, *Scriba*, *Adoniram Byfield*, *Scriba*.

Indorsed, the Advice of the Assembly of Divines concerning a larger *Catechism*, presented by the *Prolocutor*, and the Divines of the Assembly 22d of October 1647. . The shorter *Catechism* indorsed, a shorter *Catechism* from the Assembly of Divines, presented to the Parliament, without Date.

N. p. 393. *Old Mr. Vicars, and some others, carried on the Controversy [viz. against J. Goodwin,] but their Writings are not worth remembring.*

No more they are indeed, in any other Respect, than to shew the prevailing Spirit of those Times; scarce to be parallel'd in any Age or Nation but our own. *Vicars's Tract* has the following remarkable

* *Appendix* No. 71. † Dr. P. Williams's *MS. Collections*. Vol. 22. No. 54. 56. § *Id. ib.* No. 54, 55.

Title. * *Coleman-Street Conclave visited: and that Grand Impostor, the Schismatick's Cheater in Chief, (who hath long sily lurked therein) truly, and duly discover'd, containing a most palpable and plain Display of Mr. † John Goodwin's Self-Conviction (under his own Hand Writing) and of the notorious Heresies, Errors, Malice, Pride and Hypocrisy of this most huge Garagantua in falsely pretended Piety; to the lamentable Misleading of his too credulous Soul-Murdered Profelytes of Coleman-Street, and elsewhere. Collected principally out of his own Big-Braggadocchio wave like swelling and swaggering Writings, full fraught with fix footed Terms, and flashie Rhetorical Phrases, far more than solid and sacred Truths, and may sily serve (if it be the Lord's Will) like Belshazzar's Hand Writing on the Wall of his Conscience, to strike Terror and Shame into his own Soul, and shameless Face, and to undeceive his most miserably cheated, and enchanted or bewitched Followers.* By John Vicars.

London, printed for Nathaniel Webb, and William Grantham, at the Grey Hound's Head in Paul's Church Yard, 1648.

Here we meet with a remarkable Spirit in Mr. Vicars, whose Works in Truth, are not worth remembering, as Mr. Neal justly observes. And yet notwithstanding this Observation, he has made use of another Work of Vicars's, as little worth remembering as this, intituled, the || *Parliament Chronicle*. This Man, as Bishop Patrick informs us, wrote a Book, intituled, § *A Looking Glass for Malignants*. ' In which

* Publick Library in Cambridge, Class 19. 7. 24. and penes me.

† John Goodwin was one of those infamous Wretches, who had the Impudence to write in Justification of the King's Murder. And what Character he deserved we may learn from this short Remark of Mr. Birkenhead (*Paul's Church Yard*, Cent III. p. 20) ' Resolved upon the Question, that the publick Faith ' be buried in everlasting Forgetfulness; and that John Goodwin the High Priest ' be ordain'd to preach the funeral Sermons from *Tubill Fields to White Chappell*. Tho' the same John Goodwin, upon another Occasion, made the following frank Acknowledgment, concerning the Church of England. [*Sion College visited*, p. 26. See Long's Review of Baxter's Life. p. 240.] ' That there was more of the Truth ' and Power of Godliness in the Church of England, under the Prelatical Government, than in all the Reformed Churches beside.

|| See Hornius's Character of Vicars's *Parliament Chronicle*. Wood's Athen. Vol. 2, p. 85. 1st. Edit. § Continuation of the friendly Debate. p. 179.

he

he calls the Archbishop of Canterbury a *Curst Cow*, or rather *raging fat Bull of Basban*, whose Heart, he says, was more hard and *adamantine*, than a *nether Milstone*, and most extremely cauterized, yea stigmatized with the hottest Iron of the most desperate Impenitency. The inferior Ministers he calls *Baal's Priests*, *Popish Sons of Belial*. Those who followed the King, he stiled *marble hearted Malignants*, *implacable*, and *inveterate Haters of Holiness*.

What Authority, I pray, can a *Chronicle* written by such a *horrid Reviler*, be of?

N. p. 403. *Indeed both Houses were so terrified, and pressed between the City Presbyterians on one Side, and the Army on the Other, that they adjourn'd immediately from Monday till Friday, in which Interval, the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the House of Lords, with eight Peers, and the Speaker of the House of Commons with about a * hundred Members, withdrew privately from the City, and joyned the Army; a surprizing Event in their Favour; the Officers received them with the utmost Satisfaction and Transport, paying them all imaginable Honours, and assuring them, that they would establish them in their full Powers, or die in the Attempt. There must certainly have been some very pressing Reasons for this Conduct, otherwise many zealous Presbyterians, as were many of the Members that quitted the Parliament House, would not have had recourse to the Protection of the Army.*

They have given their Reasons under their own Hands, which are still in being, and for which the Reader is referr'd to the † *Appendix*. Tho' probably they might have a better Reason than any mentioned, and that was to prepare the Army to joyn with them in taking off the King. The Number of the Com-

* *Salmon* (in his *Chronological Historian* p. 96.) says, 'The Speakers of both Houses, with about 50. Members fly to the Army for Protection against the London Mob.' Which comes nearer the Truth, than *Mr. Neal's Account*. See an Account likewise of their withdrawing to the Army. *Lord Clarendon's Hist.* &c. Vol. 3. p. 47. *Echard's Hist. of England*. Vol. 2. p. 580.

† *Appendix No. 72.*

mons who withdrew upon this Occasion were but 59. far short of Mr. *Neal's* Number, which he calls near a hundred, and tho' he says many of them were *Zealous Presbyterians*, yet 'tis apparent from the following Names, that *several of the 59. were appointed the King's Judges, and all of them I presume sate as such, † and eighteen of them signed the Warrant for his Execution.

How apt is Mr. *Neal* to magnify, or *diminish*, as he approves, or disapproves of Persons or Things.

N. p. 404. *The Presbyterian Members that remained behind ordered that a Committee of Safety should joyn the City Militia.*

I find a List of *Gentlemen* offer'd their Service as a Guard to the Members at *Westminster* under Colonel *Rossiter* (for the Names of which I refer the Reader to the § *Appendix*;) Whether upon this Occasion, I cannot pretend to say; for the Report of their Service, was made June 6, 1648. near a Year after.

N. p. 406. *The Sermons of their Ministers [viz. Presbyterians] were filled with Invectives against the Army while at a Distance. In their publick Prayers they intreated the Almighty to incline the Hearts of the Scots to come to their Relief, and the Conversation of the People was riotous and disorderly; but lest the Weight of this Revolution should fall too heavily on the London Ministers, as the chief Incendiaries of the People, they wisely prepared a Vindication of themselves, and published it four Days before the Army entred the City: It was dated from Sion College, August 2, 1647. It was signed by about twenty London Ministers, and presented to a Committee of both Houses sitting at Guild-Hall.*

* Sate as King's Judges *William Lord Monson*, *Philip Lord Lisle*, *Sir Henry Mildmay*, *Francis Alleyn*, *Nic. Love*, *Cornelius Holland*, *Tho. Boone*, *John Corbet*, &c.

† Signed the Warrant for the King's Execution, *Thomas Lord Grey*, *Sir Miles Livsey*, *James Temple*, *Gregory Norton*, *Humphrey Edwards*, *Henry Marten*, *William Constable*, *Tho. Scott*, *Ed. Ludlowe*, *Tho. Wogan*, *Miles Corbet*, *William Say*, *Simon Mayne*, *G. Fleetwood*, *Hen. Smith*, *Will. Purefoy*, *John Hutchinson*, *John Blackinton*. See *Dugdale's* short View p. 367. &c. *Monteib of Salmonet's* Hist. of the Troubles of Great Britain. p. 472. *Dr. Nalson's* true Copy of the Journal of the high Court of Justice for the Tryal of King *Charles I.* Printed 1648. Attested under the Hand of *Phelps*, Clerk to that infamous Court. p. 110.

§ *Appendix* No. 73.

This

This is all of it true, and the *righteous* * Assembly of Divines petitioned likewise; their Original Petition is still in being.

N. p. 407. *Let the Reader now pause a little, and judge of the Authors of this grand Revolution, which brought the Parliament under the Army, and how far the Presbyterian Ministers were concern'd in it. Mr. † Baxter in a very angry Stile, lays all the Blame at the Door of the Independants.*

And is Mr. Baxter's Authority after all called in Question? What has he at last deserted that Cause, in which Mr. Neal retain'd him? Mr. Baxter (he tells us in his second Volume p. 599.) *knew the Puritans much better than Lord Clarendon. In this Volume (p. 33.) That Mr. Baxter's Testimony was much more particular, and decisive than Mr. Echard's (p. 36.) That Mr. Baxter was much better acquainted with the Clergie of those Times than Dr. Walker, (p. 147.) That Mr. Baxter was no Friend to the Independants, yet knew them much better than the above mentioned Writers, (viz. Lord Clarendon, Mr. Echard, and Rapin) and (p. 335.) That Mr. Baxter was a much better Authority than Mr. Echard (in a Case relating to the Presbyterians.) And why then should not Mr. Baxter be a more competent Witness for a Fact done in his own Time, than Mr. Neal at the Distance of near an hundred Years?*

N. 409. *While the King was with the Army, Lieutenant General Cromwell, and Ireton, took sundry Opportunities to confer with his Majesty privately about his Resto-*

* Appendix No. 74.

† Remarkable is the Characteristical Epitaph, drawn up for Mr. Baxter by that late learned Divine Mr. Tho. Long, Prebendary of Exeter. (In his Review of Mr. Baxter's Life p. 189.) second Part of the History of Separation, published 1682. (penes me) in the following Words. *Hic jacet Richardus Baxter, Theologus armatus, Loiolita, Reformatus, Hæresiarcha Arianus, Schismaticorum Antesignanus: Cujus pruritus disputandi peperit, scriptitandi Cacoethes nutrit, prædicandi Zelus intemperatus maturavit ECCLESIAE SCABIEM. Qui dissentit ab iis, quibuscum consentit maximò: Tum sibi cum aliis nonconformis præteritis, præsentibus, & futuris: Regum & Episcoporum Juratus Hostis: Ipsumque Rebellum Solenne Fœdus. Qui natus erat per septuaginta Annos, & octoginta Libros, ad perturbandas Regni Republicas, & ad bis perdendam Ecclesiam Anglicanam; Magnis tamen excidit ausis. Deo Gratiæ.*

ration.

ration. They offered to set him upon his Throne with the Freedom of his Conscience, in Point of Episcopacy, or lose their Lives in the Attempt, if he would consent to their Proposals to the Parliament, and bestow some particular Preferments on themselves, and a few of their Friends, wishing that God would deal with them and their Families, according to their Sincerity.

And can Mr. Neal after all be so weak, to think that those two Persons, famed for their notorious Hypocrisy and Diffimulation, could be sincere in this their Offer to the King, who questionless would have complied with it, had it been apparently made without Equivocation, and Reservation; or if he could in the least have trusted two such *State Jugglers* as these? Bishop *Williams*, who lived in *Cromwell's* Neighbourhood, and had an Opportunity of knowing him, gave this Character of him to the King * That he was the most dangerous Enemy that the King had, who tho' at first of mean Rank, and Use, would soon climb higher.' " I knew him (said he) at *Buckden*, but never knew his Religion; being a common Spokesman for *Seſtaries*, and maintain'd their Part with Stubborness. He never discourſed as if he were pleas'd with your Majesty, and your great Officers, and indeed he loves none that are more than his Equals. Your Majesty did him but Justice in refusing his Petition against Sir *Thomas Steward* of the Isle of *Ely*; but he takes them all for his Enemies, who would not let him undoe his best Friends, and above all that live, I think he is most mindful of an Injury; he talks openly, that it is fit that some should act more vigorously against your Forces, and bring your Person into the Power of the Parliament. He hates the Earl of *Essex*, because he says, he is but half an Enemy to your Majesty, and has done you more Favour than Harm. His Fortunes are so broken that it

* *Eckard's History of England*. Vol. 2. p. 514. Nay even Mr. *Oldmixon's* (Hist. of the Royal House of *Stuart*. Vol. I. p. 324.) own's, That with these very Pretences mentioned by Mr. *Neal*, *Cromwell* deceiv'd the King.

“ is impossible for him to subsist, much less satisfy
 “ his Ambition, but by your Majesty’s Bounty, or
 “ by the Ruine of us all, in a common Confusion.
 “ In short, every Beast has some evil Properties;
 “ But *Cromwell* has the Properties of all evil Beasts;
 “ my humble Motion is, that you would either win
 “ him to you by Promises of a fair Treatment, or
 “ catch him by some Stratagem, and cut him short.

Bishop *Burnet* gives one remarkable Instance of his Hypocrisy, too long to be here inserted, and for which I refer the Reader to the * History of his own Time. And Sir *William Dugdale*, Mr. *Neal*’s Author upon this Occasion for these Professions of Service to the King, tells us in the same Place, ‘ † That after the King had framed his Answer to the Parliament Proposals, he sent it to *Cromwell*, and § *Ireton* to be perused, with Liberty to add, or alter what they should think fit, which being done by them, and returned to his Majesty, he wrote it anew, and sent it to *Westminster*.

“ But see now (says he) the horrid Perfidiousness
 “ of *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*.” No sooner was this can-
 “ did, and gracious Answer from the King imparted
 “ to the House of Commons, but that both of them
 “ appear’d with the highest, in their bitter Investives
 “ against it. The News whereof being forthwith
 “ brought to the King, he called for the Person who

* History of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 45. In the Case of the King’s Tryal, even Mr. *Oldmixon*. [Hist. of the Royal House of *Stuart*. Vol. 1. p. 360.] observes, “ That *Cromwell* and his Emisaries, who were no *Commonwealths Men*, must be the greatest Hypocrites that ever dissembled with God and Man, in praying for what they called the Abolishing of one Tyranny, on purpose to set up a worse in the Place of it.” A remarkable Discovery indeed from such a Man: and *Ludlow* himself, a *Republican* and *Regicide*, exclaims against him for his notorious Hypocrisy. [Memoirs. Vol. 2. p. 448, 449, 450.]

† *Dugdale*’s Short View of the Troubles. p. 264.

§ Mr. *Wood* [Atten. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 148.] observes, ‘ That *Ireton*’s Parts and Abilities were such, his Dissimulation so profound, and his mischievous Designs had so clean a Conveyance, that his Father in Law *Cromwell* made frequent Use of him, when he was put to a push to compleat his wicked Designs. And Bishop *Burnet* (Hist. of his own Time. Vol. 1. p. 46.) observes, ‘ That *Ireton* was the Person who drove on the Transactions leading to the King’s Murder, and that he had the Principles and Temper of a *Cassius* in him, and stuck at nothing that might have turn’d *England* into a Commonwealth. Which Mr. *Neal* mentioned p. 351.

' had been so lately with *Cromwell*, and acquainting
 ' him therewith, sent him back to *Cromwell* to re-
 ' quire the Reason thereof. Whose Answer was, that
 ' what he then said in the House of Commons was but
 ' to sound the Depth of those virulent Humours,
 ' wherewith the *Presbyterians*, whom he knew to be
 ' no Friends to the King, were possessed withal, but
 ' after that Time he never came more to his Majesty.
 I cannot account for Mr. *Neal*'s leaving this out,
 when it stared him so full in the Face in the very
 same Page, and gave the Lye directly to *Cromwell*'s
 and *Ireton*'s Pretensions of faithfully serving the King.
 And Lord *Clarendon* informs us, ' * That Mr.
 ' *Ashburnham* and *Berkley* received many Advertis-
 ' ments from Officers with whom they had most
 ' conversed, and who would have been glad that the
 ' King might have been restored by the Army,
 ' for the Preferments they expected might fall to their
 ' Share : " That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* resolved never
 " to trust the King, or to doe any Thing towards
 " his Restoration ;" and they two steerd the whole
 ' Body, and therefore it was advised, " That some
 " way might be found to remove his Majesty out of
 " their Hands." Major *Huntington*, one of the best
 ' Officers they had, and Major to *Cromwell*'s own
 ' Regiment of Horse, upon whom he relied in any
 ' Enterprize of Importance more than upon any Man,
 ' had been employed by him to the King, to say
 ' those Things from him, which had given the King
 ' the most Confidence, and was much more than he
 ' had ever said to *Ashburnham* ; and the Major did
 ' really believe that he had meant all that he said,
 ' and the King had a good Opinion of the Integrity
 ' of the Major, upon the Testimony he had received
 ' from some he knew had no mind to deceive his
 ' Majesty ; and the Man merited the Testimony
 ' they gave him ; he, when he observed *Cromwell*
 ' to grow colder in his Expressions for the King than

he had formerly been, expostulated with him in very sharp Terms for "abusing him, and making him the Instrument to couzen the King; and though the other endeavoured to persuade him, that all should be well, he informed his Majesty of all he observed", and told him: "That *Cromwell* was a Villain, and would destroy him, if he were not prevented," and in a short Time he gave up his Commission, and would serve no longer in the Army.

Ludlow gives us one remarkable Instance of *Cromwell's* Hypocrisy, upon the King's Interview with his Children. * He told Sir *John Berkeley* ' That he had lately seen the tenderest Sight, that ever Eyes beheld. That he wept plentifully at the Remembrance thereof, saying, that never Man was so abused, as he in his sinister Opinion of the King, who, he thought, was the most conscientious and upright Man of his Kingdome. The *Anabaptists* in their Address to King *Charles* the second during *Cromwell's* Usurpation, say, ' † That they were cheated, coufened, and betray'd by that grand Impostor, that loathsome Hypocrite, that detestable Traytor, that Prodigy of Nature, that *Opprobrium* of Mankind, that Landskip of Iniquity, that Sink of Sin, that Compendium of Baseness. Who now calls himself their Protector.

' § *Cromwell* (says an anonymous Writer of those Times alluding to his Cant and Hypocrisy) hath beat up his Drums clean thro' the Old Testament: You may learn the Genealogy of our Saviour by the || Names in his Regiments: The *Muste Master*
' uses

* Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 491. Collier's Ecclesiastical History. Vol. 2. p. 869. See a Canting Letter of *Cromwell's*.

† Appendix No. 75.

§ The Character of a *London Diurnall*, p. 5.

|| Remarkable are the *Christian Names* of a Jury return'd in the County of *Essex*, during the grand Rebellion, mention'd by the Reverend Mr. *Brome*, in his Travels over England, 2d. Edition. p. 279. The Names as follow.

Accepted, *Trevor* of *Norsham*.
Advised, *Compton* of *Battle*.

Faint not, *Hewet* of *Heathfield*.
Make-peace, *Heaton* of *Hare*.

God.

‘ uses no other List than the first Chapter of St. Matthew.

N. p. 410. *When the Officers found they could make no Impressions on the King, and had discovered his secret Correspondence with the Queen, they withdrew from Court, which raised Suspicions in his Majesty's Mind of some secret Design upon his Life, and put him on attempting to escape out of their Hands.*

Lord Clarendon informs us, ‘ * That when the Army had by their civil specious Carriage and Professions
‘ disposed the King's Party to wish them at least better than the *Presbyterians*, who seemed to have erected a Model of a more formidable and insupportable Tyranny, and were less indued with the Appearance of Humanity and good Nature, and had
‘ by shuffling themselves into new Shapes of Government, and admitting Persons of all Conditions to assemble and make Propositions to them in order to a publick Peace, giving Encouragement to most Men to believe, that all Interests would in some Degree be provided for, and so had brought themselves into an absolute Power over all Interests; they began to lessen their outward Respect and Reverence to the King, to inhibit some of his Servants absolutely to resort unto him, and more to restrain the frequent Access of the People, who out of an innate Duty and Affection, delighted to see his Majesty; they caused Reports to be raised and scatter'd abroad, of some Intentions of desperate Persons of Violence upon his Majesty's Person; upon this Pretence, they doubled their Guards, and put Officers of more strict Vigilance, and morose Disposition

*God-Reward, Smart of Finsbury.
Stand fast on High, Stringer of Crew-
bury.*

*Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witbam.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be faithful, Joyner of Britling.*

*Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Fight the Good; Fight of Faith, White of
Emer.*

*More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of the same.
Graceful Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billing of the same.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.*

• Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion in Ireland. p. 80.

‘ about

about him. So that whatsoever he said, did, or was said to him, was more punctually observed. The Marquess of Ormond was looked upon with a very jealous Eye, and was one of those noble Persons who were known too faithful to his Master to be suffer'd to be near him; and therefore was forbid to continue his Attendance on him.

N. p. 420. *His Majesty having declared, when he rejected the Parliament's four Bills, that nothing that should befall him should ever prevail with him to consent to any one Act, till the Conditions of the whole Peace were concluded, they began to despair of an Accommodation. In this Juncture the Officers of the Army sent a Message to the Houses, assuring them, that they would live and die with them * in settling the Nation either with, or without the King, and leave all Transactions of State for the future to them alone.*

N. p. 421. *The Question being put it was carried by a Majority of fifty Voices; yeas, one hundred and forty one, no's, ninety one. Jan. 17. The Lord's concurred with the Commons in their Votes of non Addresses.*

To this wicked Vote the King in his Declaration from Carisbrook Castle, Jan. 18, 1647. returns the following Answer.

† *To all my loving People of whatsoever Nation, Quality or Condition.*

AM I thus laid aside, and must I not speak for my selfe? No! I will speak, and that to all my People, (which I would have rather done by the Way of my two Houses of Parliament, but that there is a publick Order, neither to make Addresses to, or receive Message from me,) and who

* See a remarkable Paper, *Appendix No. 76.*

† The King's most gracious Messages for Peace, and a personal Treaty, Printed 1648. p. 102, &c. Publ. Libr. Cambridge. Class. 19. 7. 32. Reliqu. Sacr. Carolin. p. 145, &c. This Vote is well answer'd in a Tract, intitled, *The Kingdome Brief Answer, to the late Declaration of the House of Commons, Feb. 11, 1647. touching the Reason of their no further Addresses to the King.*— London, Printed in the Year of our Lord 1648. penes me.

' but you can be Judges of the Differences betwixt
 ' me and my two Houses? I knowe none else; for I
 ' am sure you it is, who will enjoy the Happiness,
 ' or feel the Misery of good or ill Government; and
 ' we all pretend who should run fastest to serve you
 ' without having Regard (at least in the first Place) to
 ' particular Interests: And therefore I desire you to
 ' consider the State I am, and have bin in this
 ' long Time, and whether my Actions have more
 ' tended to the Publick, or my own particular Good;
 ' for whosoever will look upon me barely as I am,
 ' a Man without that Liberty (which the meanest of
 ' my Subjects enjoyes) of going whither, and conversing
 ' with whom I will: as a Husband and Father, with-
 ' out the Comfort of my Wife and Children; or
 ' lastly as a King, without the least Shew of Autho-
 ' rity or Power to protect my distressed Subjects,
 ' must conclude me, not only void of all natural Af-
 ' fection, but also to want common Understanding; if I
 ' should not most cheerfully embrace the readiest Way
 ' to Settlement of these distracted Kingdoms. As also
 ' on the other Side, doe but consider the Forme and
 ' Draught of the Bills lately * presented unto me, and
 ' as they are the Conditions of a Treaty, ye will con-
 ' clude, that the same Spirit which hath still been able
 ' to frustrate all my sincere and constant Endeavours
 ' for Peace, hath had a powerful Influence on this
 ' Message; for tho' I was to grant the Substance, and
 ' comply with what they seem to desire; yet as they
 ' had framed it, I could not agree thereunto, without
 ' deeply wounding my Conscience and Honour, and
 ' betraying the Trust reposed in me, by abandoning
 ' my People to the arbitrary and unlimited Power of
 ' the two Houses for ever, for the leavying of Land and

* This Writer of the Letter to the Earl of Pembroke, concerning the Times
 1647. has the following Words (p. 10.) ' Consider the *Monstrousness* of the Pro-
 ' positions that are tendered him, wherein no less than *Crown, Scepter, and*
 ' *Sword*, which are *Things Inalienable from Majesty*, are in Effect demanded;
 ' nay they would not only have him transmit, and resign his very *Intellectuals*
 ' unto them, but they would have him make a *Sacrifice of his Soul*, by forcing
 ' him to violate that *Solemn Sacramental Oath*, he took at his Coronation, when
 ' he was no *Minor*, but come to a full Maturity of Reason and Judgment.

Sea Forces, without Distinction of Quality, or Limitation for Money-Taxes: And if I could have passed them in Termes; how unheard of a Condition were it for a Treaty, to grant beforehand the most considerable Part of the Subject-Matter? How ineffectual were that Debate like to prove, wherein the most Potent Party had nothing of Moment left to aske, and the other nothing more to give? so consequently how hopeless of mutual Compliance? without which a Settlement is impossible. Besides, if after my Concessions, the two Houses should insist on those Things, from which I cannot depart, how desperate would the Condition of these Kingdomes be, when the most proper and approved Remedy should become ineffectual? Being therefore fully resolved, that I could neither in Conscience, Honour or Prudence, passe those four Bills, I only endeavour'd to make the Reasons and Justice of my denyall Appare to all the World, as they doe to me, intending to give as little Dissatisfaction to the two Houses of Parliament (without betraying my own Cause) as the Matter would beare: I was desirous to give my Answer of the 28. of *December* last to the Commissioners sealed (as I had done others heretofore, and some times at the Desire of the Commissioners) chiefly, because, when my Messages or Answers were publickly known, before they were read in the Houses, prejudicial Interpretations were forced on them, much differing, and sometimes contrary to my Meaning. For Example, my Answer from *Hampton Court*, was accused of dividing the two Nations, because I promised to give Satisfaction to the *Scots*, in all Things concerning that Kingdom: And this last suffers in a contrary Sense, by making me intend to interest *Scotland* in the Lawes of this Kingdom, (than which, nothing was, or is further from my Thoughts) because I took Notice of the *Scots* Commissioners protesting against the Bills and Propositions, as contrary to the Interests and Engagements of the

two Kingdomes. Indeed, if I had mentioned their
 Dissent, an Objection, not without some Probability, might have been made against me, both in
 Respect the *Scots* are much concern'd in the Bill
 for the Militia, and in several other Propositions,
 and my Silence might with some Justice have seem'd
 to approve of it; but the Commissioners refusing
 to receive my Answer sealed, I (upon the Engagement of their, and the Governour's Honour, that
 no other Use should be made, or Notice taken of
 it, than as if it had not been seen) read and delivered it open unto them; whereupon, what hath
 since pass'd, either by the Governour in discharging
 most of my Servants, redoubling the Guards, and
 restraining me of my former Liberty, and all this
 (as he himself confessed, meerely out of his Dislike
 of my Answer, notwithstanding his before said Engagement) or afterwards by the two Houses (as the
 Governour affirms) in confining me within the Circuit of this Castle, I appeal to God and the World,
 whether my said Answer deserved the Reply of such
 Proceedings: Besides the Unlawfulness for Subjects
 to imprison their King: That by the Permission of
 Almighty God I am reduced to this sad Condition,
 as I no Ways repine, so I am not without Hope,
 but that the same God will in due Time convert
 these Afflictions into my Advantage; in the mean
 Time, I am confident to beare these Crosses with
 Patience, and a great Equalitie of Mind: But by
 what Meanes or Occasion I am come to this Relapse in my Affaires, I am utterly to seeke, especially when I consider, that I have sacrificed to my
 two Houses of Parliament, for the Peace of the
 Kingdome, all but, what is much more deare to
 me than my Life, *my Conscience and Honour*, desiring nothing more, than to perform it, in the most
 proper and natural Way, *a Personal Treaty*. But
 that which makes me most at a Losse, is, the remembrance
 my signal Compliance with the Army, and
 their Interests; and of what Importance my Compliance

plyance was to them, and their often repeated Professions, and Engagements, for my just Rights in general, at *Newmarket*, and *S. Albans*; and their particular Explanation of those Generals, by their voted, and revoted Proposals; which I had Reason to understand, should be the utmost Extremity would be expected from me, and that in some Things therein I should be eased; (therein appealing to the Consciences of some of the chiefeſt Officers in the Army, if what I have ſaid be not punctually true) and how I have failed of their Expectations, or my Professions to them, I challenge them, and the whole World to produce the leaſt Colour of Reason. And now I would deſire to know, what it is that is deſired: Is it Peace? I have ſhewed the Way, (being both willing and deſirous to perform my Part in it) which is a juſt Compliance with all chief Interests. Is it plenty and Happineſs? they are the inſeparable Effects of Peace. * Is it Security? I, who wiſh that all Men would forget and forgive like me, have offered the Militia for my Time. Is it Liberty of Conſcience? He who wants it, is moſt ready to give it. Is it the right Adminiſtration of Juſtice? Officers of Truſt are committed to the Choice of my two Houſes of Parliament. Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally and fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the Arrears of the Army? upon a Settlement, they

* The King in his Declaration to both Houſes (ſome Years before, viz.) ninth of March, 1641. [*Huſband's exact Collections*, Quarto Edit. p. 109.] puts the following Queris. 'Are the Bills for the Triennial Parliament, for relinquishing our Title of impoſing upon Merchandize, and Power of preſſing of Souldiers, for the taking away the Star Chamber, and High Commiſſion Courts, for the regulating the Council Table, but Words? Are the Bills for the Foreſts, the Stannery Courts, the Clerke of the Market, and the taking away the Votes of the Biſhops out of the Lords Houſe but Words? Laſtly, what greater Earnest of our Truſt and Reliance on our Parliament could, or can we give than the paſſing of the Bill for the Continuance of this preſent Parliament?— And after all theſe, and many other Acts of Grace on our Part (that we might be ſure of a perfect Reconciliation betwixt us and all our Subjects) we have offered, and are ſtill ready to grant a free and general Pardon, as ample as your ſelves ſhall think fit. Now if theſe be not real Expreſſions of the Affections of our Soule, for the publick Good of our Kingdome, we muſt confeſs we want Skill to manifeſt them.

‘ will certainly be paid with much Ease ; but before,
 ‘ there will be found much Difficulty, if not Impo-
 ‘ sibility in it.

‘ Thus all the World cannot but see my reall and
 ‘ unwearied Endeavours for Peace, the which (by
 ‘ the Grace of God) I shall neither repent me of, nor
 ‘ ever be slackened in, notwithstanding my past
 ‘ Present, or future Sufferings ; but if I may not be
 ‘ heard, let every one judge, who it is that obstructs
 ‘ the Good I would, or might doe : What is it that
 ‘ Men are afraid to hear from me ? It cannot be
 ‘ Reason, (at least, none will declare themselves so
 ‘ unreasonable as to confesse it) and it can les be im-
 ‘ pertinent, or unreasonable Discourses ; for thereby
 ‘ peradventure I might more justify this my Res-
 ‘ traint, than the Causes themselves can doe ; so
 ‘ that of all Wonders, yet this is the greatest to me :
 ‘ But it easily may be gathered, how those Men in-
 ‘ tend to govern, who have used me thus : And if it
 ‘ be my hard Fate to fall together with the Liberty
 ‘ of this Kingdome, I shall not blush for my selfe,
 ‘ but much lament the future Miseries of my People ;
 ‘ the which I shall still pray God to avert whatever
 ‘ becomes of me.

Charles R.

‘ * This Declaration of no more Addresses (says
 ‘ Lord *Clarendon*) contain’d a Charge against the
 ‘ King of whatsoever had been done amiss from the
 ‘ beginning of his Government, or before, not with-
 ‘ out a direct Insinuation, as if he had conspired with
 ‘ the Duke of *Buckingham* against the Life of his
 ‘ Father : The Prejudice he had brought upon the
 ‘ *Protestant Religion* in foreign Parts, by lending his
 ‘ Ships to the King of *France*, who employed them
 ‘ against *Rochel* : They renewed the Remembrance
 ‘ and Reproach of all those Grievances, which had
 ‘ been mentioned in their first Remonstrance of the

State of the Kingdome, and repeated all their *Calumnies*, which had been contained in all the Declarations before, and after the War; which had been all so fully answered by his Majesty, that the World was convinced of their *Rebellion, and Treason*; they had charged him with being “ the Cause of all the Blood that had been spilt, by his having made a War against his Parliament, and rejecting all Overtures of Peace which had been made to him; and in Regard of all these Things they resolved *to make no more Addresses to him*, but by their own Authority, to provide for the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdome.

This Declaration found much Opposition in the House of Commons, in Respect of the particular Reproaches they had now cast upon the Person of the King, which they had heretofore in their own publick Declarations to the People charged upon the evil Counsellors, and Persons about him; and some Persons had been sentenced and condemned for those very Crimes, which they now accused his Majesty of. But there was much more Exception to their Conclusion from those Premisses, *That therefore, they would addresse themselves no more to him*. And *John Maynard*, a Member of the House, and a Lawyer of great Eminence, who had but too much complied and concurr'd with their irregular, and unjust Proceedings, after he had with great Vehemence opposed, and contradicted the most odious Parts of their Declaration, told them plainly, “ That by this Resolution of *making no more Addresses to the King*, they did as far as in them lay, dissolve the Parliament; and that from the Time of that Determination, he knew not with what Security in Point of Law, they could meet together, or any Man joyn with them in their Counsels: that it was of the Essence of Parliament, that they should upon all Occasions repair to the King; and that his Majestie's Refusal at any Time to receive their Petitions, or admit their Addresses

“ has been always held the highest Breach of Pri-
 “ vilege, because it tended to their Dissolution with-
 “ out dissolving them; and therefore if they should
 “ now, on their Parts determine, that they would
 “ receive no more Messages from him (which was
 “ likewise one Part of their Declaration) nor make
 “ any more Addresses to him, they did upon the
 “ Matter declare, that they were no longer a Parlia-
 “ ment, and then how could the People look upon
 “ them as such? ” ‘ This Argumentation being
 ‘ boldly pressed by a Man of that Learning and Au-
 ‘ thority, who had very seldom not been believed,
 ‘ made a great Impression upon all Men, who had
 ‘ not prostituted themselves to *Cromwell* and his Par-
 ‘ ty. But the other Side meant not to maintain
 ‘ their Resolution by Discourses, well knowing where
 ‘ their Strength lay; and so still called for the
 ‘ Question; which was carried by a Plurality of
 ‘ Voices, as they foresaw it would; many Persons
 ‘ who abhor’d the Determination, not having Cou-
 ‘ rage to provoke the powerful Men, by owning
 ‘ their Dissent; others satisfying themselves with the
 ‘ Resolute to withdraw themselves, and to bear no
 ‘ farther Part in the Counsels: which *Maynard* him-
 ‘ self did; and came no more to the House in very
 ‘ many Months, not till there seemed to be such an
 ‘ Alteration in the Minds of Men, that there would
 ‘ be a Reversal of that monstrous Determination;
 ‘ and many others did the same.

‘ When this Declaration was thus passed the Com-
 ‘ mons, and by them sent to the House of Peers
 ‘ for their Concurrence, the Manner or the Matter
 ‘ was of that Importance as to need much debate;
 ‘ but with as little Formality as was possible, it had
 ‘ the Concurrence of that House, and was immedi-
 ‘ ately printed, and published, and Orders sent to the
 ‘ *Isle of Wight* for the more strict looking to, and
 ‘ guarding the King, that he might not escape.

‘ The publishing of this Declaration wrought
 ‘ different Effects in the Minds of the People, from

‘ what

what they expected it would produce: and it appeared to be so publicly detested, that many who had served the Parliament in several unwarrantable Employments and Commissions, from the beginning of the War, in the City and Country, withdrew themselves from the Service of the Parliament, and much inveighed against it, for declining all the Principles, upon which they had engaged them. Many private Persons took upon them to publish Answers to that Declaration, that the King himself being under so strict a Restraint that he could make no Answer, the People might not be poysoned with the Belief of it. And the several Answers of this Kind wrought very much upon the People, who opened their Mouths very loud against the Parliament and the Army, and the Clamour was increased by the Increase of Taxes and Impositions which were raised by new Ordinances of Parliament upon the Kingdome; and though they were so entirely possessed of the whole Kingdom, and Garrisons thereof, that they had no Enemy to fear or apprehend, yet they disbanded no Part of their Army; and notwithstanding they raised incredible Sums of Money upon the Sale of Church, and Crown Lands; for which they found Purchasers enough among their own Party in the City, Army, and Country, and upon Composition with Delinquents, and upon Sale of *their* Lands, who refused, or could not be admitted to compound (which few refused to doe, who could be admitted, in Regard that their Estates were all under Sequestration, and the Rents thereof paid to the Parliament, so that till they compounded, they had nothing to support themselves, whereby they were driven to extreme Wants and Necessities, and were compelled to make their Compositions, at how unreasonable Rates soever, that they might be enabled thereby to sell some Part, to preserve the Rest, and their Houses from being pulled down, and their Woods from being wasted or spoiled.) Not-

' withstanding all these vast Receipts, which they
 ' ever pretended should ease the People of their Bur-
 ' then, and should suffice to pay the Army, their Ex-
 ' pences at Sea and Land, their Debts were so great,
 ' that they raised the Publick Taxes, and besides all
 ' Customes and Excise, they levied a Monthly Con-
 ' tribution of above a hundred thousand Pounds by
 ' a Land Tax throughout the Kingdome: which was
 ' more than had ever been done before, and it being
 ' at a Time when they had no Enemy who contend-
 ' ed with them, was an Evidence, that it would have
 ' no End, and that the Army was still to be kept up
 ' to make good the Resolution they had taken,
 ' to have no more to do with the King, and that
 ' made the Resolution generally the more odious.
 ' All this grew the more insupportable, by Rea-
 ' son, that upon publishing this last monstrous
 ' Declaration, most of the Persons of Condition,
 ' who as has been said before had been seduced to do
 ' them Service throughout the Kingdom, declined
 ' to appear longer in so detestable an Employment:
 ' and now a more inferior Sort of the common People
 ' succeeded in those Employments, who thereby exer-
 ' cised so great Insolence over those who were in Qua-
 ' lity above them, that it was very grievous; and
 ' for this, let the Circumstances be what they would,
 ' no Redress could be ever obtain'd, all Distinction
 ' of Quality being renounced. They who were not
 ' above the Condition of *ordinary* * *Constables* six or
 ' seven Years before, were now the Justices of Peace
 ' and Sequestrators, and Commissioners, who executed
 ' the Commands of the Parliament in all the Coun-
 ' ties of the Kingdom, with such Rigour and Ty-
 ' ranny, as was natural for such Persons to use over,
 ' and towards those upon whom they had looked at
 ' such a Distance. — The whole Government of the

* Mr. Birkenhead (in his *Paul's Church Yard*, Cent. 3. p. 19.) puts the fol-
 lowing Query. ' Whether a Dragoon or Foot-Soldier be not as good a Man as the
 ' best Gentleman in the Country, since they can shew as good Arms, and as well
 ' fix'd as the *Councell of State*?

• Nation remain'd upon the Matter wholly in their
 • Hands, who in the Beginning of the Parliament
 • were scarce ever heard of, or their Names known,
 • but in the Places where they inhabited.

N. p. 421. *The Houses having concurr'd in their Votes for Non-Addresses, the * Army agreed to stand by the Parliament in settling the Nation without the King; and that the People might be satisfied with the Reasons of their Proceedings, a Remonstrance was published by Order of Parliament Feb. 15. In which they recapitulate all the Errours of his Majesty's Government, &c.*

In this indeed they acted agreeably to their former Character, but how consistently with their Duty to their King and Country, every Reader may be left to judge.

N. p. 422. *'Tis hardly possible for the Art of Man to justify his Majesty's Conduct before the War, or to vindicate his Prudence and Sincerity in his Treaties afterwards.*

This Reflection carries with it so much of the Spirit of *Republicanism*, that it may stand as it does, without a Remark.

C H A P. IX.

THIS Chapter is taken up with an Account of the Visitation of the University of *Oxford*, and State of Religion at the End of the Year 1647. in which he represents the State of that University to be very deplorable.

* Your Lordship (says the Writer of the Letter to the Earl of *Pembroke* 1647. p. 7.) cannot be ignorant how this *Tatterdimallian Army* hath reduced this Cow'd City, the cheated Country, and their once all commanding Masters to a perfect pass of Slavery, to a true *Asinine* Condition; they crow over all the ancient Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdome, though there be not found amongst them all but two Knights; and 'tis well knowne there be hundreds of private Gentlemen in the Kingdome, the poorest of whom is able to buy this whole Host, with the General himself and all the Commanders: But 'tis not the first Time that the Kings and Nobility of *England* have been baffled by petty Companions: I have read of *Jack Straw*, *Wat Tyler*, *Kat the Tanner*, with divers others that did so.

But

But before the two Houses proceeded to Extreams he informs us,

N. p. 429. That about the Beginning of September 1646. they appointed seven of their most popular Divines to repair to Oxford, with Authority to preach in any of the Pulpits of the University for six Months, in Order to soften the Spirits of the People, and to give them a better Opinion of their Cause.

No doubt on't, but this was charitably intended, (I desire not to be mistaken) to themselves, but not to the University. These Incendiaries questionless had their Instructions to preach up (what was not a little agreeable to themselves) *Sedition*, and *Rebellion*. The King was to be vilified, and the Actions of the Members at *Westminster*, cry'd up in the highest Strain of *Panegyrick*, in order to soften the Spirits of the People, and make their own rebellious Principles go down more glibly. Who could withstand the powerful Oration of his following *Fanatical*, and *Puritanical Heroes*, Mr. Robert Harris of *Hanwell*, Mr. Edward Reynolds, Mr. Henry Wilkinson of *Magdalen College*, Mr. Francis Cheynel, Mr. Henry Corbet of *Merton College*, Mr. Henry Cornish of *New Inn*, and Mr. Henry Langley of *Pembroke Hall*? (It should be *Pembroke College*) Men of Reputation and Character, sober Divines and popular Preachers.

No Doubt can be made of this, if we only consider that they were profess'd Enemies to the then Constitution both in Church and State. But to examine their Characters a little further. Mr. Robert Harris of *Hanwell*, tho' it was a great Exception to the *Conforming Clergie* of those Times, that they were *Pluralists*, yet this modest Man with a good Conscience, was a *Pluralist* in good Earnest, * He held *Hanwell* (says *Anthony Wood*, as the Author of the Letter of the 17th of April 1648. tells us) worth 160 Pounds per Annum. *Hanborough* in *Oxfordshire* towards 300 Pounds. *Beriton* and *Petersfield* in *Hamp-*

‘shire, not above 500 or 600 Pounds more. Besides
 ‘four Shillings a Day for the *Assembly Membership*,
 ‘and ten Shillings for *Apostleship* in *Oxon*. But the
 ‘Reader must know that he lost *Hanwell* in 1643.
 ‘when he retired to *London*, and was made one of
 ‘the Assembly of Divines, and did not keep all the
 ‘Rest together, yet whether he was restored to *Han-*
 ‘*well* when the War ceased in 1646. I cannot tell. An
Anonymous Writer says of him (speaking of the Visi-
 tors of the University of *Oxford*) ‘* Mr. *Harris*, the
 ‘Man who was famous for sanctifying the holding †
 ‘six Livings at a Time, and rendring it no Plura-
 ‘lity.

For Dr. *Reynolds*’s Character, I refer the Reader
 to Mr. || *Wood*.

Henry Wilkinson. *A. Wood* informs us, ‘ § That
 ‘on the 6th of *September* 1640. he preach’d a bitter
 ‘Sermon at *Saint Mary*’s, against the Ceremonies of
 ‘the Church, very base also and factious, and inten-
 ‘ded meerly to make a Party for the *Scots*. He was
 ‘constituted one of the six Ministers to go to *Oxon*
 ‘in 1646. to draw off by their Preaching, the Scholars
 ‘from their *Orthodox* Principles, to the *Presbyterian*
 ‘Persuasion; and soon after one of the Visitors to
 ‘break open, turn out and take Possession.

Henry Corbet (it should be *Edward*.) ** *Wood* says,
 ‘That he was one of the Visitors of the University
 ‘(yet seldom or never sat among them.) When he
 ‘usually preached in *Saint Mary*’s the Year before
 ‘his Majesty was beheaded, he would in his long
 ‘Prayer before Sermon, desire, that *God would open*

* The Reformation reform’d, or a short History of the new fashioned *Christi-*
ans, printed by *Joanna Brome* 1681. penes *Rev. Pb. William* S. T. P.

† Mr. *Birkenhead* probably alludes to this, [*Paul’s Church Yard*, Cent. 1. Class. 1.
 ‘No. 10.] ‘*For* quot: ‘The Unlawfulness of holding two Benefices, and the
 ‘Lawfulness of holding four. By the Assembly of Divines. Tho’ the *Assem-*
 ‘bler’s Brains (says he in his *Assembly-Man* 1647. p. 8.) are Lead, his Coun-
 ‘tenance is Brass. For he damn’d such as had two Benefices, whilst him-
 ‘self has four or five, besides his *Concubine Lecture*, he is not against *Plurali-*
 ‘ties, but *Dualities*; He says ’tis unlawful to have two of his own, tho’ four
 ‘of other Mens, and observes how the *Hebrew Word* for *Life* has no singular
 ‘Number.

|| *Atbæ Oxon*. Vol. 2. p. 569.

§ *Atbæ Oxon*. Vol. 9. p. 543.

** *Wood’s Fasti Oxon*, Vol. 2. p. 68.

‘ the King’s Eyes, to lay to Heart all the Blood that he
 ‘ bad spilt, &c. That he would prosper the Parlia-
 ‘ ment, and their blessed Proceedings, &c. That he
 ‘ was an easy Man, and apt to be guided by the Per-
 ‘ swasions of others, and therefore by *Cheynell*, and *Wil-*
 ‘ *kinson* Seniors, two violent and impetuous *Presby-*
 ‘ *terians*, he was put into the Roll of Visitors, meerly
 ‘ to make a Nose of Wax of him.

Henry Cornish. * This Person (says *Wood*) who
 ‘ had been a licensed Preacher of the blessed Parlia-
 ‘ ment, as it was by the Brethren so called, had been
 ‘ Canon of *Christ-Church*, and much respected by
 ‘ those of his Persuasion whilest he lived in *Oxon*, for
 ‘ a Godly Man, doth now in his old Age, being a-
 ‘ bout 80. Years old, preach in a Barn in *Bister* for
 ‘ Profit-sake to silly Women, and other obstinate
 ‘ People, such is the poor Spirit of the Person.

Francis Cheynell. Had we no other Account of
 him, but what *Mr. Neal* has given of his Behaviour
 at *Mr. Chillingworth’s* Funeral (p. 102.) which he him-
 self calls a *most unchristian*, and *uncharitable Impre-*
cation, ’twould be sufficient; but for a farther Ac-
 count of him, I refer the Reader to *Mr. Wood’s Athe-*
næ, and *Fasti Oxon.*

And for *Mr. Henry Langley’s* Character, I beg the
 Favour of the Reader likewise to examine *Wood’s*
Athenæ, and *Fasti Oxon.*

These Persons, *Mr. Neal* informs us, received but
 uncivil Treatment from the Scholars of that Univer-
 sity; and whether or no they deserved better, the
 Reader must, from their above mentioned Characters,
 and the Powers from whence they were authorized,
 be left to judge.

But he tells us, That *there being no Prospect of re-*
forming the University [that is, of making them as
 great Rebels as themselves] *by these Methods*, the two
 Houses resolved upon a Visitation, which they apprehen-
 ded they might undertake without the King, by Virtue of
 the 14th Article of the Capitulation.

If they had a Right to visit by Virtue of this Article of the *Capitulation*, what Occasion for that ridiculous Piece of Grimace (afterwards mentioned by Mr. Neal p. 447.) of making use of the King's Name in their Commission for the Visitation! who is singly mentioned, without the least Notice taken of the Members, that continued at *Westminster*.

In the Names of the Members appointed by the Ordinance, he has put Mr. *Prince*, for Mr. *Prynne*, and omitted the Name of *Master John Heling* of *Grays-Inn*.

But before the Visitation could take place (he informs us, N. p. 434.) That the Vicechancellour Dr. Fell summoned a Convocation [June 1.] wherein it was agreed, not to submit to the Parliament Visitors.

And was not this heroically done, not to submit to any such usurped Authority? Tho' by their Refusal they were satisfied, that not only their Liberties, but Lives might be endanger'd, by a Pack of inhuman, merciless Wretches, who were resolved (*per fas, vel nefas*) to carry their Point.

N. p. 434. *A Paper of Reasons against the Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Directory drawn up chiefly by Dr. Sanderson, was also consented to, and ordered to be published to the World both in Latin and English against the Time the Visitors are to come down, under the Title of, Reasons of the present Judgment of the University of Oxford concerning the Solemn League and Covenant, the Negative Oath, and the Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship; approved by General Consent in a full Convocation, June 1, 1647.*

And 'twas printed in that very Year in *English* only, at the University Press in 35 Pages Quarto, without the Printer's Name. [penes me.]

' * There were twenty Delegates appointed to draw it up, amongst which were Dr. *Shelden*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Morley*; and Dr. *Zouch* was appointed to draw up the Law Part, and give

• Life of Bishop *Sanderson*, prefixed to his Sermons. p. 19. 20.

• it to Dr. *Sanderfon*, who was requested to metho-
 • dize, and add, what referr'd to Reason and Con-
 • science, and to put it into Form, and then after they
 • had been read in a full Convocation, and allowed of,
 • they were printed in *Latin*, that the Parliament's
 • Proceedings, and the University's Sufferings might
 • be manifested to all Nations; and the Imposers of
 • these Oaths might repent or answer them; but they
 • were past the first, (says the Writer of Dr. *Sander-*
 • *son's* Life) and for the latter I might swear they
 • neither can nor ever will. And these Reasons were
 • also suddenly turned into *English* by Dr. *Sanderfon*,
 • that all those of the three Kingdoms might the
 • better judge of the Cause of the Loyal Party's
 • Sufferings.

Lord *Clarendon* makes the following Observation
 upon it. * That to their eternal Renown, they
 • (being at the same Time under a strict and strong
 • Garrison put over them by the Parliament, the
 • King in Prison, and all their Hopes desperate)
 • passed a publick Act, and Declaration against the
 • Covenant, with such invincible Arguments of the
 • Illegality, Wickedness, and Perjury contain'd in
 • it, that no Man of the contrary Opinion, nor the
 • *Assembly of Divines* (which then sat at *Westminster*)
 • ever ventured to make any Answer to it: nor in-
 • deed is it to be answered, but it must remain to the
 • World's end, as a Monument of the Learning, Cou-
 • rage, and Loyalty of that excellent Place, against
 • the highest Malice and Tyranny, that was ever exer-
 • cised in or over any Nation, and which those fa-
 • mous Commissioners only answer'd, by expelling
 • all those who refused to submit to their Jurisdic-
 • tion, or take the Covenant; which was upon the
 • Matter the whole University: Scarce one Gover-
 • nour or Master of College, or Hall, and an incre-
 • dible small Number of the Fellows and Scholars
 • submitting to either. Whereupon that Desolation

being made, they placed in their Rooms the most notorious factious *Presbyterians*, in the Government of the several Colleges and Halls, and such other of the same Leaven in the Fellowships, and Scholars Places of those, whom they had expell'd, without any Regard to the Statutes of the several Founders, and the Incapacities of the Persons that were put in. The Omnipotence of an Ordinance confirm'd all that was this Way done.

And Mr. *Wesley* observes, * That the Reasons of the University were so strong, that the opposite Party never could, nor dared attempt to answer them.

N. p. 445. *But to return to the Visitation, May 15. a Citation was issued in the Names of ten Visitors, then in London, to the Proctors, and Heads of Houses, and their Vice-Principals, requiring them, and all the Officers, Scholars, &c. to appear in the Convocation House on Friday June 4th— The Visitors Names Mr. Harris, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Henry Wilkinson, Mr. Cheynel, Mr. John Wilkinson, Mr. Dunce, and Mr. Diaper, [Draper.]*

These had all or most of them been Members of that University, and the following Complaint against them by an Author who lived in those Times, seems to be very reasonable. † I cannot (says he) but with Wonder and just Scorn, resent the mean Opinion we are now fallen into, who for almost 800 Years the Care and Strife of Princes, are made now the Prize and Spoyl of our *Fellow Subjects*; and what speaks more *Dis honour*, submitted to the strict Tribunal of our own *Members*, who having sworn [*Jur. in admiff. ad Gradus*] the Observation of our *Statutes, Liberties, and Customs*, cannot appear as Judges over us, without a Violation of their *Oaths* so often and solemnly taken, nor yet without a manifest Opposition of *Nature*, where Parts judge the

* *Wesley's Reply to Palmer* p. 19.

† The Privileges of the University of Oxford in Point of Visitation —
Printed for Richard Royston 1647. p. 4. Publ. Libr. Cambridge Class 14. 5. 12.

Whole; and the Lawes of Justice too; especially if we consider the *Interests*, and *Engagements*, nay of ten *Professions* of the *active Instruments* of this Work. But to go a Step farther, and rest satisfied both in the Visitation and Visitors, it is evident, that neither the one or the other can concern us, till by some legal Way their Power is manifested.

N. p. 447. *The two Houses having resolved to support their Visitors, and enable them to go through their Work, past an Ordinance August 26. empowering them to administer the Covenant, and the Negative Oath, to demand the Perusal of the Statutes, Registers, Accompts, &c. and of all other Papers of the University—and to seize and detain in Custody any Person who after a personal Citation refused to appear, and produced their Books and Papers after a second Citation.*

But what greater Right could they claim by Virtue of this Ordinance, from what he calls the two Houses, to do this than a Highwayman has, to cite Mr. Neal's Purse, or mine out of our Pockets, and after a second Citation, for non Compliance to shoot us through the Head? The Members could have no legal Claim to visit the University without the King's Consent, it being his unalienable Right, as appears from the above mentioned Authority. * I shall endeavour (says he) to demonstrate— That the Right of Visiting the University of Oxford is onely in the King's Majesty, and that it is exempt from all other Jurisdiction, both by Reason of its Foundation, in Regard that all Societies, whereof the King or his Predecessors were Founders, are only visitable by the King, by the common Law of this Realm; and secondly, by Reason of several Grants of Exemption. First that the University of Oxford wholly refers to the King, as its Original and Founder, is clear, in that almost 800 Years since King Alured founded, not only publique Schools of Arts and Lectures, but their Privileges and Immunities,

* Privileges of the University of Oxford, &c. p. 2, 3, 4.

' having got them confirmed by the then *Pope*.
 ' And although the Bounty of inferiour Benefac-
 ' tors, added to the Bulk and Magnificence of the
 ' Foundation, yet the King still assumed the Title,
 ' as being the total Founder of the Design, and his
 ' Immunities deriving and communicating them-
 ' selves to the whole. And those more particular
 ' Founders were also in a lower Rank acknowledged
 ' by the University, who ever both submitted, and
 ' sheltred themselves under the Title of the King's
 ' Foundation, and as yet doe, (the Power of the
 ' Chancellour being immediately and only derived
 ' from the King) and are obliged to doe so, unless
 ' that *Logick* which makes *Protection*, and *Subjection*
 ' *Relatives*, dispute us out of Submission to the
 ' King's only Jurisdiction, because he is disabled from
 ' the Maintenance of our Privileges, and will not let
 ' him be our Visitor, because he cannot be our De-
 ' fender. And here you may please to consider, that
 ' the Foundation of the University, being the King's,
 ' and his Predecessors Personal Acts, his Interest lies
 ' not within the Reach of that beaten Evasion, of
 ' a * *Publique*, or *Politique* Capacity.

' And as this Right and Title of Visiting is the
 ' King's Prerogative as Founder, so the Privilege
 ' of being by him only visited, is our Lawful In-
 ' heritance, which we claim by Prescription, allowed
 ' and confirmed by Charters from several Kings,
 ' both by themselves, and in Parliaments; and what-
 ' soever free Royal Grant, was before the Reforma-
 ' tion, confirmed to us by the *Pope*, (that being then
 ' thought Necessary) was (after that the Royal Au-
 ' thority had asserted to it's Prerogative the Ecclesi-
 ' astical Jurisdiction) by the succeeding Princes in the
 ' same Words established: Nor did the Practice of

* Touching his *Political Capacity*, (says the Writer of the Letter to the Earl
 of Pembroke p. 11.) ' which Fancy hath been exploded in other Parliaments,
 (except in that *mad* infamous Parliament in which it was first hatch'd) ' And
 ' Acts passed that it should be high and horrible Treason to *separate* or *distinguish*
 ' the Person of the King from his Power. ' I believe this will not serve their Turn
 ' at the dreadful Bar of divine Justice in another World.

• Visitations dissent, for all those that happen'd in
 • the Remainder of *Hen. VIII's* Time, *Ed. VI. Q.*
 • *Mary, Q. Eliz.* were held by the respective Prince's
 • Authority, and the Persons Visiting were only their Re-
 • presentatives, and whosoever sate, the King visited.

• I have thus farre, as much as may be expected
 • from one not used to such Encounters, nor advan-
 • taged by any of the *University* Writings and Mu-
 • niments (they having been of late held from us)
 • discovered our Privileges in Point of Visitation;
 • being put to this unequal Combate, to engage with
 • Persons armed with Power, and our own Weapons
 • too, only shielded by naked Truth.

Nay, their Issuing out their Commission in the
 usual Form, and in the * King's Name, plainly
 shews, that in themselves, they imagined they had
 no legal Authority, to visit that University.

*N. p. 448. Furnished with new Powers, the Visitors
 return'd to Oxford, the latter End of September, the
 Mayor, and Sheriffes, being commanded to aid and assist
 them as there should be Occasion. On Michaelmas Day
 a Paper was fixed to the Door of University Church,
 giving Notice that the Visitation now would proceed de
 Die in Diem. Next Day a Citation was issued to all
 the Heads of Houses, requiring them to bring in their Sta-
 tutes, Registers, Accompts, and all their Publick Wri-
 tings, to the Wardens Lodgings at Merton College.*

*N. Ibid. Next Day (viz. after the third Citation)
 they sent for the Keys of the Convocation House, and
 Schools, and for the Beadles Staves, but they were denied.
 The Day following the Proctors appeared, and delivered
 a Protestation attested by a Publick Notary, in the Name
 of the Vicechancellor, Delegates, and all the Scholars, to
 this Purpose. " That they could not own any Visitor*

* *Carolus Dei Gratia. &c. Quis ita Stupidus, & ad apathiam institutus, ut
 cum hæc legerit, non superum protinus inclamet fidem, & frontem Rebus perisse
 conqueratur? Boni isti Viri, Læse Majestati, Perduellioni, & impotentissimæ Ty-
 rannidi, Serenissimi Principis auctoritatem prætexunt; Carolique Nostine & Au-
 spiciis, Academiam perditam sunt. Quia eidem Carolo fidem illibatam, & perpe-
 tuum obsequium, illa præstitisset: Sic utque Tragediæ quam acturi erant Epilogi
 prolusere; optimi Principis, quem imperio exuissent Cervices amputabant, scilicet
 et; at quod Eadere solenni sponderant, gloriosissimum demum Regem effice-
 rent.* *Wood's Hist. & Antiqu. Universitat. Oxon. part. 1. p. 388.*

“ but the King, and that having been sworn to maintain
 “ his Right, they could not without Perjury submit them-
 “ selves to this Visitation, wherewith they desire them to
 acquaint the Parliament.

The University's Answer to the Summons of the
 Commissioners from the *Rebels* is as follows,

“ * To the right Worshipfull, Sir Nathaniel Brent,
 “ and the Rest of the Commissioners sitting at *Merton*
 “ Colledge.

“ Whereas by several Citations, (subscribed *Guiliel.*
 “ *New house. Reg. Com.* The Vicechancellour, and Pro-
 “ ctors (being the Magistrates, and Publick-Officers
 “ of the University) have been required respectively
 “ to appear before the said Commissioners sitting in
 “ *Merton College*, they having imparted the same to
 “ us, the *Delegates* of the University, upon due Con-
 “ sideration, and deliberate Examination of the Pre-
 “ misses; we the said *Delegates*, together with the *Vice-*
 “ *chancellour* and *Proctors*, doe in the Name of the
 “ University with all humble Reverence to the two
 “ honourable Houses of Parliament, and all due Re-
 “ spects to the Persons and Places of those that are
 “ imployed by them, humbly conceive, we cannot
 “ acknowledge any Visitor but the King, or such as
 “ are immediately sent by his Majesty, it being one
 “ of his Majesty's undoubted Rights (all which we
 “ are bound to defend, as by many legal Obligati-
 “ ons, so by our late Protestation,) and one of the
 “ chief Privileges of the University, (all which we
 “ are obliged by diverse Statutes and Oaths to main-
 “ tain also) that his Majesty, and without him, none
 “ other is to visit this *University*. And therefore we
 “ cannot (as we conceive) without the manifest Danger
 “ of incurring *multiplied Perjuries*, submit to this Vi-
 “ sitation, or acknowledge those now sent by the ho-
 “ nourable Houses of Parliament to visit us, to be our
 “ Visitors. And as we are perswaded, that if the
 “ weighty Affairs of the Kingdome, would have per-
 “ mitted the two honourable Houses to have taken

* The Privileges of the University of *Oxford*, &c. p. 7, 8, 9.

' this Obligation of ours into Consideration, they
 ' would not have thought fit to reduce us to this Ex-
 ' tremity, either of displeasing them, or doing Vio-
 ' lence to our own Consciences: So we believe and
 ' hope, that if it shall please those that are em-
 ' ployed by them, candidly and charitably to repre-
 ' sent to them, this our Answer with the Reasons
 ' thereof, (which we most earnestly desire them to
 ' doe) the honourable Houses will be pleased to ad-
 ' mit of this our Answer, and suffer us in the mean
 ' While to enjoy what by the Law of the Land
 ' (which is the Birthright of the Subject) as well as
 ' by the Privileges of the University is due unto us;
 ' until we shall be proved to have made a legal For-
 ' feiture of it, before such as are our proper and
 ' competent Judges: Before whom, we shall be al-
 ' ways ready to appeare, and to answer whatsoever
 ' Crimes or Misdemeanours shall be laid to our
 ' Charge.

The same Author has the following Remark. '* But
 ' should we be willing to sacrifice our Honour to a more
 ' *Christian* Virtue of Humility, and our Freedom
 ' unto patient Sufferance, (as in most Cases we may
 ' lawfully recede from our strict Rights) yet would
 ' there a greater Stop to our Desires, than any yet
 ' mentioned, interpose itself, the severe Law of
 ' Conscience; from whose Commands, neither hope
 ' may lead, nor Danger force us. We are all engaged
 ' by *Solemn Protestation*.

[Protest May 5, 1641.] ' Before Almighty God
 ' to defend and maintain our lawfull Rights and Pri-
 ' vileges (in the Number of which, I am confident
 ' I have shewed our Exemption from this Visitation
 ' to be) and hereby our Adversaries themselves are
 ' bound to protect, and defend us in whatsoever we
 ' shall doe, in pursuance of them: But if this be not
 ' of Force to us, as it is not conceived to be by
 ' them, yet we have a more strict and particular

* The Privileges of the University of Oxford, &c. p. 5, 6.

‘ Obligation, being sworne by our respective Statutes, to allow or submit to no Visitation, but by those who are nominated by our *Founders*, and enabled by the King’s Grant and Patent, confirmed by Act of Parliament, and so enlivened to the *Strength of Lawes*.

He proceeds to give us an Account in the following Pages, of the Behaviour of the University, and their Reasons for not submitting, in a Letter to Mr. Selden. *But this Reasoning* (says he p. 451.) *was too weak to deserve any farther Answer*. And so generally is the Reasoning of a Traveller thought, against delivering his Purse, when peremptorily demanded by a Higwayman with a Pistol in his Hand.

But the Parliament was so provoked that they took away the University’s Right of chusing their Chancellour, and made Choyce of the Earl of Pembroke.

N. p. 452. *Who April 11. made his publick Entrance into the City with a great Number of Clergy, and Gentlemen of the Country, and one hundred Horse out of Oxford itself; the Mayor welcomed him at his Entrance into the City with a congratulatory Speech; and when he came to his Lodgings, Mr. Button one of the new Proctors made a Speech to him in Latin: But not one of the Heads of Colleges came near him.*

And they did what was very right in not submitting to his usurped Authority, tho’ they risqued every Thing that was dear to them by their Refusal, excepting a good Conscience.

Id. ib. *The Insignia of the University were not to be found, and the Scholars treated the Chancellour and his Retinue with all that Rudeness, they had been taught to express towards all that adbered to the Parliament.*

By Rudeness, I suppose he means no more, than their not readily submitting to his *visitatorial Power*, or not paying him the * same Respects they had done to former Chancellours.

* Neque enim vel genu flectendo, vel caput aperiendo expectatam prætereunti Reverentiam præstabat spectatorum quisquam; sed & illi pauciores longe erant, quam qui in expetitur Cancellarii cujusdam Adventum effundi solent. *Histor. & Antiquitat. Universitat. Oxon.* p. 399.

Take an Account of his *Calvacade* from a Writer of those Times, who describes it in the following humorous Manner, * On *Tuesday, April 11.* my Lord of *Pembroke* came to *Oxon*, in the common Expectation attended with Gentlemen of the Country, and Men of special Rank and Quality; but in very Deed accompanied with a very lanke and mean Retinue: Before him came five *Beadles* that would be, and the Clergy Visitours, with some of their *Seekers*, who were in hope to rake something out of the Rubbish, when their Masters had ruined the Colledges; there followed his Honour some Gentlemen of his own Household, and thence unto *Merton Colledge*, an *Herd of Townsmen*, and ragged *Gownes*, who were entertained (as they conceive) all alike with an Oration from Mr. *Cheynel*, he telling them that *Englisshmen* were to be entertain'd in the *Englisb* Tongue, and so with some few Words answerable to this latter Part of his Auditory, he shut his Mouth, and the Rout came back with open Mouth, that they had often seen Sir *Cranion*, or the *Fly at Whisfontide*, fetch'd in by the Coakes of *Oxon* with much more Grace and Solemnity. On *Wednesday* his Lordship was brought to the *Convocation-House*, his five Staffe-less *Beadles* preceding with empty Hands, and his five *Visitours* with empty Heads, pursuing his Honour; it is agreed these latter were empty Heads, but it was discovered by a secret Spy, that † *Langley* a broken Tailour, who first led the *Beadles* without Staves, had a Needle in his Hand, which he bore (they say) as Ensigne that the *Visitours* were now come, who meant to

* *Halifax* Law translated to *Oxon*, or the new Visitors Justice, displayed in a Letter to a Friend concerning the late Reformation begun there by the E. of *Pembroke*, &c. Printed 1648. Publ. Lib. *Cambr.* 19. 9. 2.

† *Convocationem collegiatim indixit Johannes Langley, Scissor, & Bedellorum inferiorum alter, sed neque Baculum argenteum quod fieri antiquitus consueverat, gestabat, neque eo pollebat ingenio, ut formulam qua Senatores Academici convocari solent, memoriter condisceret: Quin & in perlegenda turpiter lapsus, dum extremam clauderet loco per fidem, per fidem, per fidem, Provided, Provided, Provided, ingeminavit; Quo errore risum Togatis haud modicum excussit. Hist. & Antiquitat. *Oxon.* lib. 1. p. 401.*

‘ *botch* up the University, or otherwise, as the onely
 ‘ proof that these Men were the Fellows indeed, who
 ‘ were like to make good the Latin Proverb *res
 ‘ acu tange*, and to put out the Eye of the University
 ‘ with their Needle.

‘ On *Thursday* his Lordship went to diverse Colle-
 ‘ ges with these *Nothings* before and behind him:
 ‘ who to make themselves passe for *Something*, had
 ‘ joyned to them a torn-breech’d Smith, with a
 ‘ *Cyclopi*an Sledge or Hammer: And that was the
 ‘ Thing that made the terrible Noise, and proclaimed
 ‘ those Visitors what they are, the Enemies to all
 ‘ Doores, which might keep in sober Men and Stu-
 ‘ dents. This *Magdalen College*, *All Souls*, and *Fri-
 ‘ nity College* were made sensible of, whose Doors
 ‘ being broken down to the Ground, were made
 ‘ the only Things pertaining to learning, which fell
 ‘ down and worshipped these, those, those, &c.

‘ On *Friday* his Lordship went out of Town, not
 ‘ one Beggar retarding his Passage with a Breath to
 ‘ beg for an Almes: Some unhappy *Jacks* have col-
 ‘ lected, that either the Poor were very glad to be
 ‘ rid of their new Chancellour, or otherwise they had
 ‘ resolved to take Almshouses at no Hand, but from
 ‘ whence they might likewise hope for a Blessing—
 ‘ The Chancellour being departed, the younger Fry
 ‘ spend their Months and Judgments upon him, that
 ‘ he came in to Town like a *Botcher*, proceeded to
 ‘ knock down learning like a *Butcher*, and went out
 ‘ like a *Pinch-penny*: But these were the extravagancies
 ‘ of younger, and wilder Fancies: The more Authen-
 ‘ tick and sober Men were very sparing of their

* Lord Clarendon observes (Vol. 3. p. 56.) ‘ That in the Year 1647. they
 ‘ had begun a Visitation of the University of *Oxford*, which they finished not
 ‘ till next Year; in which the Earl of *Pembroke* had been contented to be em-
 ‘ ploy’d as Chancellour to the University, who had taken an Oath to defend the
 ‘ Rights and Privileges of the University; notwithstanding which out of the
 ‘ extream Weakness of his Understanding, and the miserable Complaisance of his
 ‘ Nature, he suffered himself to be made a Property in joyning with *Brents*,
 ‘ *Pryn*, and some Committee Men and *Presbyterian* Ministers or Commissioners
 ‘ for the Parliament to reform the Discipline, and erroneous Doctrine of that
 ‘ famous University, by the Rule of the Covenant.

‘ Words, but sure they payd it with thinking: Yet
 ‘ some of them were heard to say at a close Meeting,
 ‘ that it was a marvellous Condescension for a Gen-
 ‘ tleman of so noble Birth, and so much Honour,
 ‘ to be led up and down the City in the Execution
 ‘ of a petty Constable’s Office, for the breaking open
 ‘ of Gates and Doors, according as a Company of
 ‘ *Cock-brain’d Men*, a Medly or Composition of
 ‘ *Fooles, Knaves, and Madmen* should direct him.
 ‘ How say you? Is not your Mother the University
 ‘ in a ready Way. to become a *famous and glorious*
 ‘ *Univerſity*, just after the same Manner, as her *Forſter*
 ‘ *Father* hath been made a most *famous and glorious*
 ‘ *King*.

‘ Upon *Thursday* Night last the Visitors came into
 ‘ *Braſen-Noſe* College, went into the Hall, caused
 ‘ the Order from the Committee above to be read,
 ‘ wherein it was declared that Dr. *Ratcliffe* was
 ‘ thought guilty by the Commons of high Contempt
 ‘ of Parliament, and thereupon resolved, that he
 ‘ should be removed from being Principall, and Mr.
 ‘ *Greenwood* should be made Principall in his Place.
 ‘ The Visitors without more adoe (Dr. *Ratcliffe* the
 ‘ principal remaining in full Possession, and his
 ‘ Place being never declared actually void) put Mr.
 ‘ *Greenwood* into Possession: But you must not call
 ‘ this an Error among them, with whom it ever hath
 ‘ passed currant, that the House which they have a
 ‘ Mind unto, admitteth not of the Distinction of
 ‘ *Plena*, and *Vacua*, Voidable and Voyded: But is
 ‘ as *pervious* to these Men, as is the Aire to a celestial
 ‘ Body, or the Light. Well Sir the Earle of *Pem-*
 ‘ *broke* telleth Mr. *Greenwood* out of the un-erring
 ‘ Chaire, which ruleth at the high Masse at *Braſen-*
 ‘ *Noſe*, that he was Principall. And Mr. *Cheyne*
 ‘ immediately telleth my Lord, that he must now
 ‘ rise out of the Chair, and give Mr. *Greenwood* the
 ‘ Place; the first *Precedent* that any called *Chancellour*
 ‘ gave way to any in the University. But the headie
 ‘ *Cheyne* would have it so, and the good dutiful
 ‘ Lord

Lord obeyed, and came out of the Chaire, and set Mr. *Greenwood* in it; and then Mr. *Greenwood* came out, and both of them together went out of the Colledge, so they were in and out, and out and in, and out throughout.

* Dr. *Bailie* of saint *John's* had some fair Play for his Presidentship; but little better Success: He met the Blow which was to smite him beside his Headship, in the Quadrangle; and so was taken by the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the Visitors into the Colledge Hall, and admitted to hear his Doome, the fatal and irrespsective Decree of the Committee, which condemneth and executeth before Men have done any Evil, and cannot be prevented, though you should doe never so much Good.

Mutatis mutandis, Names and the like, what was read at other Colledges was repeated at *St. John's*, and the Doctor required by the E. of *Pembroke* to put in his Answer, which was as soon done as demanded. † The Doctor instantly replying, that he conceived the honourable Houses of Parliament had never either seen or heard the Answer, which he had formerly in Writing given up unto the *pretending Visitors* of *Oxford*. His Reason this; for that he had humbly presented in that Paper eight several Clauses of Statute, which bound him by a corporal Oath, and the Rest of the Fellows of that Colledge, to admit of no other Visitors under Pain of Perjury, and Expulsion from the Colledge for ever, than the Visitor precisely named in the Statute. The Words running all along, *nulli alii, nec aliis sub pœnâ perjurii, & Amotionis perpetuæ ne admittant*, with Exception against *quemcunque & quoscunque, alium, vel alios, intra vel extra Collegium, tacite vel expresse, sed eis resistam expresse, &c.* and more, as my Curiosity

* See *Wood's Antiquitat. Oxon. Lib. 1. p. 403.* Mr. *Birkenhead* in his *Paul's Church Yard Cent. 1. Clafs 3. No. 54.* has the following Words. * A Declaration from *St. John Baptist's College* in *Oxford*, that since their Head was voted off, and a new one set on, they have been troubled with very strange Fits, especially at this Time of their colledge Dedication, (commonly called Midsummer) in which dangerous Month they desire that Mr. *Cheyuel* may not be their President.

† *Antiqu. Oxon. Lib. 1. p. 403.*

hath since been Witness of: I prevailing with a Fellow of that House to shew me the Answer which the Doctor put in to the Visitors, whereof he had a Copy, whereto the Doctor further added, that in the Answer return'd by him to the Visitors, he had humbly besought them so far to mediate with the Parliament, in behalf of himself and his Colledge, and that he and they might be referr'd for strict Examination, upon any Accusation commenced against them, unto any Court of Justice of the Kingdome, and be any other ways most strictly sifted and adjudged, save only by this Course in present propounded: Which upon their Entertainment of it, manifestly involved them in Perjury; and for this one very Act of Submission rendred them so obnoxious, that if no other Argument of Offence could possibly be made good against them, yet these Visitors might have recourse to this Act of their Submission, and for this, justly accuse, convince and condemn them of Perjury, and accordingly statutablely amove and expell them forever out of their Colledges.

This first Reply of the Doctor's was received by the * Earle with this Answer, that the Commissioners above had interpreted him guilty of High Contempt, and for an Adjunct, avoiding this first Reply of the Doctor's, it was avouched by Mr. *Wilkinson*, that the Committee above had seen or heard his Answer, which made some of us who stood by, somewhat to wonder at the Acuteness of the

* The Author of *Mercurius Menippeus*, or the *Loyal Satyrists* p. 15. (*penes me*) speaks of the Earl of Pembroke in the following Manner. ' This Landkip, this Map of Nobility, differs as much from a true Britain, as a *Montgomery Beacon* from a Star, or a *Walsh Leek* from Saint *David*. Yet rather than not be famous for somewhat, he will warther the *Universities* like that Villain who burnt *Diana's Temple* to get himself a Name—— He would make an excellent *Chancellor* for the *Meads*, or were *Oxford* turned into a Kennel of Hounds and the *Sheldons*, and *Hammonds*, *Morleys* and *Jowlers*. His own House is an Academy for *Hawks*, and *Spaniels*, and an Hospital for many Cures, *Glanders*, and the *Fashions*, &c.

How inconsistent this Gentleman was with himself, appears from Variety of Instances, in History. Tho' there is one Thing that must be mentioned to his Honour, that (when the *Rump* sent up the Vote to the Lords for the King's Trial) he declared he would be torn in pieces, before he would assent with the Commons (*Heath's Chronicle* p. 194.)

Committee, who out of a Man's Tenderneſſe not to be perjured, and his voluntary Provocation to be tried by any publick Courſe of Law in the Kingdom, ſhould extract the Guilt of high Contempt againſt the Authority of Parliament. But the Doctor eaſily waved this firſt Plea, and upon the Earle's Allegation of the Committee's Judgment, being the Earle urged to further Answer; then openly called to his Lordſhip and the whole Company of ſome hundreds preſent to witneſs, that however the Committee was pleaſed to interpret him, and his paſt Words or Deeds, that he took God to Witneſs, that he was moſt ready to ſubmit to all Authority: and in the preſent, and heretofore he is, and had been ready to ſubmit unto the Orders of this Parliament in all Things which conſiſted with the Safety of his Conſcience, and Livelibood; for the Rationality whereof, he firſt referred to the Law of God and his Son *Chriſt*, and for the other, to the Law of Nature and this Kingdom.

And here he took the Liberty to enlarge himſelf, that the Things he craved were firſt the Liberty of a *Chriſtian*, that he might not be forced to doe any Thing contrary to the Law of God, and his Son *Chriſt*, particularly, that he might not be forced to forſwear himſelf. 2dly The Liberty of a freeborn Subject granted in *Magna Charta* by *H. III.* received by *Ed. III.* continued by all Parliaments ſince *H. III.* and more precisely renewed in the third of King *Charles*, where his Lordſhip thought fit to crave the ſame by himſelf from the King, to grant it to other Subjects, as a Peere and Member of that Parliament.

The Doctor to bring himſelfe, and his Diſcourſe home to the Buſineſs in Agitation, obſerved, that there were two Things punctually required of him in the preſent Viſitation, Firſt, that he ſhould ſubmit to the Viſitors, the ſecond, that he ſhould for non ſubmitting divest himſelf of all Emoluments; and remove himſelf out of the College; to each of which he regeſted in Order; firſt, that by the firſt,

he

he must be forced to involve himself in Perjury;
 and for that he plainly profest, that no Authority
 under the Sun should prevail with him so to doe,
 and thereby to lose the Liberty of a *Christian*, and
 incur the main Hazard of his Soul. For the other
 he appeal'd to his Lordship, and all the Bytstand-
 ers, whether it could be adjudged reasonable, that
 he should lend an Arme or Knife to the Cutting of
 his own Throat? Divers other Things were al-
 ledged by the Doctor, which tho' they had no
 present Answer, yet they obtained Promise of
 Answer from some Lawyer present, when they
 should come again to visit: that is, when the Doctor
 shall be absolutely turned out and not there to re-
 ply. His Lordship for Conclusion vouched a saying
 of the old Lord *Burleigh's*, that a *Parliament* could
 doe any Thing, but turn a Man into a Woman, and
 a Woman to a Man. Whereat the *Westminsters* who
 know *Hide-Park*, and *Spring Garden*, and that my
 Lord had in his younger Days made that easy
 enough, laughed in their Sleeves: and the Company
 were now to wait on his Lordship unto the Presi-
 dent's Lodging, where he intended formally to dis-
 possess the Doctor, and induct Mr. *Cheyne*. In the
 Hall were the Doctor's Wife and Children, on
 whom * *Sir Nath. Brent* was pleased to cast a fa-
 vourable Eye, and drawing towards Mrs. *Baily*,
 while the Doctor was talking with my Lord, moved
 her to accept of a Fortnight for removal of her sick
 Children and Goods; she replied, less than a Month
 would not suffice. The Lord overhearing the Discourse
 interponed, and after some Words used by his Lord-
 ship to Mrs. *Baily*, professed to the Doctor, that he
 was willing to yield him any Favour, and would
 consider with the Visitors what might be done for
 him: † The Doctor civilly acknowledged his Lord-
 ship's Proneness to favour him, but in this Particu-
 lar he renounced Favour, and professed, that he

* *Wood's Antiqu. Oxon. Lib. I. p. 403.*

† *Wood's Antiquitat. Id. ib.*

only expected Justice. The Lord replied, he must turn the Doctor out, and give Mr. *Cbeynel* Possession; the Doctor replied, he might use his Pleasure, but he hoped his Lordship did not expect, that he could, or would contribute to his own Prejudice. Much *Prate* there was, but in fine, they left the Doctor without a formal Voidance, and with some shew, that a Month should be indulged for the Removal of his Goods, and we conceive it might be so.

Yet since we hear, that the Visitors have agreed, and will print the same, that Dr. *Baily*, upon Condition of Compliance with Mr. *Cbeynell*, and the like, shall enjoy part of his Lodging for a Month, being deprived of all other Emoluments. How the Doctor will bear this, (whom we know to be of a natural Stoutness, and well settled upon his Principles) we know not; but we think him very much mistaken by the Visitors, who put him to stoop to one so much below him; and to derive his Water from a stinking *Cbannell*; as yet he is in the College, but providing (I must tell you) suddenly to remove his Goods: And truly I must farther add, that my selfe, though yet unquestioned, shall not long hold the Place I obtained when I left *Brasen Nose*. I will not have any Fellowship with, and among these Wretches, into whose Hearts, the Devil hath entred, and filled them full of all Iniquity, that he may bring them to Destruction both of Body and Soul. The God of Heaven purge their Hearts from this Gall of Bitterness, and loose them from this Bond and Covenant of Iniquity: Otherwise God preserve your and my Soul, that they enter not at any Time into their Counsels. So I am Yours.

Oxon; April 17, 1648.

Postscript.

One pretty odde Passage there was betwixt Sir *William Cobb*, and the Doctor — The Doctor strongly assevering something, sayd as I think, in
good

* *good Faith.* Sir *William* having ruminated a good
 * Space on the Business, at length as in Extasy, cries
 * out *Blasphemy, Horrid Blasphemy*, is there never a
 * *Justice of Peace* here? This made a general Silence
 * until the Doctor spake to Sir *William*, and desired to
 * know what it was that made him thus to amuse the
 * Company. Sir *William* replied, the Doctor had
 * *blasphemed*; the Doctor asked in what? The Knight
 * replied, in *swearing by your Faith*. The Doctor
 * said, he did not remember that he had used those
 * Words, but admit he had, he desired to know where
 * the *Blasphemy* lay? In this sayd the Knight, in that
 * you have sworne by that which is none of your
 * owne, that is your *Faith*. How said the Doctor?
 * By your good Leave Sir *William*, my Faith is my
 * own, and if you mean to be saved, you must get
 * you a Faith of your owne, it will be a hard Mat-
 * ter for you to live by the Faith of another; yea
 * said the Knight your Faith is none of your own,
 * it is the Gift of God. Then return'd the Doctor,
 * it is so much more myne own, for what freer than
 * Gift? Indeed Sir *William*, you are here quit beside
 * the Cushion: I confesse replied Sir *William*, I am
 * no Doctor. True said the Doctor, nor *Physician*;
 * And so the Tongue-Combat ended, and the Foyles
 * were laid down on both Sides. [FINIS.]

N. p. 453. *He (the Earl) put the new elected Dean Mr. Reynolds into Possession (of the Lodgings at Christ Church) from thence his Lordship with the Visitors went to the Hall, and having got the Buttery Book struck out Dr. Fell's Name, and inserted that of Mr. Reynolds, the like they did by Dr. Hammond Subdean, and publick Orator, by Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Payne, Dr. Wall, Dr. Iles, and Doctor Morley.*

Dr. Wall was not turned out, if we may give Credit to the Writer of Bishop *Sanderfon's* Life, (and others) who informs us, * That a powerful Man

* Life of Bishop *Sanderfon* p. 22. Wood confirms this, and says (*Archæ. Oxon.* Vol. 2. 1st Edit. p. 259.) That in 1632. he was installed Canon of his House [viz.

in the Parliament hearing a good Report of Dr. Morley's Principles in Religion, and of his Morals, was therefore willing to afford him a peculiar Favour, and that he might express it, sent for me that relate this Story, and knew Dr. Morley well, and told me, *He had such a Love for Dr. Morley, that knowing he would not take the Oaths, and therefore must be ejected his College, and leave Oxford; He desired I would therefore write to him to ride out of Oxford, when the Visitors came into it, and he should be sure then to return in Safety; and then by so doing he should without taking any Oath, or other Molestation enjoy his Canon's Place in the College.* I did receive this intended Kindness with a sudden Gladness, because I was sure the Party had a Power to doe what he profest, and as sure he meant to perform it, and therefore did write the Doctor Word; to which his Answer was, *That I must not fail to return my Friend, (who still lives) his humble and undissembled Thanks, though he could not accept of his intended Kindness; for when Dr. Fell (then Dean) Dr. Gardiner, Dr. Paine, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Sanderson, and all the Rest of the Colledge were turned out, excepting Dr. Wall; he should take it to be if not a Sin, yet a Shame to be left behind with him only.*

To the Characters he gives of those *Heads of Houses, and Professors*, who complied, and kept their Places, I have but few Exceptions; tho' there are some few Mistakes. He tells us,

N. p. 461. *That Dr. Ed. Pocock was ejected afterwards from his Canonry of Christ Church, for refusing the Engagement 1651. but was suffered to enjoy his Professorship of Arabick and Hebrew. Athen. Ox. p. 868.*

Wood in the very Place referred to, says, 'That he was ejected from his Canonry and Hebrew Profes-

[viz. *Christ Church*] 'in the Place of Dr. L. Hutton deceased, which he kept to his dying Day; notwithstanding the several Revolutions in his Time he kept it, (says Mr. Brown Willis in his Survey of the Cathedrals Vol. 3. p. 461.) all the Time of the Rebellion, though all the Rest of his Brethren were ejected. See Le Neve's Fasti p. 237.

forship

‘ *fefforship* 1650. or in the Beginning of 1651. for refusing the *independent* Oath, called the *Engagement*, (which is probable, a Canonry being annexed to that Professorship at the Instance of * *Archbishop Laud*.)
 ‘ His † *Arabick* Lecture he was suffered to keep
 ‘ (says *Wood*,) because there was then, no Person in
 ‘ the University fit to perform the same.

N. p. 463. *Dr. Gilbert Sheldon*, Warden of all Souls College was ejected April 3, 1648. — He did a great many Works of Charity, but never gave any great Specimens of Piety or Learning to the World.

Bishop Burnet allows, ‘ § That *Sheldon* was esteem’d
 ‘ a learned Man before the Wars, and if by giving
 ‘ Specimens of his Learning, Mr. Neal means, that he
 ‘ did not publish ‖ three large Octavo’s as he himself
 ‘ lately has done, I must give in to his Opinion.

N. p. 463. *Dr. Richard Baily*, President of St. John’s College, he was faulty, says *Wood*, in using some Kind of Oaths in common Conversation. Where does *Wood* say this? No where that I can meet with, either in his *Athenæ*, *Fasti*, or *Antiquit. Oxon.* In the last he mentions the aforementioned Dialogue between him and Sir *William Cobb*; where Sir *William* charged him with horrid Blasphemy for making use of that Expression ** in good Faith, which is all the Authority, I verily believe, that Mr. Neal has to

* *Archbishop Laud’s Remains* 2d Vol. p. 11. 13. See Mr. *Brown Willis’s* Survey of the Cathedrals. Vol. 3. p. 455. *Le Neve’s Fasti. Eccles. Anglican.* p. 235.

† The *Arabick* Lecture was founded by *Archbishop Laud*, and Mr. *Ed. Pocock* appointed his first Reader, with a Stipend of 4 l. per annum. *Remains* Vol. 2. p. 110.

§ History of his own Times Vol. 1. p. 177.

‖ He hath only extant says *Wood* (*Athen Oxon* Vol. 2. 1st. Edit. p. 679.) a Sermon before the King at *White Hall*, 28 Jan. 1660. being the Day of the Solemn Thanksgiving for the happy Return of his Majesty. In the Inscription upon his Monument in *Croyden Church* in *Surry*, this is Part of his Character, *vir omnibus Negotiis par, omnibus Titulis Superior, in omnibus Magnus, utriusque Fortunæ Dominus. Pauperum Parens, Literatorum Patronus, Ecclesiæ Stator, de tanto viro pauca dicere non expedit, multa non opus est, norunt presertim, posteri vix credent, &c.* — I have heard (says *Wood*) Sir *Joseph Sheldon* say, that from the Time of *Dr. Sheldon’s* being made Bishop of *London* to the Time of his Death, it did appear in the Book of his Accounts, that he had bestowed upon publick and charitable Uses about threescore and six thousand Pounds.

** *Antiquitat. Oxon. Lib. 1. p. 404.*

ground this Charge upon. Dr. *Walker* makes the following Observation upon it. ‘ * Such was the
 ‘ exquisite Hypocrisy of those Times, and *Saints*,
 ‘ who tho’ they came to commit the most outrageous
 ‘ Robbery and Oppression imaginable, yet were their
 ‘ Consciences so very tender, that they could not
 ‘ without Astonishment hear a Man swear by his
 ‘ Faith; and also perfectly holy and righteous were
 ‘ they, that they had their very Ears (and every
 ‘ Thing else, except their Hearts) sanctified.

Come we next to the Characters of some of those Gentlemen, who were put in their Places. For Dr. *Edward Reynolds’s* Mr. *Wood* is referr’d to above. Dr. *John Wilkins’s* I have no Exceptions to, and but little to except to Dr. *Hoyle’s*, or to Dr. *Daniel Greenwood’s*.

N. p. 471. Dr. *Edmond Staunton*, Principal of *Corpus Christi College* — He was a diligent and popular Preacher.

A Proof of which, the Reader may meet with in his publick Sermons.

‘ Execute Judgement impartially, (says he) — To
 ‘ hang a poor Soldier now and then for running from
 ‘ his Colours may have a Piece of Justice in it: But it
 ‘ was *Saul’s* sparing of *Agag* that rent his Kingdome
 ‘ from him.

[Dr. *Stanton’s* Fast Ser. before the Lords, *October*
 30, 1644. p. 22. Assembly’s Serm. Publ. Libr. *Cambr.*
 Vol. 5.]

‘ Physicans by Way of Revulsion stop bleeding
 ‘ by letting of Blood. And did *England* bleed enough
 ‘ in the *Malignant Vein*, we have cause to think
 ‘ that other sad Issues of Blood would be stopped and
 ‘ stanch’d. [Ibid. p. 26.]

‘ *England* may (I say) enjoy a Parliament, a lasting,
 ‘ wise, and indefatigable Parliament, wherein the
 ‘ *Jacobs* have been too hard for the *Esaus*. I am well
 ‘ eased of High Commission, Star Chamber, and the

‘ Iron Yoke of Episcopacy, I have the Lord of
 ‘ Hosts fighting my Battles at Keinton, Newberry, &c.
 Stanton before the Commons. April 24, 1644. p. 10.

N. p. 472. Dr. John Wallis, *Savilian Professor of
 Geometry, in the Room of Dr. Turner. The Fame of
 this most learned Gentleman is well known to the
 World.*

No doubt it is, for he was a Person of very con-
 siderable Learning, but a Complier with the Times
 (I think) in every Change, during the Grand Rebel-
 lion, and Usurpation. ‘ * He was generally sup-
 ‘ posed to have been the Person, who *decypher’d* the
 ‘ King’s Letters taken at Nazeby. *Stubbe* in his *Severe*
 ‘ Enquiry into the late *Oneirocrita* says, that he had
 ‘ been an active Preacher in the first War, and *de-*
 ‘ *cypthered* (besides others to the Ruine of many Loyal
 ‘ Persons) the King’s Cabinet taken at Nazeby, and
 ‘ as a Monument of his noble Performances, depo-
 ‘ sited the Original in the publick Library at Oxford.
 ‘ † My learned Friend Mr. *Hearne* assures me (says
 ‘ Mr. *Bedford* in a Note upon Dr. *Barwick’s* Life)
 ‘ that the very Original Book mentioned by *Wood*,
 ‘ written in Dr. *Wallis’s* own Hand, is now, at least
 ‘ lately was in that Library. *Wood* says, § that he
 ‘ was Minister of Saint *Martin’s* Church *Ironmonger-*
 ‘ *Lane*, and after that of *Gabriel Fench* Church in
 ‘ London, from both which Churches had certain *Loyalists*
 ‘ been ejected. In another Place, || that Dr. *Wallis*
 ‘ was against Oath and Statute elected *Custos Archi-*
 ‘ *vorum*, in the Place of Dr. *Langbaine*, at which
 ‘ Time stood for that Office one very capable of it,
 ‘ Dr. *Richard Zouch*: which being a most unjust Act,
 ‘ and being carried on, and done by the Godly Bre-
 ‘ thren; therefore did *Henry Stubbe* write and publish
 ‘ the *Savilian Professor’s* Case Stated. Mr. *Wood* in
 ‘ another Place, [*Fasti Oxon.* p. 67.] says, he was
 ‘ successively a Preacher up of Treason and Rebellion

* *Wood’s Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 563.
 pag. 61.

§ *Fasti Oxon.* p. 72.

|| *Fasti Oxon.* p. 106.

† The Life of Dr. *Barwick*.

‘ in two Churches in *London*, in the Time of the
 ‘ *Presbyterian* Rebellion. And Mr. *Pryn* in his *Can-*
terbury's Doom p. 73. ‘ That Mr. *Wallis* a Scholler
 ‘ and Graduate of this University [*Cambridge*] de-
 ‘ posed, That Altars, and Crucifixes were there of late
 ‘ set up in most College Chappels, and in some Chur-
 ‘ ches, and particularly in *Peter House* Chappel was
 ‘ a New Altar set up. Mr. *Wood* from hence in the
 Place above mentioned, observes, that he was a Wit-
 ness against Archbishop *Laud*, in Order to bring him
 to his Tryal, and consequently to the Block.

N. p. 472. *Lewis Du Moulin* M. D. *Cambden* Pro-
 fessor of History — was Son of the famous Peter Du
 Moulin the French Protestant, — He was a valuable
 and learned Man, as appears from his Writings. But
 Mr. *Wood* says likewise, That he was a violent Inde-
 pendent, and ill natured.

And adds the following Remark upon him and
 his Book, intitled: *Irenæi Philadelphii Epistola*, from
 Bishop Barlow. ‘ * *Autor bujus Libri, seu potius*
 ‘ *Libelli famosi, fuit Ludov. Filius Petri Molinæi, Me-*
 ‘ *dicus London, qui a Patre venerando penitus rejec-*
 ‘ *tus, huc se, & vitia simul transtulit.* — Mr. *Bir-*
kenhead (in his *Paul's Church Yard*. Class. 3. No. 55.)
 says, Dr. *Du Moulin Junior*, *Medico-Theologo-Historico-*
Bello Gallicus. — *Gallo Belgicus.*

Id. ib. *Ralph Button* University Orator, in the Room
 of Dr. *Hammond*, — He was an excellent Scholar,
 a most humble sincere Man.

† Mr. *Wood* says, ‘ † That *Ralph Button*, Ca-
 non of *Christ Church* a poor spirited Person, did
 ‘ goe (with one of the New *Savilian* Professors,
 ‘ viz. Dr. *Wallis*) to Mr. *Rouse* for the Key of Sir
 ‘ *Henry Savile's* Chest, but after they knew he had it
 ‘ not, and that there was no Money in it, they did
 ‘ not break it open, tho’ they said they would, and
 ‘ came for that Purpose. These Things, (says he)

* *Fasti Oxon.* p. 72.

† *Fasti Oxon.* 67. See Mr. *Brown Willis's* Survey of Cathedrals, Vol. 3. p.
 69. *Le Neve's Fasti Eccles. Anglican.* p. 234.

‘ I am the more punctual to relate, that the World
 ‘ might know, that the said Persons who called
 ‘ themselves the *Saints of God*, minded more, and
 ‘ sought after the Bread, Livelihood, Being, and Money
 ‘ of other Persons, than Reformation, which they
 ‘ according to Ordinance, and their own Consciences
 ‘ ought to have done.

N. p. 473. *Mr. John Harmar A. M. Professor of the Greek Language in the Room of Dr. Stringer. He was, says Mr. Wood, a great Philosopher, and a tolerable Latin Poet. [Wood, calls him a most excellent Philologist and tolerable Latin Poet. No mention in the Place referr’d to, of his being a Great Philosopher, tho’ Philosopher for Philologist may be deem’d by Mr. Neal a small Mistake,] and one of the most excellent Grecians of his Time, but otherwise an honest weak Man.*

Mr. Wood’s Words: ‘ * But as in these he did
 ‘ excell, and therefore was often made use of by Scho-
 ‘ lars, so did he goe beyond all I knew of his Con-
 ‘ dition, that affected popular Applause, he being of
 ‘ so credulous a Humour, as to take all that was said
 ‘ or done to him, to redound to his Honour and
 ‘ Credit, much like the Humour of *Tom Coryate*,
 ‘ who was a *Whetstone* for the Wits of his Time.
 ‘ Besides all this, he being a meer Scholar, and there-
 ‘ fore mostly in a poor and shabbed Condition,
 ‘ whether in his Way of Living or Habit, he flatter’d
 ‘ all Men, and Powers that were uppermost, whe-
 ‘ ther Lawful or Usurping, and endeavoured to make
 ‘ himself known to all Patrons of Learning, if it were
 ‘ only for a Meal’s Meat, or to gain Applause.

N. p. 476. *To supply the Defect of Fellows and Tutors, the Committee encouraged several learned Graduates in the University of Cambridge, to translate themselves to Oxford, and accept of Preferments according to their Merits.*

* It must now be observed (says Dr. Walker) that as the Reformers ejected the Cambridge Gentlemen in such great Numbers, that (if I mistake not) they were forced to take some of the Dregs of this University [Oxford] to put into their Places; so now that the calamitous Visitation had well nigh dispeopled Oxford, the Reformers at Cambridge were enabled to repay their Brethren with Interest, by a Tribe of ignorant Enthusiasts, and Schismatics, from under their Government. And again † Wood (*Athen.* Vol. 2. p. 743.) speaking of the Year 1647. saith, ' This Year flock'd into this University several poor Scholars, whom some called the Scum of Cambridge, many poor Schoolmasters, Pædagogues from Belfries, Curates, and sometimes Vicars, as also Parliament Soldiers; especially such that had been lately disbanded, to gain Preferment from the Visitation approaching.

CHAP. X.

N. p. 484. **T**HE Earl of Norwich with five hundred resolute Men, crossed the Thames at the Isle of Dogs, and came as far as Mile End Green, expecting Assistance from the City, but being disappointed, he joyned the Essex Cavaliers under Sir Charles Lucas, and Lord Capel, who surpris'd the Parliament Committee at Chelmsford, and then shut themselves up in Colchester, where they maintained themselves against General Fairfax for ten Weeks, till being reduced to the last Extremity they were forced to surrender at Discretion, August 28.

But how merciful the General and his Officers were to some of those who surrendered (as he says) at Discretion, he forbears to inform us. Lord Clarendon tells

* Sufferings of the Episcopal Clergy Part I. p. 140. † Walker Ibid.

us, that upon the Surrender, ‘ * All the Gentle-
 ‘ men, and Officers were led into the publick Hall
 ‘ of the Town, where they were locked up, and a
 ‘ strong Guard set upon them; they were required
 ‘ presently to send a List of their Names to the Ge-
 ‘ neral, which they did; and within a short Time
 ‘ after, a Guard was sent to bring Sir *Charles Lucas*,
 ‘ and Sir *George Lisle*, and Sir *Bernard Gascoigne* to
 ‘ the General; being sate with a Council of War.
 ‘ They were carried in, and in a very short Dis-
 ‘ course told, “ That after so long and so obstinate
 “ a Defence until they found it necessary to deliver
 “ themselves up to Mercy, it was necessary, for the
 “ Example of others, and that the Peace of the King-
 “ dome might no more be disturbed in that Man-
 “ ner, that some military Justice should be execut-
 “ ed; and therefore that Council had determined,
 “ † they three should be presently shot to Death,”
 ‘ and for which they were advised to prepare them-
 ‘ selves, and without considering or hearing what
 ‘ they had a mind to say for themselves, they were
 ‘ led into a Yard there by; where they found three
 ‘ Files of Musqueteers ready for their Dispatch.

* *History of the Rebellion*. Vol. 3. p. 137. ‘ Tho’ the Town (says Sir *Philip Warwick* *Memoirs* p. 314.) at last was yielded upon Condition of Safety unto the Prisoners Lives; yet barbarously they condemned Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, with a forrain brave Gentleman, Sir *Bernard Gascoigne* to be shot to Death.

† If any Member there dislike
 His Face, or to his Beard have pike
 Or if his Death will save, or yield
 Revenge or Fright, it is reveal’d
 Though *he has Quarter*, ne’rtheless
 Y’ have Power to hang him when you please,
 This hath been often done by some
 Of our *Great Conquerors*, you know whom,
 And has by most of us been held
 Wife Justice, and to some reveal’d.

Hudibras.

Dr. *South* (*Sermons* Vol. 2. p. 394.) informs us, ‘ That *Harrison* a preaching
 ‘ Colonel of the Parliament Army, and a chief Actor in the Murder of King
 ‘ *Charles*. the first, (file that when the Charge was drawing up against the King,
 cry’d out, *let us blacken him, let us blacken him what we can*) ‘ was notable before,
 ‘ for having killed several, after Quarter given them by others, and using these
 ‘ Words in doing it; *Cursed be he, who does the Work of the Lord negligently.*
 ‘ He was, by Extraction a Butcher’s Son, and accordingly in his Practices all
 ‘ along more a Butcher than his Father.

‘ The

* The News being brought of this bloody Reso-
 lution to the Prisoners in the Town; who were in-
 finitely afflicted with it; the Lord *Capel* prevail'd
 with an Officer or Soldier of their Guard, to carry
 a Letter signed by the chief Persons, and Officers,
 and in the Name of the Rest to the General, in
 which they took Notice of that Judgement, and
 desired him, "Either to forbear the Execution of
 it, or that they might all who were equally guilty
 with those three, undergo the same Sentence with
 them." The Letter was delivered, but had no
 other Effect, than the Sending to the Officer to
 dispatch his Order, reserving the *Italian* to the last.
 Sir *Charles Lucas* was their first Work, who fell dead;
 upon which Sir *George Lisle* ran to him, embraced,
 and kissed him; and then stood up, and looked
 those who were to execute him in the Face, and
 thinking they stood at too great a Distance spake
 to them to come nearer; to which one of them
 said, "I'll Warrant, you Sir, we'll hit you," he
 answered smiling, Friends, I have been nearer you
 when you have missed me: thereupon they all fired
 upon him, and did their Work home; whereupon
 he fell down dead of many Wounds without speak-
 ing a Word. This great and merciful General
 (Letter to the Parliament p. 1.) intimates, '† That
 partly for Revenge (a Reason that should have been
 spared) and partly to make Satisfaction to the Town
 and Country (yet sought by neither of them,) he
 had executed a Piece of Military Justice, upon Sir
Charles Lucas, and Sir *George Lisle*, and caused them
 to be shot to Death — Upon reading thereof be-
 fore the Members that sate at *Westminster*, a reso-
 lute Gentleman stood up and said; '|| Mr. Speaker,
 I for my own Part know (whatsoever is pretended
 otherwise in this Letter) "That neither the Towne

* Lord Clarendon's History Vol. 3. p. 137.

* The Funerals of Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Sir *George Lisle*, who were mur-
 dered at *Colchester*, were solemnized there 7 June 1661. *Heath's Chronicle* pag.
 500 — *Salmon's Chronological Historian* p. 126.

† The Loyal Sacrifice p. 92. || The Loyal Sacrifice p. 92.

“ nor Country desired any Severity towards those
 “ Gentlemen, nor doe they receive any Content or
 “ Satisfaction in it; and therefore I suppose this
 “ Pretence of Justice was wholly an Act of Revenge,
 “ and I fear out of a more private Consideration,
 “ then publique. To this no Reply was made but
 “ Frowns, and foule Looks implying their Disgust,
 “ and yet another Gentleman was so bold to stand
 “ up and say: He was of Opinion, “ That the
 “ executing these Knights now, was done on pur-
 “ pose to put an Affront upon the Treaty, and to
 “ grieve and exasperate his Majesty.”

There is an Original Letter of *Rusworth's* still in being, giving an Account of the Siege of *Colchester*, and tho' about one fifth of the Letter is printed (*Rusworth* Vol. 7. p. 1192.) and that not exactly, yet the most memorable Things are kept out of view, as appears from the Original Letter in *Dr. Williams's* Collections, a Copie of which the Reader will meet with in the * *Appendix*.

N. p. 485. *The Scots Army entred England, July 8. to the Number of twenty thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse under the Command of Duke Hamilton.*

The Army entred *England* according to † *Rapin's* Account *July 11th*, and *Bishop Burnet* gives an Account of their March from some worthy Gentlemen, who were Eye-Witnesses, or Actors in the whole Affair, which differs much from this of *Mr. Neal's*, (who but too often speaks at Random) ‘ || We
 ‘ went to *Kirby Thure* in *Cumberland*, where we lay
 ‘ three Weeks, expecting the Rest of our Forces,
 ‘ who came up to us, yet far short of the Numbers
 ‘ appointed by the Parliament, of which there was
 ‘ wanting more than a third Part; so that in all, we

* *Appendix* No. 77.

† *Rapin* Vol. 12. p. 492.

|| *Memoires of the Dukes of Hamilton* pag. 356. See *Rusworth* Vol. 7. pag. 1193.

‘ The *Presbyterian* Preachers were generally against this Engagement (called
 ‘ *Duke Hamilton's* Engagement) they preach'd and pray'd Damnation and Ruine
 ‘ to the Undertakers, condemn'd the Undertaking as unlawful and perjurious, as
 ‘ traiterous to the Cause of God, and a Breach of Solemn League and Covenant.
 [*Sage's Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, published. 1697. p. 376. penes me.]

‘ were about ten thousand Foot, and four thousand
 ‘ Horse; this is the true Account of the Strength of
 ‘ our Army. *Turner* who being our *Adjutant-General*
 ‘ did often muster the Infantry, avers on his Ho-
 ‘ nour they were no more; and both *Middleton* and
 ‘ *Lockhart* did also assert, there were not above four
 ‘ thousand Horse. So far short was our Number of
 ‘ what was appointed by the Parliament, and ge-
 ‘ nerally given out to be the Strength of our
 ‘ Army.

*N. Ibid. And were met some Time after by Sir Mar-
 maduke Langdale at the Head of four thousand Foot,
 and seven thousand Horse.*

‘ * *Sir Marmaduke Langdale*, (says *Rushworth*)
 ‘ hath about 3000 *Englisch*, that he can arm, and
 ‘ draw into the Field to joyn them. And *Rapin’s*
 Words are † *Langdale* joyn’d him, with four thou-
 sand Foot, and seven or eight hundred Horse.

He informs us, that after *Cromwell* had defeated
Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and *Duke Hamilton*, and
 settled all Matters to his Satisfaction,

*N. p. 488. He returned into England, October 11.
 laden with martial Glory and Renown.*

And so he did, but ’twas in the same Sense, that
 a Company of || *Highbway-Men*, or *Banditti* would.

* *Rushworth* Vol. 7. p. 1193.

† *Rapin* Vol. 12. p. 495. Lord *Clarendon* says (*Hist. of the Rebellion* Vol. 3.
 p. 125.) ‘ They were four thousand Foot, and seven or eight hundred Horse.

|| Mr. *Birkenhead*, in his *Paul’s Church Yard*. Cent. III. p. 19. puts this
 Query. ‘ Whether a *Thief* on the *Highbway* cannot justify his Designs, as well
 ‘ as a *Field Officer*, since they work both by the same Commission.

Mr. *Walker*, (in his *History of Independency* p. 95.) informs us, ‘ That *Crom-
 well* sold his *Welch* Prisoners for 12 Pounds a Head to be transported into bar-
 barous Plantations, whereby to expell the *Canaanites*, and make new Planta-
 tions in Old *England* for the Godly, the Seed of the Faithful; for this Faction
 ‘ (like the Devil) cry, *all is myne*.

Humorous enough is the Description given us by the *Loyal Satyrist* (p. 13.)
 of this great Hero, who return’d from his Butcheries, laden with martial Glory
 and Renown. ‘ *Cromwell* (says he) wants neither Wardrobe, nor Armour: his
 ‘ Face wears natural Buff, and his Skin may furnish him with a rusty Coat of
 ‘ Mail. You would think he had been *Chriftened* in a Lime-Pit, and tanned
 ‘ alive, but that his Countenance still continues Mangy. We cry out against
 ‘ Superstition, and yet Worship a Piece of *Wainscot*, and idolize an unblanch’d
 ‘ Almond. Certainly ’tis no *Human* Visage, but the Emblem of a *Mandrake*,
 ‘ one scarce handsom enough to have been the Progeny of *Hecuba*, had she
 ‘ welsh’d him, when she was a *Bitch*. His Soul too is as ugly as his Body;
 ‘ for who can expect a Jewel in the Head of a Toad. Yet this *Basilisk* would
 ‘ King

return laden with martial Glory and Honour, after obtaining a good Booty from the lawful Owners of it.

N. p. 491. *The Annotations on the Bible which go under their Name* (viz. of the Assembly of Divines) were neither undertaken nor revised by them, but by a Committee, who named the Commentators, and furnished them with Books.

And they had but little Reason to be proud of the Work when finished. A Specimen of their great Erudition, and Critical Acumen, the Reader may meet with in two or three of their Notes. Mr. Birkenhead informs us *, that their first Note on the Word *create*, is a Libel against Kings, for creating of Honours.

Their Words, *Gen. chap. i. 1. † Created.* 'The Hebrew Word *Bara* translated *Created*, is a Word in its proper Sense, proper and peculiar to God, and therefore should not be attributed to Men, how great soever, yet it is a familiar Phrase in the Stile of the Court to say, such a one was created *Earl*, or *Marquess*, or *Duke* of, &c. wherein, as the *Parasites* of Secular Princes make them like God in Power, and Greatness; so their Preachers and Chaplains should do their Endeavour that they should resemble their Maker in Justice and Goodness.

Their Note on *Jacob's Kids*, *Gen. xxvii. v. 9. Two good Kids.* 'Two Kids seem too much for one Dish of Meat for an old Man, but out of both he might take the choicest Parts, to make it dainty, and the Juice of the rest might serve for *Sauce*, or for the rest of the Family, which was not small.

Their Observation upon *Herod's Cruelty*, *Matthew ii. 16. Sent forth* 'Soldiers to kill the Children with-

'King it, and a Brewer's Horse must be a *Lion*. (See likewise Sir Philip Warwick's Character of him, (*Memoirs p. 247, &c.* 'Who (says Dr. South, *Sermons Vol. I. p. 334.*) 'that had seen such a Bankrupt beggarly Fellow as *Cromwell*, first entering the Parliament-House, with a thread-bare torn Cloke, and a greasy Hat, (and neither of them perhaps paid for) could have supposed that in the Space of so few Years, he should, by the Murder of one King, and Banishment of another, ascend the Throne, be invested in the Royal Robes, and want nothing of the State of a King, but the changing his Hat into a Crown?

* *Assembly Man*, p. 7.

† *Assembly's Annotations*, Edit. 1645. In one Volume Folio.

‘out any legal Tryal.’ ‘They commonly (says Mr. Birkenhead) follow the Geneva Margin, as those Seamen who understood not the Compass, crept along the Shore.

Mr. Neal gives us the Ordinance against *Blasphemy*, and *Heresie*, by which those Crimes were made Death; and observes upon it,

N. p. 497. *That it was one of the most shocking Laws that he has met with, and shews that the Governing * Presbyterians of those Times would have made a terrible Use of their Power; if it had been supported by the Sword of the civil Magistrate.*

What monstrous Opinions prevailed in those Times, the Reader may learn from Mr. Edward's Gangræna, and for an additional Instance or two, I shall take the Liberty of referring to the † *Margin*, and § *Appendix*.

* Mr. Long in his Review of Baxter's Life p. 260. observes, ‘That there needs no Rhetorick but our own Experience to teach us, that the little Finger of the Presbyterians is heavier than the Episcopal Loyns: And that Mr. Neal's favourite Independent Army did not fall much short of them, in this Respect, the following Instances sufficiently prove.

At a Council of Warre held at Sberborne in the County of Dorset 23th Daie of July Anno Domini 1646. [Dr. William's MS. Collections Vol. 14. No. 140.] ‘Tobyas Gray Trooper being accused for being drunk, for cursing, swearing, and profanening, the same being proved is sentenced to be burnt through the Tongue with a hot Iron—which is performed.” And Mr. Whitelock informs us (Memorials p. 436.) ‘That one Boutbolme a Quarter-master was tryed by a Council of War in March 1649. for Blasphemy, and sentenced to have his Tongue bored through with a hot Iron, his Sword broken over his Head, and to be cashiered the Army,’ and in another Place, (Memorials p. 450.) ‘That a Dragoonier in July 1650. was sentenced by a Court Marshall, to be burnt through the Tongue with a hot Iron, for blaspheming the Name of God, in a drunken Humour.

† The anonymous Author of the Letter to the Earl of Pembroke concerning the Times, printed in the Year 1647. makes the following Observation (p. 8.) ‘There is no Villany that can enter into the Imagination of Man, hath been left here uncommitted: No Crime from the highest Treason to the meanest Treipsals, but these Reformers are guilty of. What horrid Acts of Profaneness have been perpetrated up and down? The Monuments of the Dead have been rifled! Horses have been watered at the Church Font, and fed upon the holy Table! Widows, Orphans, and Hospitals have been commonly rob'd, and God's House hath been plunder'd more than any: With what infamous Blasphemies hath the Pulpit rung, one crying out that this Parliament was as necessary for our Reformation, as the coming of Christ was for our Redemption: Another belching out, That if God Almighty did not prosper this Cause, it were fitting he should change Places with the Devil. Another, That the worst Thing that our Saviour did, was making of the dominical Prayer, and saving the Thief upon the Cross. O immortal God! is it possible that England should produce such Monsters, or rather such infernal Fiends shaped with human Bodies?

Mr. Whitlock tells us (Memorials 449.) ‘That the Scots Ministers in their Prayers (1650.) say, “That if God will not deliver them from the Sectaries, he shall not be their God.”

§ Appendix. No. 78.

N. p.

N. p. 502. *The Names of the Divines appointed to attend his Majesty [at the Treaty of Newport] were Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Oldsworth.*

* Die Sabbati 2 Sept. 1648. ‘ Resolved, &c. That
‘ Dr. Juxon, and Dr. Duppa shall have Liberty to
‘ goe to the King to attend him during the Treaty.
‘ Resolved that † Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Dr.
‘ Oldisworth be not permitted to goe to the King be-
‘ ing under Restraint.

N. p. 503. *The first Day the Commissioners presented the King with three Bills — The third to recall all his Majestie’s Declarations. To this he readily consented, but excepted to the Preamble, in which were these Words:*
“ That the two Houses of Parliament had been necessi-
“ tated to enter into a War in their just and lawful De-
“ fense.” *Instead of which, the King proposed an Act of Indemnity; but the Commissioners insisting peremptorily upon it, as that without it they could not be safe, his Majesty with great Reluctancy consented, having first protested in Writing, “ That no Concession of his should*
“ *be binding, if the Treaty broke off without Effect.”*

Lord Clarendon observes upon it as follows.
‘ § However this Proposition was of so horrid and
‘ monstrous a Nature, so contrary to the known
‘ Truth, and so destructive to Justice and Govern-
‘ ment, that it seem’d to naturalize Rebellion, and
‘ to make it current in the Kingdome to all Poste-
‘ rity; that his Majesty could not forbear to tell
‘ them, “ That no Act of Parliament could make
“ that to be true, which was notoriously known to
“ be false; that this Treaty must be the Foundation

* Dr. Philip Williams’s MS. Collections. Vol. 15. No. 111. in Sir Edward Walker’s perfect Copies of Votes, &c. that passed in the Treaty of Newport. Printed 1705. Folio, p. 2.

† Mr. Wood says (*Athen. Oxon.* 1 Edit. p. 678.) ‘ That Dr. Gilbert Sheldon was imprisoned with Dr. Hammond in Oxon, and elsewhere, by the Visitors appointed by Parliament Anno 1648. to the End, that their Eminency in the University might not hinder their Proceedings, and to keep them both from attending the King at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight.

§ Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 164.

“ of the future Peace and Security, and what was
 “ herein provided for both could never be called in
 “ Question; that he was most willing that it should
 “ be made very penal to every Man to reproach an-
 “ other for any Thing he had done during the late
 “ Troubles, upon what Provocation soever. —
 “ To which they made no other Reply, and that
 “ unanimously, “ But that they could not believe
 “ themselves secure, if that Preamble was not en-
 “ tirely consented to.” And yet these *modest Com-*
missioners after they had stipulated for their own Se-
 curity, did not think it amiss, to sollicite the King
 to *except* some of his most loyal Subjects, and best
 Friends, from Indemnity, whose Names must ever
 be had in the highest Esteem, by all true Lovers of
 our Constitution.

* *Newport* the 13th of *October* 1648.

‘ Wee humbly desire your Majestie to give your
 ‘ Royall Assent to the Proposition ensueing concerning
 ‘ *Delinquents*.

That an Act be passed concerning Delinquents;
 as followeth.

First Branch.

That the Persons, who shall expect no Pardon, be
 onely these following.

Rupert
 and { *Count Palatines of Rhine.*
Maurice

James Earl of Darby, John Earle of Bristoll, Wil-
liam Earle of Newcastle, Francis Lord Cottington,
George Lord Digby, Matthew Wren Bishop of Ely,
Sir Robert Heath Knight, Doctor Bramhall Bishop of
Derry, Sir William Widdrington, Colonell George Go-
ring, Henry Jermin Esq; Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John
Biron, Sir Francis Doddington, Sir John Strangeways,
Mr. Endimion Porter, Sir George Ratcliffe, Sir Mar-

* *Dr. Pb. Williams's MS. Collections Vol. 9. No. 216. intituled, Treaties of Ux-*
bridge, and Newport, printed in Sir Edward Walker's perfect Copies p. 17, &c.
See Lord Clarendon's Remark against this proposed Bill of Exceptions. Vol. 3. p. 170.

maduke Langdale, Henry Vaughan Esq; now called Sir Henry Vaughan, Sir Francis Windebank, Sir Richard Greenville, Mr. Edward Hide, now called Sir Edward Hide, Sir John Marley, Sir Nicholas Cole, Sir Thomas Riddel, Jun. Sir John Culpepper, Mr. Richard Lloyd, now called Sir Richard Lloyd, Mr. David Jenkins, Sir George Strode, George Carteret Esq; called Sir George Carteret, Sir Charles Dallison Knight, Richard Lane Esq; now called Sir Richard Lane, Sir Edward Nicholas, John Ashburnham Esq; Sir Edward Herbert Knight, his Majestie's Attorney Generall.

And all *Papists, and Popish Recusants*, who have bene, now are, or shall be actually in *Armes*, or voluntarily assisting against the Parliament of *England*, and by Name.

The Marquesse of *Winton*, *Edward Earl of Worcester*, Lord *Brudenell*, *Carrel Mollineux Esq;* Lord *Arundell of Warder*, *Sir Francis Howard*, *Sir John Howard*, *Sir John Winter*, *Sir Charles Smith*, *Sir John Preston*, *Sir Basil Brooke*, Lord *Audley*, *Earl of Castlehaven*; *William Shelden of Beely Esq;* *Sir Henry Beddingfield*.

And all Persons who have had any Hand in the plotting, designing, or assisting the Rebellion of *Ireland*, * excepting such Persons who having only assisted the said Rebellion, have rendred themselves, or come in to the Parliament of *England*.

<i>Second Branch.</i>	<i>Sir John Weld.</i>
That <i>Humphery Bennet</i>	<i>Sir Robert Lec.</i>
<i>Esq;</i>	<i>Sir John Pate.</i>
<i>Sir Edward Ford.</i>	<i>John Ackland.</i>
<i>Sir John Penruddock.</i>	<i>Edmund Windham Esq;</i>
<i>Sir George Vaughan.</i>	<i>Sir John Fitzherbert.</i>

* A remarkable *Exception* this, of which every Reader will be able to judge, when he considers, how great the Clamour of the *English* Rebels was against King *Charles* the first, for admitting of a *Cessation* with the *Irish* Rebels: when they by their Treachery had put it out of his Power to defend his *Protestant* Subjects in that Kingdom, and had themselves scandalously betrayed them, by failing them in their promised Succours, and making use of that Money raised in *England* for their Support, in carrying on the Rebellion against him in *England*, as has been before observed.

Sir *Edward Lawrence.*

Sir *Ralph Dutton.*

Sir *Edward Walgrave.*

Sir *Edward Bishop.*

Sir *William Russel of Worcester-shire.*

Thomas Lee of Adlington Esq;

Sir *John Girlingington.*

Sir *Paul Neale.*

Sir *William Thorold.*

Sir *Edward Hussey.*

Henry Lingen Esq;

Sir *Henry Fletcher.*

Sir *Richard Minshull.*

Lawrence Halestead.

John Denham Esq;

Sir *Edmund Fortescue.*

Peter Saintbill Esq;

Sir *Thomas Tildistly.*

Sir *Henry Griffith.*

Michael Wharton Esq;

Sir *Henry Spiller.*

Mr. *George Benyon*, now
called Sir *George Benyon.*

Lord *Cholmely.*

Sir *Tho. Aston.*

Sir *Lewis Dives.*

Sir *Peter Osburne.*

Samuel Thornton Esq;

Sir *John Lucas.*

John Blaney Esq;

Sir *Thomas Chedle.*

Sir *Thomas Lyddel Senior.*

Sir *Philip Musgrave.*

Sir *John Digby of Nottinghamshire.*

Sir *Robert Owseley.*

Sir *John Mancy.*

Sir *Nicholas Kemish.*

Hugh Lloyd Esq;

Sir *Nicholas Crispe.*

Sir *Peter Ricaut.*

‘ Bee removed from his Majesty’s Councells, and
‘ be restrained from coming within the Verge of
‘ the Court, and that they may not without the Ad-
‘ vice and Consent of both the Houses of the Par-
‘ liament of *England* beare any Office, or have any
‘ Employment concerning the State, or Common-
‘ wealth, and in Case any of them shall offend therein
‘ to be guilty of high Treason, and incapable of anie
‘ Pardon from his Majestie, and their Estates to be
‘ disposed of as both Houses of the Parliament of
‘ *England* shall thinke fitte: and that one full third
‘ Parte upon the full Value of the Estates of the
‘ Persons aforesaid, made incapable of Employment
‘ as aforesaid, be employed for the Payment of publick
‘ Debts and Damages.

‘ And that the late Members, or any who pre-
‘ tended themselves late Members of either House of

Parliament, who have not only deserted the Parliament, but have also satte in the unlawfull Assembly at *Oxford*, called, or pretended by some to be a Parliament, and voted the Kingdome of *England* Traytors, and have not voluntarily rendred themselves before the last of *October* 1644. be removed from his Majesty's Councils, and be restrained from coming within the Verge of the Court, and that they may not without Advice and Consent of the Kingdome of *England*, bear any Office, or have any Employment concerning the State or Commonwealth, and in Case any of them shall offend therein, to be guilty of high Treason, and incapable of any Pardon by his Majesty, and their Estates to be disposed of as both Houses of Parliament in *England* shall think fit.

And that all Judges and Officers towards the Lawe-Common or Civil who have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, be incapable of any Place of Judicature or Office towards the Lawe-Common or Civil. That all Sergeants, Councillours, and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates, and Proctors of the Law-Common or Civil, who have deserted the Parliament, or adhered to the Enemies thereof, bee incapable of any Practice in the Law-Common or Civil, either in publique or private, and shall not be capable of any Preferment or Employment in the Commonwealth, without the Advice and Consent of both Houses of Parliament. And that no Bishop or Clergyman, Master or Fellow of any College or Hall, in either of the Universities, or elsewhere; or any Master of Schoole or Hospital, or any ecclesiastical Person, who hath deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, shall hold or enjoy, or be capable of any Preferment or Employment in Church or Commonwealth. But all their said severall Preferments, Places or Promotions shall be utterly void, as if they were naturally dead; nor shall they otherwise use their Function of the Ministry

‘ nistery without Advice, and Consent of both Houses of Parliament, provided that no Lapse shall incur by such Vacancy, untill six Moneths after Notice thereof.

Third Branch.

‘ That all Persons who have been actually in Armes against the Parliament, or have counselled or voluntarily assisted the Enemies thereof, are disabled to be Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Maiors, or other Head-Officers of any Citty or Corporation, Commissioners of Oyer or Terminer, or to sit or serve as Members, or Assistants, in either of the Houses of Parliament, or to have any military Employment in this Kingdome, without the Consent of both Houses of Parliament.

Fourth Branch.

‘ The Persons of all others to be free of all personal Censure, notwithstanding any Act or Thing done in, or concerning the Warre, they taking the Covenant.

Fifth Branch.

‘ The Estates of those Persons excepted in the first Branch, and the Estates of *Edward*, Lord *Littleton*, and of *William Laud*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to paye publique Debts and Damages.

Sixth Branch.

‘ That two full Parts in three to be divided of all the Estates of such late Members of either House of Parliament, who have not only deserted the Parliament, but have alsoe voted the Kingdome of *England* Traitors, and have not rendred themselves before the first of *December* 1645. shall be taken and employ’d for the Payment of the publick Debts and Damages of the Kingdome.

‘ And that two full Partes in three to be divided of the Estates of such late Members of either House of Parliament, as sate in the unlawfull Assembly at *Oxford*, and shall not have rendred themselves before the first of *December* 1645. shall be taken and employed for the Payment of the publique Debts

‘ and Damages of the Kingdome. And that one full
 ‘ Moitie of the Estates of such Persons, late Mem-
 ‘ bers of either of the Houses of Parliament, who
 ‘ have deserted the Parliament, and adhered to the
 ‘ Enemies thereof, and shall not have rendred them-
 ‘ selves before the first of *December* 1645. shall be
 ‘ taken, and employed for the Payment of the pub-
 ‘ lique Debts of the Kingdome. [Fanatical Repe-
 ‘ tition.]

‘ That a full third Part of the Value of the Estates
 ‘ of all Judges and Officers towards the Law-Com-
 ‘ mon, or Civil; and of all Serjeants, Councillours,
 ‘ and Attorneys, Doctors, Advocates and Proctors
 ‘ of Lawe-Common or Civil; and of all Bishops,
 ‘ Clergymen, Masters and Fellows of any College
 ‘ or Hall in either of the Universities or elsewhere;
 ‘ and of all Masters of Schools or Hospitals, and of
 ‘ all ecclesiastical Persons who have deserted the Par-
 ‘ liament, and adhered to the Enemies thereof, and
 ‘ have not rendred themselves to the Parliament be-
 ‘ fore the first of *December* 1645. shall be taken and
 ‘ employed for the Payment of publique Debts and
 ‘ Damages of the Kingdome.

‘ And that a full sixth Part on the full Value of
 ‘ the Estates of the Persons excepted in the third
 ‘ Branch, concerning such as have been actually in
 ‘ Armes against the Parliament, or have counselled,
 ‘ or voluntarily assisted the Enemies thereof, and
 ‘ are disabled according to the said Branch, bee taken
 ‘ and employed for the Payment of publique Debts
 ‘ and Damages of the Kingdome.

Seventh Branch.

‘ That the Persons and Estates of all common
 ‘ Soldiers and others of this Kingdome of *England*,
 ‘ who in Lands or Goods bee not worth two hun-
 ‘ dred Pounds Sterling, be at Libertie and dis-
 ‘ charged.

Eighth Branch.

‘ That the * *first of May last*, is now the Day limited for the Persons to come in, that are comprized in the former Branch, provided all, and every the *Delinquents*, which by, or according to the severall and respective Ordinances or Orders made by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, on, or before the 24th Day of *April 1647*. and are to be admitted to make their Fines or Compositions, under the Rates and Proportions of the Branch aforesaid, shall according to the said Ordinances and Orders respectively be thereunto admitted.

‘ And further also, that no Person or Persons whatsoever (except such, as having been in Armes, or voluntarily assisted against the Parliament, have by concealing their Qualitie, procured their Admission to Compositions) or which have already compounded, or shall hereafter compound, and be thereunto admitted by both Houses of Parliament, at any of the Rates and Proportions aforesaid, or under respectively, shall bee put to pay any other Fine then that they have or shall respectively soe compound for, (except for such Estates, or such of their Estates, and such Values thereof respectively, as have been, or shall be concealed or omitted in the Particulars whereupon they compound) and that all and every of them shall have thereupon their Pardons in such Manner and Forme, as is agreed by both Houses of Parliament.

‘ And that an Act be passed, whereby the Debts of the Kingdome, and the Persons of Delinquents, and the Value of their Estates may be known: And which Act shall appoint in what Manner the Confiscation, and Proportions before mentioned,

* *Fanatical Blunder*, to talk of Limiting their coming in to a Day, which was then past.

may be leavied, and applied to the Discharge of
the said Engagements.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne. {
Edm. Warcupp. { Secr. Commiss.

N. p. 504. *His Majesty consented to take away the Court of Wards, provided he might have 50 thousand Pounds a Year in Lieu.*

His Majesty consented to no such Terms, the Commons indeed offered *fifty thousand Pounds*, but at last came up to his Majesty's Terms, as appears from the following Papers.

* *Newport the 21. of October 1648.*

" Wee humbly desire your Majesty to give your
" Royal Assent to the Proposition Ensuing.

" That an Act, or Acts of Parliament bee passed
" for the taking away of the Court of Wards and
" Liveries, and of all Wardships, Liveries, Premier
" Seifins, and Ouster le Maines, and of all other
" Charges incident unto, or arising for, or by Reason
" of any Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seifins,
" or Ouster le Maines, and of all Tenures by Homage,
" Fines, Licenses, Seazures, and Pardons for
" Alienation, and of all other Charges incident or
" belonging thereunto: or for, or by Reason thereof
" from the 24th Daie of *February*, which was in the
" Year of our Lord God 1645. And that all Tenures
" by Knights Service, Grand Serjeanty, or
" Soccage in Capite, either of his Majesty, or of
" any other Person or Persons, may from the Time
" aforesaid be turned into free and common Soccage.
" And that the Somme of fifty thousand Pounds *per*
" *Annum* be granted to the King by way of Re-
" compence.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne. {
Edm. Warcupp. { Secr. Commiss.

* Dr. Williams's Manuscript Collections. Vol. IX. No. 235. Sir Edward Walker's Perfect Copies, &c. p. 69.

* *Charles R.*

" For a finall Answer to you, as to your Proposition, concerning the *Court of Wardes*, delivered
" in this Daie.

" His Majestie doth consent thereunto as is desired so as he may have in Recompence for the
" same one hundred thousand Pounds *per Annum* assured to him, his Heires and Successors.

Newport the 21st of *October* 1648.

Ex. *Ro. Blackborne.* }
Edm. Warcupp. } *Secr. Commiss.*

† *Newport* the sixth of *November* 1648.

" Resolved. &c. — That the King's Answer to the
" Propositions concerning the Payment of publique
" Debts, &c. is satisfactory.

" Resolved, &c. That the Houses doe consent
" to the King's Answer as to the taking away of
" *Wards* and *Liverys*, &c. and in lieu thereof doe
" agree that *one hundred thousand Pounds per Annum*
" be settled on the King, his Heirs and Successors,
" according to the Answer by the King to this Proposition. The same to bee settled by Act of Parliament to bee raised in such Manner as shall be
" thought fitt by both Houses of Parliament, and
" Provision therein made, that the same nor any Part
" thereof bee alienated from the Crowne. —

Ex. *Edm. Warcupp.* *Secr. Commiss.*

|| *Charles R.*

" His Majestie doth consent to the Votes of both
" Houses of the 4th of *November*, concerning the
" taking away of *Wards* and *Liveries*, &c. and for
" settling of one hundred thousand Pounds *per An-*

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. No. 236. Sir Edward Walker's Perfect Copies, &c. p. 69.*

† *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. No. 260. Sir Edward Walker's Perfect Copies p. 77.*

|| *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 9. No. 269. Sir Edward Walker p. 79.*

“ *num* upon his Majestie, his Heirs and Successors,
 “ as is therein mentioned.

Newport the 11th of *Novemb.* 1648.

Ex. *Edm. Warcupp.* Secr. Commiss.

N. p. 516. *The Parliament Commissioners in their last Paper No. 20. beseech him to consider, that it is not the Apostolical Bishop, which the Parliament desires him to abolish, but that Episcopacy which was formerly established by Law in this Kingdome, and had been found by Experience to be a Hindrance to Piety.*

N. p. 517. *But admitting Apostolical Bishops were within the Purport of this Bill, it does not follow, that therefore in Conscience it should not be passed, for we may not grant that no Occasion can make that alterable, which has Foundation only in the Practice of the Apostles, and not in Precept.*

To which the King returned the following Answer, not mentioned in *Mr. Neal*.

* *Charles R.*

“ For a final Answer to you as to the Paper of
 “ the † 11th of this Instant, concerning the Church,
 “ and to your last Paper of the 20th Instant: His
 “ Majesty says, That he is well pleased with the Ex-
 “ pressions both in the Preface and Conclusion of
 “ the said last Paper: That his two Houses intend not
 “ to force or offer Violence, but to inform and rec-
 “ tify his Conscience; and therefore notwithstanding
 “ the Necessity which is urged upon him through
 “ your whole Paper for his present Concessions,
 “ (which otherwise might seem to contradict those
 “ Expressions, which so well please his Majesty:)
 “ yet he hopes his ensuing Answers will satisfy his
 “ two Houses, since he is thereunto forced by his
 “ Conscience (which concurs with the Sense of all

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. p. 281. Newport 21st November 1648. Ex. Ro. Blackborne, Edw. Warcupp Secr. Commiss. Sir Edward Walker*
 p. 85. † *Sir Edward Walker* for 11th has printed 17th.

“ other Parliaments but this) since the Reforma-
 “ tion.

“ First, as for the Abolition of *Episcopacy*, if what
 “ you desire of his Majesty would not (being gran-
 “ ted) absolutely remove, nay abolish the Exercise
 “ of the *Apostolical* Bishop, this Point would be soon
 “ agreed, betwixt his Majesty and his two Houses,
 “ for all the additional Power and Jurisdiction which
 “ his Majesty’s Predecessors have bestowed upon
 “ that *Apostolical* Function, hee hath consented shall
 “ bee taken awaie; as *Archbishops*, *Deans* and *Chap-*
 “ *ters*, &c. leaving nothing but what (as his Ma-
 “ jesty believes to have proved by his Paper to your
 “ Divines) was clearly instituted by the *Apostles*
 “ themselves, and if he should give way to remove
 “ all Ecclesiastical Functions, which by Lawe are
 “ exercised; by that Rule, even the Presbyters them-
 “ selves may be taken away; for questionless, the
 “ civill Sanction gives the legal Acting-Power to all
 “ divine Institutions, otherwise the *Christian* Clergie
 “ would be in little better Case than they were be-
 “ fore there were *Christian* Emperours. As for
 “ those *Apostolical* Practices which have, or may (for
 “ the Avoidance of greater Evils) be altered; his
 “ Majesty denies not, but that Circumstances may
 “ change the Nature of Moral Actions, and may
 “ perhaps make that which is a Fault at one Time
 “ (singly considered in itself) become a Duty at an-
 “ other; yet if the Particulars now demanded be not
 “ fit to be done, or perhaps a Fault if done, his
 “ Majesty conceives, (the good End being the same
 “ on both Sides, to wit, the Peace of the Kingdome)
 “ That the Consideration of extraordinary Circum-
 “ stances ought rather in this Case to have a power-
 “ full Operation with his two Houses, to recede
 “ from their Demands, (which cannot be thought a
 “ Fault in them) then to be made use of as an Ar-
 “ gument to presse his Majestie to doe any Thing
 “ against his Conscience, which appears to him to
 “ be unlawfull; since the same good End maie as well

“ be obtained by relaxing on the one Side, as by
 “ pressing on the other. Besides his Majesty con-
 “ ceives not this to be of that Number; it being not
 “ only a bare Practice, but an Institution for con-
 “ tinual Use in the Church upon the whole Matter,
 “ his Majesty hopes, that his Houses (after a more se-
 “ rious Consideration of these and his former Reasons)
 “ will clearly discern, that they are not pretended,
 “ but real Points of Conscience, upon which he now
 “ sticks. And since upon the Suspension of *Episco-*
 “ *pacy* for three Years, his Majesty has fully for that
 “ Time, granted his two Houses Desires; since he
 “ has reduced the Office of a Bishop not only to the
 “ Apostolical Institution (which you say, is not de-
 “ sired to be removed) but likewise taken away all
 “ those additional Powers and Jurisdictions, which
 “ can make them lyable to the Imputation of those
 “ Grievances and Inconveniences mentioned in your
 “ Paper, (for as for the negative Voice in Ordination,
 “ his Majesty much wonders, that any can question
 “ that Power to have been in the *Apostolical* Bishops,
 “ it being evident by 1 of *Tim.* v. 22. *Tit.* i. 5. That
 “ sole Ordination was practised by them) since it is
 “ more than likely, that upon a solemn Debate had
 “ with the Divines according to his Majestie’s former
 “ Desires, his Majestie and the two Houses will agree
 “ upon a settled Form of Church Government long
 “ before the End of the three Years, whereby all
 “ those Distractions feared after that Time will be
 “ prevented.

N. p. 518. *The Commissioners* goe on, “ As for the
 “ Sale of Bishops Lands, which your Majesty conceives
 “ to be sacrilege, we humbly offer, that Bishopricks
 “ being dissolved, their Lands revert to the Crown,
 “ which is their Foundation and Patron, and hereto-
 “ fore held it no Sacrilege to dispose of Bishops Lands
 “ to its own and other Uses by Act of Parliament,
 “ which was an ordinary Practice in your Majestie’s
 “ Predecessors, Kings and Queens of this Nation. Be-
 “ sides, in all Ages, even under the Ceremonial Law,

“ *imminent and urgent Necessity have dispensed with the*
 “ *Alienation of consecrated Things.*

His Majesty's Answer (of which Mr. *Neal* thought not proper to take Notice) follows * “ Secondly, “ as for the Sale of Bishops Lands, his Majesty conceives that Precedents in Cases of Conscience cannot satisfy; they only proveing that such Things were done, not the Lawfulness of doing them. “ Now that the total Alienation of Church Lands, “ (which is the State of the Question) is *Sacrilege*, “ Divines of all Sorts, and of all Times, (though “ otherwise differing in Opinion, yet) therein agree “ with his Majesty's Judgment: which being well “ weighed, he hopes may satisfy, as to this Particular. Nor can the Practices of the Ceremonial Law make any Thing for this Case, because, in “ those Daies full Compensation was alwaies intended “ and ordinarily followed, though absolute Necessity “ (and not such as might be otherwise avoided) dispensed sundry Times with the Employing of sacred Things.

“ And lastly, as for Church Lands, since by the “ heavy Charging of them, his Majesty has satisfied “ those Burthens for which they were engaged: He “ cannot but hope, that his two Houses will rest satisfied with these and his two former Answers. “ Especially considering, that if the Treaty should “ break upon this (which God forbid) the Violence “ offered to his Majesty's Conscience, (against which “ you protest) would be too apparent to all the “ World. Besides the Confusion that must necessarily follow in all these his Dominions, which is no “ Waies in his Power to helpe. For you know who saies, *What is a Man profited, if he gain the whole World, and lose his own Soule.* Whereas by the “ contrary, the Compliance with his Majesty in “ these Particulars, puts him in a right way for the “ better Information of his Conscience, and in the

* *William's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. No. 281. Sir Edward Walker p. 86.*

“ mean

“ mean Time, settles a happy Peace in these distressed Kingdomes.

Newport the 21st of *November* 1648.

Ex. Ro. *Blackborne.* } *Secr. Commiss.*
Edm. Warcupp. }

Again, “ * As for the Bishops Lands, though
 “ his Majesty cannot consent to the absolute Alienation of them from the Church; yet he will agree,
 “ that the Propriety and Inheritance of them shall
 “ by Act of Parliament be settled in the Crown, to
 “ be declared in Trust for the Use of the Church
 “ and Church-Men to be employed by his Majesty,
 “ his Heires and Successors, with the Advise of the
 “ two Houses, for the Use aforesaid. And that Leases shall be made for Lyves or Years (not exceeding 99 Yeares) for the Satisfaction of the Purchaser and Contractors, according to his former Answers.
 “ Reserving the old Rents, or other moderate Rents
 “ for the Maintenance of those to whom they did formerly belong: and for the future Benefit of the
 “ Church.

Newport the 27th of *Nov.* 1648.

Mr. *Neal* in his learned Remarks upon this Treaty observes

N. p. 521. as follows. *The Truth is, as the King would not trust the Parliament, so neither would they the King.* That the King had Reason to distrust the Members at *Westminster*, I think I have produced sufficient Evidence already to prove; but that they had the least Reason to distrust the King, he has not produced as yet one single Proof, tho’ he has boldly asserted it over and over again. And I challenge him to produce one single Fact well attested in Support of his Assertion.

N. Ib. *Because they observed 1st His Dilatoriness in*

* Dr. *Williams’s MS. Collections.* Vol. 9. No. 300. Sir *Edward Walker* p. 98. and *Ult.*

the Treaty, as if he waited for some advantageous Turn of Affairs to revoke his Concessions.

They observed no such Thing, and it is manifest from the Manuscript Treaty still in being, (and Sir Edward Walker's Perfect Copies of all Votes, &c. of that Treaty) every Paper of which appears to have been compared with the Originals, and are signed by the two Secretaries of the Committee from the Members at *Westminster*, that there was not the least Delay on the King's Part. Tho' the Commissioners urged him over and over again, to come into such Propositions, as he declared were expressly against his Conscience and Opinion.

N. Ibid. 2dly *His resolutely disputing every Inch of Ground, without yielding a single Proposition.*

* For the Disproof of this Assertion we need only have Recourse to the Treaty itself, where in Variety of Instances, the King complies with what was propounded to him by the Commissioners. Two or three of which I shall take the Liberty of inserting, if not for Mr. Neal's, yet for the Reader's Satisfaction.

* *Newport the 21st of October 1648.*

" We humbly desire your Majesty to give your
" Royall Assent to the proposition ensuing.

" That the Chancellour or Lord Keeper, Lord
" Treasurer, Commissioners of the Great Seal or
" Treasury, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports,
" Chancellour of the Exchequer, and Dutchy; Se-
" cretaries of State, Master of the Rolls, Judges of
" both Benches, and the Barons of the Exchequer
" of the Kingdome of *England* be nominated by both
" Houses of Parliament of *England* to continue *quam-*
" *diu se bene gesserint*: and in the Intervals of Parlia-
" ment, by such Committees of both Houses of Parlia-
" ment as both Houses of the Parliament of *England*
" shall nominate, and appoint for that purpose, to

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. No. 226. Sir Edward Walker
pag. 66.

“ be approved or disallowed by both Houses at
 “ their next Sitting.

Copia vera. Ex.

Ro. Blackborne.

Edm. Warcupp.

} Secr. Commiss.

* *Charles R.*

“ For a final Answer to you, as to your Paper
 “ of the 21st Instant, concerning the Nomination of
 “ Officers.

“ His Majestie doth consent thereunto as is de-
 “ fired so as the Time for Nomination be lymited
 “ to ten Yeares.

Newport the 21st of October 1648.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne.

Edm. Warcupp.

} Secr. Commiss.

† *Newport the 21st of October 1648.*

“ Wee humbly desire your Majestie to give your
 “ Consent to the following Proposition concerning
 “ the City of *London*.

“ That an Act be passed for the granting and
 “ confirming of the Charters, Customes, Liberties,
 “ and Franchises of the City of *London*, notwith-
 “ standing any *Non-user*, *Misuser*, or *Abuser*, &c.

|| *Charles R.*

“ For a finall Answer to you, as to your Propo-
 “ sition, concerning the City of *London*.

“ His Majesty doth consent thereunto, as is de-
 “ fired.

Newport the 21st of October 1648.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne.

Edm. Warcupp.

} Secr. Commiss.

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. No. 227. Sir Edward Walker*
 pag. 67.

† *MS. Collect. Vol. 9. N. 229. Sir Edward Walker p. 67.*

|| *MS. Collect. Vol. 9. No. 230. Sir Edward Walker p. 67.*

* *Newport* the 21st of *October* 1648.

" Wee humbly desire your Majesty to give your
" Royal Assent to the Proposition ensuing.

" That all Grants Commissions, Presentations,
" Writts, Process, Proceedings and other Things
" passed under the Great Seale of *England*, in the
" Custody of the Lords and other Commissioners
" appointed by both Houses of Parliament for the
" Custodie thereof be, and by Act of Parliament
" with the Royal Assent, shall be declared and en-
" acted, to be of the first Force and Effect to all
" Intents and Purposes as the same or like Grants,
" Commissions, Presentations, Writs, Processes,
" Proceedings, and other Things under any Great
" Seale of *England*, in any Time heretofore were,
" or have been. And that for Time to come, the
" said Great Seale now remaining in Custody of
" the said Commissioners continue, and be used for
" the Great Seal of *England*.

" † And that all Grants, Commissions, Presen-
" tations, Writs, Processes, Proceedings and other
" Things whatsoever, passed under, or by any Au-
" thority of any Great Seale since the 22d Day of
" May *Anno Dom.* 1642. or hereafter to be passed
" be invalid, and of no Effect to all Intents and Pur-
" poses. Except such Writs, Prozesse, and Com-
" missions, as being passed under any other Great
" Seale, then the said Great Seale in the Custodie of
" the Commissioners aforesaid, on, or after the said
" 22d Day of *May*, and before the 28th Day of
" *November* Anno Domini 1643. were afterwards
" proceeded upon, return'd into, or put in Ure, in
" any of the King's Courts at *Westminster*. And ex-
" cept the Grant to Mr. Justice *Bacon*, to be one of

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collect. Vol. 9. No. 232. Sir Edward Walker p. 68.

† The Marquess of Ormonde in a Letter to Lord Digby 23 of July 1647.
Letters concerning State Affairs. Vol. 3. No. 561. p. 564.] observes as follows.
And lastly, the King hath already offered the Parliament to confirm all the
Acts done by their Great Seal, of which one was to determine my Com-
mission.

“ the Justices of the King’s Bench, and except all
 “ Acts and Proceedings by Vertue of any such Com-
 “ missions of *Gaol Delivery*, *Affize*, and *Nisi-Prins*,
 “ or *Oyer and Terminer* passed under any other Great
 “ Seale, then the Seale aforesaid in Custody of the
 “ said Commissioners before the first of October
 “ 1642.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne. { Secr. Commiss.
 Edm. Warcupp.

Here we have a remarkable Instance of *Fanatick Assurance*, in desiring a Confirmation of their own *Great Seal*, when both the making, and acting under it was high Treason by Statute, and at the same Time a Desire that the King would reverse all legal Grants, &c. made under his own Great Seal. And yet notwithstanding the Monstrousness of this Request, the good King consented to it, out of his great Desire for Peace.

* Charles R.

“ I answer to you, as to your Proposition con-
 “ cerning the *Great Seale*, delivered in this Day.

“ His Majesty doth consent thereunto as is de-
 “ fired.

Newport 21. Octob. 1648.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne. { Secr. Commiss.
 Edm. Warcupp.

These few Instances (out of many) sufficiently prove the Groundlessnes of Mr. Neal’s Assertion, that his Majesty disputed every Inch of Ground without yielding a single Proposition. Which contradicts what he says in the same Paragraph, that the King’s Concessions were certainly a sufficient Foundation for Peace with the Presbyterians, if they could have been relied upon, and were so voted by the Parliament when it was too late, and what in his Preface to this Volume p. 5. he

calls the King's most reasonable Concessions at Newport.

N. p. 521. They suspected his Sincerity, because the Duke of Ormond was at this very Time treating with the Irish Rebels by his Majesty's Commission, which he would not recall.

Here again he asserts too positively.

* Charles R.

" For a finall Answer to you as to your Paper of the 25th of this Instant, concerning the Proceedings of the Lord of Ormond in Ireland; his Majesty saith, That he well hoped, that by this Time such a happy Conclusion of this Treaty would have been made, that by his former Answer, his two Houses might have obtain'd what they desired in this Particular.

" But assuring himself, that his large Concessions in this Treaty, will ere long be the Foundation of a blessed Peace; his Majesty to manifest the Clearness of his Intentions, in that Matter, and to give his two Houses Satisfaction, hath written, and delivers herewith unto you his Letter to the Marquis of [†] Ormond, acquainting him with such Informa-

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 9. No. 291. Sir Edward Walker p. 95.

† In what Esteem the Earl of Ormond was with the Commons that stayed at Westminster in 1642. appears from their following Note, *Die Mercurii 4 Maii* 1642. ' A Letter from the Earl of Ormond to Sir Thomas Wbarton was this Day read in the Commons House of Parliament; wherein he taketh Notice of some Misreports that he conceiveth he suffereth under on this Side. It is this Day ordered that in a Letter appointed to be sent to the Earl of Ormond, Notice be taken of Apprehensions of some Misreports he lieth under here on this Side, and that he may be satisfied what Clearness of Esteem he standeth in here, and that Mr. Hollis doe prepare this Letter. And it is further ordered, That 500 Pound shall be laid out in a Jewell to be bestowed on the Earl of Ormond, and that Mr. Wheeler doe forthwith issue the Monies, and that Mr. Hollis, Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Milman, and Mr. Jenner doe employe their Pains in buying this Jewell, and that Mr. Arthur Goodwin doe move the Lords to joyn with this House in beseeching his Majesty to make the Earl of Ormond Knight of the Garter. *Hen. Elsing. Cl. P. Dom. Com. Collections of Letters. Vol. 3.* published by Mr. Tho. Cart 1735. No. 76. p. 71. See No. 92. p. 90. 91. No. 93. p. 92. No. 106. p. 104. Ludlow's Memoirs (Vol. 1. p. 64.) says, ' This Jewell was given as a Testimony of their Acceptance of his Service at the Battle of Roffe, where there was above 40. of his own Name and Kindred kill'd upon the Place and the Enemy totally routed. See Letters concerning State Affairs. No. 92. 93. 106.

“ tions as he has received from the two Houses con-
 “ cerning his Proceedings in that Kingdome, and
 “ requiring him to desist from any farther Prosecu-
 “ tion of the same. And in Case he shall refuse, his
 “ Majesty will then make such publique Declaration
 “ against his Power and Proceedings as is desired.

Newport 25 Novemb. 1648.

Ex. Ro. Blackborne. { Secr. Commiss.
 Edm. Warcupp.

The Rest of his Remarks may be *equally true*, and
 tho' they probably don't shew the Unfaithfulness,
 yet prove the great Inaccuracy of *our Historian*.

But he informs us

N. p. 523. That the King's Chaplains *had Pos-
 session of his Majesty's Conscience and directed his An-
 swers.*

This is not the first Time of his asserting it. And
 what Truth it has in it, we learn from the King's
 Answer to Mr. *Vines* one of the Parliament Divines
 at *Newport*. Mr. Secretary *Oudart*, one that attended
 the King at that Time observes, “ That the King's
 “ Divines having finished their Paper in Answer to
 “ that of the others, his Majesty caused it to be read
 “ in the Presence of the Bishops, and Divines of both
 “ Sides, and desired, that the Commissioners, Ser-
 “ vants, and others having been present at the read-
 “ ing of that, might also be admitted to hear
 “ this.

“ His Majesty delivered the Paper to Mr. *Vynes*,
 “ who asked, if his Majesty did expect then an An-
 “ swer, or would be content to grant a longer Time,
 “ (which would be requisite for a well weighed An-
 “ swer) if the Commissioners would be content to
 “ permit their Pains to be employed therein.

“ His Majesty said, he was not so severe as to de-
 “ fire a present Answer; but would be glad if in con-
 “ venient Time, they should have any Thing to of-

* *Oudart's MS.* Diary fol. 9. 6. Mr. *Pesk's* Desiderata Curiosa. Vol. 2. Lib.
 30. p. 6.

fer, which was material to the Points in Hand :
 professing, that therein lay his * Scruples which
 yet were not satisfied; although he acknowledged
 himself not to have absolute Skill in what was set
 downe in this his Paper in every Part of it; that he
 relied for those Particulars upon such honest Men
 as he was assured would not deceive him. Where-
 upon Mr. *Vynes* took the Freedome to observe,
 " That then possibly those Scruples were not so
 much his Majesty's as other Mens." Whereat his
 Majestie a little warmly replied, " That it was a
 Mistake; for his *Scruples were really his own*, and
 contain'd in his first Paper: But in this larger
 Paper they were explained, and enlarged only,
 by way of Answer to that Paper they had given
 him in order to his Satisfaction upon them."

N. p. 524. *The forty Days to which the Treaty was limited being ended October 28. it was prolonged for seven Days, then for fourteen, and so on to the 28th of November.*

It was prolonged first for 14 Days.

" † *Sabbati 28. Octobris 1648.* Resolved by the
 Lords and Commons, that the Treatie be conti-
 nued for 14 Days longer.

He informs us from the Noble Historian

N. p. 525. *That the King sent the Prince of Wales a Journal of the Proceedings of the Treaty, and an exact Copy of all the Papers that had passed to the 29th of November, together with a Letter of six Sheets of Paper written with his Majesty's own Hand, containing the Reasons and Motives of all his Concessions. The Conclusion of the Letter his Lordship says deserves to be preserved in Letters of Gold [And so say § other Historians] as it*

* The Writer of Bishop *Sanderfon's* Life (p. 20.) informs us, " That the King was told by a faithful and private Intelligencer, " That if he assented not to the Parliament Proposals, the Treaty betwixt him and them would break immediately, and his Life would then be in Danger, he was fure, he knew it. To which his Answer was, I have done what I can to bring my Conscience to a Compliance with their Proposals, and cannot, and I will not lose my Conscience to save my Life.

† Dr. *Williams's* MS. Collections, Vol. 15. No. 134. See Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. Vol. 3. p. 171.

§ Bishop *Kennet's* Complete Collections, Vol. 3. p. 165. *Echard's* History of England, Vol. 2. p. 618.

gives the best Character of that excellent Prince; but the Copy does not in my Opinion resemble the Original.

Probably it may not, tho', I presume, it does in every other Person's, who is not a profest Republican, or a Favourer of them at least. But he tells us, That he is unwilling to suspect the Genuineness of this Letter, though there were so many Forgeries put upon the World, at this Time, to advance his Majestie's Piety and Virtue, that one can hardly feel the Ground he treads on.

Or in other Words, he is unwilling to suspect the Genuineness of this Letter, and yet at the same Time willing to suspect it. And as to the Forgeries, he is so wise as to leave us in the Dark concerning them. Perhaps his curious Manuscript, or his Volumes of Pamphlets without Title or Date, if accessible, might set this Matter in a true Light. One remarkable Thing mentioned by Secretary Oudart, (which Mr. Neal may probably rank amongst his Forgeries) I shall take the Liberty of inserting in the * Margin.

* Oudart's MS. Diary. Folio 10. B. Peck's Desiderata Curiosa. Vol. 2. B. X. p. 7. 7 October 1648.

1. This Evening happened a very memorable Thing.
2. A young Gentlewoman of about 16 Years of Age, Elizabeth Stephens of Winchester, came into the Presence Chamber to be touch'd for the Evil, which she was supposed to have, and therewith one of her Eyes, (that namely of the left Side) was so much indisposed, that by her own and her Mother's Testimony (who was then also present) she had not seen of that Eye above a Month before.

3. After Prayers read by Dr. [Robert] Sanderson, the Maid kneeled down among others likewise to be touched; and his Majesty touched her, and put a Ribbon with a Piece of Money at it in usual Manner about her Neck: which done his Majesty turned to the Lords [viz. the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, and the Earl of Lindsey,] to discourse with them. And the said young Gentlewoman of her own Accord, said openly, now God be praised I can see of this sore Eye, and afterwards declared she see more and more by it, and could endure the Light of the Candle: All which his Majesty in presence of the said Lords, and very many others examined himself, and found to be true.

4. And it has since been discover'd, that some Months ago, the said young Gentlewoman professed, that as soon as she was come of Age sufficient, she would convey over to the King's Use all her Land, which to the Value of about 130 Pounds per Annum, her Father had left her sole Heir unto.

Mr. Whitelock (Memorials p. 482.) observes, ' That Letters inform'd the Great Resort of the People to the King to be cured of the King's Evil. Whereupon the House ordered a Declaration to be drawn, to inform the People of the Superstition of being touched by the King for the Evil. [See likewise Salmon's Chronological Historian p. 94.] A Declaration against notorious Fact, a Practice but too common with the State-Jugglers of those Times.

N. p. 527. *Whilst the Resentments of the Army ran thus high, their Officers who were high * Enthusiasts, but otherwise Men of sober and vertuous Morals, kept several Days of Fasting and Prayer at Saint Albans, till at length being in deep Despair, and having worked themselves up to a kind of spiritual Phrensy, they entred upon the most desperate Measures, resolving to assume the sovereign Power into their Hands, to bring the King to Justice, and to set aside the Covenant, and change the Government into a Commonwealth.*

I doubt not but James Clement the Monk, who murdered Henry the third, King of France. Ravillac, who murdered Henry the 4th, or Ap-Evans, (mentioned in my Answer to his second Volume) who murdered his Mother and Brother, for kneeling at the Sacrament, taking it to be Idolatry, might with their *Enthusiasm* have pleaded an equal Right to *Sobriety* and † *virtuous Morals*, with these wicked and blasphemous *Enthusiasts*.

N. p. 529. December 11. *A Paper called the Agreement of the People was presented to the General, and the Council of Officers as a Rule for future Government.*

* Sir William Dugdale (Short View of the Troubles p. 367.) observes, ' That a Godly Woman out of Herefordshire, (the News Books of that week call her a Virgin) came to the General and Council of War at White Hall, and said, she had a Revelation from God, whereby she was incited to encourage them to goe on in their Design, of which they made no small Advantage, approving thereof as most seasonable at that Time, and accordingly proceeded. First voting: *That the People were under God, the Original of all Power. Secondly, That the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the People, were the supreme Power of the Nation. Thirdly, That whatsoever is enacted or declared for Law, by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, has the Force of Law.* In Pursuance of which, they framed their Bloody Ordinance. [viz. for the King's Tryal.] See Salmon's Chronological Historian. p. 99.

† Dr. South informs us. (Sermons Vol. 1. p. 368.) ' That the Illuminati of the late Times professedly laid down this, as the Basis of all their Proceedings; that whatsoever they said, or did, for the present, under such a Measure of Light, should oblige them no longer, when a greater Measure of Light should give them other Discoveries. And in another Place (Vol. 1. p. 406.) That in the late Rebellion it was this insolent and impudent Pretence, that emboldened the worst of Men to wade through the Blood of the Best of King's and the Loyallest of Subjects; namely, that in all that Risk of Villany their Hearts, forsooth, were right towards God: and that all their Plunder and Rapine was for nothing else but to place Christ on his Throne; and to establish amongst us the Power of Godliness, and the Purity of the Gospel by a farther Reformation (as the Cant goes) of a Church, which had but too much felt the Meaning of the Word before.

'Twas supposed to be drawn up by * Ireton, and proposed a Dissolution of the present Parliament, and a new one to be chosen consisting of 300 Members.

The Words in the *Agreement of the People*, (which prove Mr. Neal's Mistake as to Numbers,) are as follow. ' † That the People of *England* (being at this ' Day very unequally distributed by Burroughs for ' Election of their Representatives) be indifferently ' proportioned: as to this End, that the *Representative* of the *whole Nation* shall consist of *four hundred* ' *Persons*, or not above; and in each County, and ' the Places thereto subjoyn'd, there shall be such ' chosen to make up the said Representative at all ' Times, the several Numbers here mentioned. Which ' are 357.

N. p. 530. *The House of Commons, if they now deserv'd that Name, (viz. after the Members were excluded) voted his Majesty's || Concessions at the Isle of Wight not satisfactory.*—

They went further, and § resolved, *Die Mercurii*
13 Decemb.

* Mr. Wood confirms Mr. Neal's Account and says, That Ireton was the Author of the *Agreement of the People*, (as well as the villanous Remonstrance of *Fairfax*, and the Officers at *Saint Albans* 1648.) and that the *Agreement*, &c. was judiciously answered by *William Asburst* Esq; a Parliament Man for *New-ton* in *Lancashire*, and a *Presbyterian*. (*Athenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. p. 81. 1st Edit.)

† *Agreement of the People.* See Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. 23. No. 38. An Original, upon two large Skins of Parchment, printed 1649. p. 8. Publick Library Cambridge 19. 7. 34.

|| That famed Incendiary Mr. Peter Smart, Prebendary of *Durham*, has the following Words in a Letter to Mr. Tho. Marshall, &c. Sept. 6. 1648. (See Illustration of Mr. Daniel Neal's History of the Puritans in the Article of Mr. Peter Smart p. 138. *Durham* 1736.) ' The Treaty between the K. and Parliament ' goeth on very well in the Isle of *Wight*. The King denieth nothing they ' request; and he hath knighted Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*. The Lord send a ' good Conclusion, that we may have Peace and Justice.

§ Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections Vol. 15. No. 138. Sir William Dugdale (Short View of the Troubles p. 366.) tells us, ' That after the Ordinance for ' the King's Tryal was agreed on in the Rump, and was sent up to the Lords ' by Lord Grey of Groby, it was by them rejected. Some of the Commons were ' so fierce against the Lords for this Refusal, that they moved for an Impeachment to be framed against them, for thus favouring the Grand Delinquent of ' *England*. (See likewise Heatb's Chron. p. 194.) And Mr. Rushworth informs us (Vol. 7. p. 1389.) ' That Mr. Pryn was taken into Custody Januar. 10. ' 1648. for denying the Parliament's Supremacy. And yet these rebellious Members had before (*Rushworth*. Vol. 7. p. 1006.) ' Order'd the Parliament's ten ' Commandments, the Creed, and the New Testament of our Lords and Saviours, ' the House of Commons, to be burnt by the Common Hangman, and a hundred Pounds

13 December 1648. " That the Vote of the fifth of
 " December 1648. That the Answer of the King to
 " the Propositions of both Houses, are a Ground
 " for the House to proceed upon for the Settle-
 " ment of the Peace of the Kingdome, is highly
 " dishonourable to the Parliament, and destructive
 " to the Peace of the Kingdome, and tending to the
 " Breach of the publick Faith of the Kingdome."
 And Mr. Neal justly enough questions their right to
 be called a House of Commons. For they were now
 literally the Rump of a Parliament, or in Mr. * Heath's
 Words, the Offals of a Parliament.

N. p. 537. None of the Independent Ministers that
 I know of, declared their Approbation of the Proceed-

^c Pound reward to any who should discover the Author or Printer of the said
^c Pamphlets, &c.

'Tis remarkable that this wicked Spirit should prevail almost all over Europe
 about the same Time. Chevalier Ramsay in his History of the Viscount Turenne,
 (Translated 1736. Vol. 1. p. 150.) observes, ' That about the middle of the seventeenth
 Century, a Spirit of Rebellion, and Confusion spread itself over all Europe.
 " Joseph Alexi, a Man from among the Lees of the People, drove the Viceroy
 ' of Sicily from his Palace.

" Mossianello, a Wretch that sold Fish at a Stall raised an Insurrection at
 " Naples. [See Lord Alexander Giraffi's Exact History of the Revolutions in
 Naples, translated by James Howell Esq; 1664. Collier's Dictionary.] " Paul
 " Balbi attempted to change the Government of Genoa.

" Cromwell, the most daring artful Spirit that ever disturb'd the Peace of the
 " World, pushed the Rebellion in England against King Charles the first, to the
 " monstrous Crime of deliberate Regicide.

" The Janisaries of Constantinople dethroned the Sultan Ibrahim 1648, and
 " they strangled him August 18. 1649. [Collier's Dict. Vol. 1. Sir Paul Ricaut's
 History of the Turkish Empire, from 1623. to 1677. p. 78, 79.]

" In France, the Prime Nobles of the Kingdome took up Arms against their
 " Sovereign.

And we are informed by Marchmont Nedham, once a Cavalier, then a Fa-
 vourer of the Usurpation in England. (Mercurius Politicus. Numb. 322. p. 7163.
 penes me.) That a few Years after 1656. " At Lucca, one Pisani a Traytor
 " was executed for having attempted to kill all the Nobility, and change the
 " Government." Nor were there wanting Instances of this wicked Spirit in
 other Parts of the World, as appears from the Rebellion raised in China, by
 those two Rebels, Cham, and Ly, against the Emperour Zunkin, about the middle
 of the same Century (1644.) which occasioned the Death of the Emperour and
 Royal Family; for he being pressed hard in his Capital of Pekin by these Re-
 bels (who had made themselves Masters of six Provinces) kill'd his only Daughter
 to prevent her becoming a shameful Prey to the Rebels, and immediately after he
 and his Empress hang'd themselves, which made Way for the Conquest of the
 Tartars, over the 16 Provinces of China. [See History of the Conquest of China,
 written by Senior Palafox, Bishop of Cosma, and Viceroy of Mexico, 2d Edit.
 translated 1676. Gemelli-Careri's Voyage round the World. Collection of Travels,
 Folio. Vol. 4. 2d Edit. 1732. p. 366, 367. Mr. Salmon's Modern History.
 Vol. 1.

* Heath's Chronicle p. 193.

ings of the Council of Officers in the Tryal of the King, except * Hugh Peters, and John Godwin the Arminian.

The famed Dr. John † Owen in a Sermon preached the Day after the King's Murder, has the following remarkable Passages, which I think plainly discover his Approbation of that execrable Parricide. ' As the flaming Sword (says he) turns every Way, so God can turn it into every Thing. To those that cry, give me a King, God can give him in his Anger, and from those that cry, take him away, God can take him away in his Wrath.

John Owen's Fast Ser. before the Commons. Januar. 31. 1648. p. 3. [penes me.]

' || When Kings turn Seducers, they feldome want good Store of Followers. Now, if the Blind lead the Blind, they shall both fall into a Ditch: When King's command unrighteous Things, and the People suit them with willing Compliance, none doubts but the Distruction of them both is just and righteous. [Id. p. 5.]

* Peters (says the Writer of the Letter to the Earl of Pembroke 1647. p. 9.) is known by thousands to be an infamous, juggling, and scandalous Villain, among others, he got the Mother and Daughter with Child, as it was offer'd to be publicly proved. The Writer of the *Bibliotheca Parliamenti* calls him (p. 2.) the *Ginger Bread Prophet*, and late Pastor to a hunger-starv'd Flock at *Salem in New England*, and in another Place (p. 4.) mentions his holding a criminal Correspondence with a *Butcher's Wife*.

† Mr. Wood informs us [*Atben. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 149. 2d Edit.*] That John Owen, Dean of *Christ Church* in *Oxon*, preach'd *Ireton's* Funeral Sermon (not without some Blasphemy) on *Daniel xii. 13.* And in Proof, that afterwards in King *James's* Reign he complied with the Times, Mr. Long informs us (Review of *Mr. Baxter's Life* p. 154.) ' That the Author of the Defence of the Bishop of *Worcester* [viz. Dr. Sberlock] desired Dr. Owen to resolve him, why a Fast was appointed by a certain Independent Pastor at that Time on the fifth of November, which (as he notes) is no Popish Festival. Wood calls him (*Atben. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 707. 2d Edit.*) *Time Server General of England*.

|| Mr. Wood informs us, (*Atben. Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 738. 2d Edit.*) ' That in the latter End of 1648. when King *Charles* the first was beheaded, John Owen in his Discourse and Sermons applauded the Regicides, and declared the Death of that most admirable King to be just and righteous, preached against *Charles* the second, and the loyal Party, and speaking of this Sermon (p. 741.) He observes, That in his Epistle Dedicatory he doth insolently father the most hellish Action of the preceding Day on the great Dispensation of Providence, &c. — The Positions of which Sermon were condemn'd by the University of *Oxford* 21 July 1683. as pernicious and damnable, and burnt by the Hand of their Marshal in the *School Quadrangle*, before the Members of the said University.

N. p. 540. One Saturday his Majesty being brought the last Time to the Bar, when persisting to disown the Jurisdiction of the Court, but desiring to be heard in the Painted-Chamber by the Lords and Commons, his Request was denied, and the President pronounced * Sentence upon him as a Traytor, fifty nine being present, and signifying their Concurrence by standing up.

Sir William Dugdale informs us, ‘ † That a most insolent Speech was made by || Bradshaw the President,

‘ * How greatly have our Fathers finned, (says Dean Lockier in his 30th of January Sermon before the House of Commons 1725. p. 21.) the Authors and Actors of this Day’s Tragedy, who contrary to all Laws, to their own Remonstrances and Protestations, wherein they solemnly profess’d, that they never intended the least Hurt, Injury or Violence to the King’s Crown, Person or Dignity, audaciously presumed to usurp to themselves the Title of the *supreme Authority* of the Kingdom, against the Majority of the House of Commons, and the unanimous Votes of the Peers, and most wickedly erected an execrable Crew into what they called a *High Court of Justice*; wherein a Set of Men who had vow’d his Majesty’s Destruction, and thirsted after his Blood, not only refused to admit his just Reasons and Exceptions against their *usurp’d Jurisdiction*, but proceeded traiterously to condemn and murder him, and sacrificed to their Lust, Ambition and Cruelty their King and Country, their Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties, and all Duties Divine and Human: a Fact that as it has no Example, so it admits of no Aggravation. Again (p. 24.) What solemn Protestations were there before God, that they design’d nothing but the King’s Glory and Safety, whilst they were undermining his Throne, and attacking his Life? Oaths were taken with an Intent to be broke, and to deceive those that trusted in them; and Perjury instead of being stigmatiz’d as the highest Wickedness, was dignified by the Name of Dexterity and Cunning.

† Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 372. Ecclard’s History of England, Vol. 2. p. 638. Heath’s Chron. p. 215. ‘ These Regicides (says Dr. Perinchief, Life of King Charles p. 56.) seem’d to be pleas’d with their Sentence upon the King. Upon a Report from the Council of State (says Whitelock, Memorials p. 461.) of all the Proceedings of the *High Court of Justice* upon the Trial of the King, the House ordered them to be recorded amongst the Records of Parliament, and to be transmitted into the Chancery, and other Courts of Westminster, and to the *Custos Rotulorum* of the several Counties. Ludlow the Regicide confirms this. (Memoirs Vol. 1. p. 284.)

|| Mr. Birkenhead (in his Paul’s Church Yard Cent. iii. p. 19.) reflects in the following Manner upon that execrable Villain Bradshaw. ‘ Resolved that John Bradshaw Esq; be dispatch’d before, as a lieger Embassadour to the Black Prince, to bespeak fit Accommodations for Horse and Man. And because his Services towards the Advancement of that Kingdom have been extraordinary, Old Nick may have Time to gratify his Lordship with some especial Office at Court near himself. And in a Tract intitled, *Bibliotheca Parliamenti*, Anno Domini 1653. p. 5. is the following Query. ‘ Whether Bradshaw deserves not the Place of President again, there hardly being his Precedent in the World for his Villanies. And Mr. Younger (in his Brief View of the late Troubles and Confusions in England Published 1660. p. 54. penes me.) calls him a poor Petty-fogging Lawyer, but of an audacious, and impudent Forehead. Lord Clarendon says (Vol. 3. p. 189.) ‘ That with great Humility he accepted the Office, which he administered with all the Pride, Impudence and Superciliousness imaginable: That he was presently invested in great State and many Officers, and a

' sident, there being then present no less than seventy
 ' two of his bloody Murtherers, called Judges, who
 ' standing up avowed the same, the * Names of
 ' which, says he, I have noted with an *Asterism*. And
 ' upon Sunday (28 of *January*) some of the † *Gran-*
 ' *dees* came and tendred him a Paper-Book with
 ' Promise of Life, and some Shew of Regality, in
 ' case he would subscribe it, which contain'd many
 ' Particulars distructive to the Religion established,
 ' to the Laws of the Land, and to the Libertys and
 ' Propertys of the People, whereof one was, that he
 ' should pass an Act for keeping on foot their Army
 ' during the Pleasure of such as they should nomi-
 ' nate, to be intrusted with the Militia, with Power
 ' from Time to Time, to recruit and continue them
 ' to the Number of || *forty thousand Horse, and Foot,*
 ' under

' Guard assign'd for the Security of his Person and the *Dean's* House at *Westminster*
 ' given to him for ever for his Residence and Habitation; and a good Sum of Money
 ' about five thousand Pounds appointed to be presently paid him, to put himself in
 ' such an Equipage and Way of living, as the Dignity of his Office would re-
 ' quire. [See *Echard's Hist.* Vol. 2. p. 626.]

* *Mr. Echard* (Vol. 2. p. 636.) names 66. and *Dr. Nalson* (*Journal of the*
King's Tryal) gives the Names of 68.

† *Dr. South* Characterizes these *Grandees*, the *King's Judges*, in the following
 Manner. (30th of *Jan.* Ser. Vol. 5. p. 79.) ' To consummate their Villany,
 ' the *Gown* was called in, to complete the Execution of the *Sword*, and to make
 ' *Westminster Hall* a Place for taking away Lives, as well as Estates; a *New*
 ' Court was set up, and *Judges* pack'd, who had nothing to doe with *Justice*,
 ' but so far as they were fit to be the *Objects* of it. In which they first of all
 ' begin with a Confutation of the *Civilians* Notion of Justice and Jurisdiction,
 ' it being with them no longer an *Act of the supreme Power*, as it was ever be-
 ' fore defined to be. Such an *Inferiour Crew*, such a *Mechanick Rabble* were they;
 ' having not so much as any Arms to shew the World, but what they wore and
 ' used in the Rebellion; that when I survey the List of the *King's Judges*, and
 ' the *Witnesses* against him, I seem to have before me a Catalogue of all *Traders*,
 ' and such as might better have filled the *Shops in Westminster Hall*, than late
 ' upon the Benches. Some of which came to be Possessours of the *King's*
 ' *Houses*, who before had no certain dwelling but the *King's High-way*, and
 ' some might have continued *Tradesmen* still, had not want and Inability to trade,
 ' sent them to a quicker and surer Way of Traffick, the Wars.

|| To judge of the Mildness of the *King's Government*, we need only refer to
 the ingenious *Mr. Cowley's* Account of the monstrous Tyranny of *Cromwell's* U-
 surpation. (*Discourse of the Government of Oliver Cromwell.* Works, 3d Edit. Folio
 p. 57.) ' There would be no End (says he) to instance in all the Particulars of
 ' his Wickedness; but to sum up a Part of it briefly; what can be more ex-
 ' traordinarily wicked, than for a Person to endeavour not only to exalt
 ' himself above, but to trample upon all his Equals and Betters? To pretend
 ' Freedom for all Men, and under the Help of that Pretence to make all Men
 ' his Servants? To take Arms against Taxes of scarce two hundred thousand Pounds

under their present Generals and Officers, and that the Council of War should have Power to make Choyce of New Officers and Generals, from Time to Time as Occasion should happen, and they think fit: as also to settle a Tax upon the People by Way of Land-Rate for supporting the same Army to be collected and levied by the Soldiers themselves, and for the establishing a Court Marshal of extraordinary Extent. But as soon as his Majesty had read some few of those tyrannous Proposals, he threw them aside, saying, "That he would rather become a *Sacrifice* to his People, than thus betray their Laws, Libertys, Lives, and Estates, with the Church, the Commonwealth and Honour of the Crown to so intolerable a * Bondage of an armed Faction."

*a Year, and to raise them himself to almost two Millions? to quarrel for the loss of three or four Ears, and strike off three or four hundred Heads? to fight against an imaginary Suspicion of I know not what, two thousand Guards—to be fetch'd for the King, I know not from whence; and to keep for himself no less than forty thousand?—To undertake the Reformation of Religion, to rob it even to the very Skin, and then to expose it naked to the Rage of all Sects and Heresies? to set up Councils of Rapine, and Courts of Murder? to fight against the King under a Commission for him, and take him forcibly out of the Hands of those for whom he had conquer'd him; to draw him into his Net with Protestations and Vows of Fidelity, and when he had caught him in it, to butcher him with as little Shame, as Conscience or Humanity, in the open Face of the whole World? to receive a Commission for King and Parliament, to murder the one, and destroy no less impudently the other? to fight against Monarchy when he declared for it, and to declare against it when he contrived for it in his own Person? to abuse perfidiously and supplant ungratefully his own General first, and afterwards most of those Officers, who with the Loss of their Honour, and Hazard of their Souls had lifted him up to the Top of his unreasonable Ambition? to break his Faith with all Enemies and all Friends equally? and to make no less frequent Use of the most solemn Perjuries, than the looser Sort of People doe of accustomary Oaths? to usurp three Kingdoms without the Shadow of the least Pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them—and lastly by the severest Judgement of Almighty God to die *bardened*, and *mad*, and unrepentant, with the Curses of the present Age, and the Detestation of all to succeed.*

* Remarkable were the Changes of Government in the Compass of 11 Years, reckon'd up by Mr. *Foulis*, (*Wicked Plots and Conspiracys*, &c. p. 126. 127.) in the following Manner.

1, King *Charles*. 2, *Rump*. 3, *Oliver and his Officers*, 20 April 1653. 4, *Council of State*, 30 April. 5, *Barebones's Parliament*, 4 Julii. 6, *Oliver and his Officers*, 12 December. 7, *O. Cromwell Protector*, 16 December. 8, *Richard Cromwell Protector*, 3 Sept. 1658. 9, *Rump the second Time*. 10, *Wal-lingford House Junto*, with *Lambert and Fleetwood*, 13 October. 11, *Council of ten Men*, 19 October. 12, *Committee of Safety*, 26 October. 13, *Rump the third Time*, 26 December. 14, *Secluded Members and Rump* 21 Feb. 1659-60. 15, *Council of State*, 16 March. 16, *Parliament*, 25 April 1660. 17, *King Charles* 2d 29 May.

And

‘ And such a Sacrifice they really made him upon Tuesday following, haying (the more to affront and deject him, had it been possible) built a Scaffold for his Murther before the great Gate at *White-Hall*, whereunto they fix’d several * *Staples* of Iron, and prepared *Cords* to tie him down, if he had made any Resistance.

Mr. *Echard* makes mention of a † *close Committee* appointed to consult about the King’s Execution. That *Rushworth* and another were order’d by them, to wait on his Majesty, and to use all their Art and Argument, to perswade him to recede something from his former resolute Stiffness in insisting so much upon his own Innocency, and charging all the Blood shed in the late Wars upon the Parliament, and to own himself at least in some Measure, to have been the Cause thereof, and so justify their Proceedings; which if he would doe, *all of them*, from whom they came, promised to serve him to their utmost, and to set him upon his Throne again. But that he obstinately rejected the Offer, as most unreasonable and unjust, and said, That he could not doe it without manifest Wrong to his Honour and his Cause, and Conscience; and if he could not have his Life but upon such base Compliance, he was contented to die; so when they could doe no Good on him, being resolved to

* The Writer of *Mercurius Politicus*, October 1660. published by Order, Num. 42. p. 671. (*penes me*) says, ‘ That *Hugh Peters* gave order for knocking down the *Staples* to tie our martyr’d Sovereign Fast to the Block.

See Dr. *Perinchief’s* Life of King *Charles* 1. p. 56. where he informs us That these Conspirators — each according to the Bloodiness of his Temperament — did propose several Ways, either of Contempt, or Hatred, in killing their sentenced, but anointed Sovereign. Some would have his Head and Quarters fastened upon Poles, that their Cruelty might outlast his Death. Others would have him hang’d as they did Thieves and Murderers, others gave their Vote, that he should suffer in his Royal Habiliments, with his Crown, and in his Robes; that it might be a Triumph of the People’s Power over Kings. And (p. 58.) That they extended their Cruelty beyond his Life, and abused the Headless Trunk, some washing their Hands in the Royal Blood, others dipping their Staves in it. And that they might indulge their insatiate Covetousness, as well as boundless Inhumanity, they sold the Chips of the Block, and the Sands discoloured with his Blood, and exposed his very Hairs to Sale. [See likewise *Echard* Vol. 2. p. 645.]

† *Echard’s English History*. Vol. 2. p. 646.

“ persift

perſiſt in his wilful Way, they bid him provide for Death, for the next Day the Sentence paſſed upon him ſhould be executed; at which he ſaid, *God's will be done*, and they left him.

N. p. 540. *His Head was ſever'd from his Body at one Blow, by ſome bold Executioner in a Mask.*

Mr. Butler's Reason for his Appearing mask'd ſeems to be a very juſt one, for which I refer the Reader to the * Margin.

N. p. 541. *His Body was buried privately at Windſor, February 28th following without Ceremony, and without other Inſcription on the Coffin, than King Charles 1648.*

The Order for the King's † Burial, the Reader will meet with in the Appendix. (No. 79.)

In ſumming up the King's Character, Mr. Neal allows him to have had ſome good Qualities as a private Chriſtian, none as a King; and obſerves

N. p. 541. *That his Temper was diſtant, and grave to a Fault, he was far from being liberal, and when he beſtowed any Favour, it was in a very diſagreeable and uncourtly Manner.*

|| As for our gracious Sovereign King Charles, (ſays a Writer who lived in thoſe Times) hath he not been

* Others there are pretend to know,
That Reprobate that gave the Blow,
Had neither Modeſty nor Grace
Altho' he bid his Villain's Face.
I rather think the Caſe lay here,
He was afraid ſome Cavalier.
Might know him, and be ſo uncivil
To ſend him headlong to the Devil.

Mr. Sam. Butler's Remains p. 260.

There were two Perſons diſguiſed by Frocks and Vizors, who appear'd upon the Scaffold, and were excepted from Pardon by 12. Carol. 2. cap. xi.

† Colonel Whitecot, the Governour of Windſor Caſtle, when he was deſired that his Maſteſty might be buried according to the Form of the Common-prayer Book, the Biſhop of London being preſent with them to officiate, he poſitively and roughly reſuſed to conſent to it, and ſaid, it was not lawful; that the Common-prayer Book was put down, and he would not ſuffer it to be uſed in the Garriſon where he commanded. Nor could all the Reaſons, Perſuaſions, and Intreatys prevail with him to ſuffer it. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 200. Ruſſworth's Collections. Vol. 7. p. 1430. Biſhop Kenne't's Complete Hiſt. Vol. 3. p. 172. Echard's Hiſt. of England. Vol. 2. p. 468. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. 2. p. 528. 1ſt Edit.

|| The Caſe of the King ſtated. 1647. p. 8.

' of an unspotted Life? Catechise your Consciences
 ' and tell me, what one habitual Vice can he be taxed
 ' with? Hath he not all his Daies been a Pattern of
 ' admirable *Clemency*, even to his very Enemies?
 ' Hath he not obliged heretofore most of those,
 ' which have been *Ringleaders* against him (those
 ' *Monsters of Ingratitude*) with many special Benefits
 ' and Favours? and touching his Government, if any
 ' Thing were amiss (as all the false Colours begin now
 ' to wear away) never did any of his Predecessors
 ' condescend so low, to give Satisfaction to the People.
 ' By which gracious Demeanour being highly mount-
 ' ed in the major Part of his Subjects, it is impos-
 ' sible the Malice of his Adversaries should extend
 ' to the Ruine of his Person, or to the Prejudice of the
 ' Regal Dignity, without some sharp and swift Re-
 ' venge upon the traiterous Abettors.

Mr. *Henderson's* Character of him [N. p. 348.]
 ' I must confess ingenuously, that I was convinced in
 ' Conscience, and knew not how to give him any
 ' Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his Disposition is
 ' such, that whatsoever I said was well taken. The
 ' *Anabaptists* in their Address to his Son, during
 ' the Usurpation, own,* That the Irregularitys of his
 ' Government proceeded not from the Pravity of his
 ' own Disposition, or from Principles of *Tyranny* ra-
 ' dicated in him — say, that it must be confessed
 ' even by his most peevish Enemies, that he was a
 ' Gentleman as of the most strong and perfect Intel-
 ' lectuals, so of the best, and purest Morals of any
 ' Prince that ever sway'd the *English* Sceptre.

N. p. 542. Mr. Coke says, he was wilful and im-
 patient of Contradiction.

In Answer to Mr. Coke take Mr. *Henderson's* Words,
 (N. p. 348.) ' I must say, I never met with any
 ' Disputant of that mild and calm Temper, which
 ' convinced me the more, and made me think that

* Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 490.

such Wisdom and Moderation, could not be without an extraordinary Measure of divine Grace.

Mr. *Lilly* the famed *Republican Almanack-maker* observes, ‘ * That he had among his other special Gifts that of Patience; so that if any one offered to him a long Discourse, he would without Interruption hear it out at length; but then he would expect the same Civility from others. † He was a patient Hearer of Causes (says Lord *Clarendon*) which he frequently accustomed himself to at the Council Board; and judged very well, and was dextrous in the mediating Part, so that he often put an End to Causes by Persuasion, which the Stubbornness of Mens Humours made dilatory in Courts of Justice.

Mr. *Whitlock* [Memorials p. 65.] speaking of the Treaty of *Oxford*, says, ‘ That the King manifested his great Parts and Abilitys, Strength of Reason, and Quickness of Apprehension with much Patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all Freedome, and would himself sum up the Argument, and give a most clear Judgment upon them.

N. p. 542. *He would never own any of his Irregularities in Government, but justified them all to his Death.*

How far this is true, every Reader will be able to judge for himself.

N. Ibid. *If any gave him Advice contrary to his Inclination, he would never be Friends with him again.*

‘ || He had an excellent Understanding (says Lord *Clarendon*,) but was not confident enough of it; which made him sometimes change his own Opinion for a worse, and follow the Advice of Men which did not judge so well as himself: this made him more irresolute than the Conjunction of his Affairs would admit: if he had been of a rougher and more impe-

* *Will. Lilly's Monarchy or no Monarchy in England*, Printed 1651. p. 76.

† *Hist. of the Rebellion*. Vol. 3. p. 198.

|| *Id. ib.*

' rious Nature, he would have found more Respect
 ' and Duty: and his not applying some severe Cures
 ' to approaching Evils, proceeded from the *Lenity*
 ' of his *Nature*, and the Tenderneſs of his Conſcience;
 ' which in all Caſes of Blood made him chooſe the
 ' ſofter Way, and not hearken to ſevere Counſels,
 ' how reaſonably ſoever urged. * 'Twas his Unhap-
 ' pineſs (ſays *Whitlock*) as has been before obſerved,
 ' that he had a better Opinion of *others Judgments*
 ' than his own, though they were weaker than his
 ' own.

Bishop *Burnet* obſerves, ' † That in Political
 ' Affairs, he would not truſt his own Judgement,
 ' but to the Judgement of others though inferiour.
 ' ‡ Our Royal Martyr (ſays he in another Place)
 ' did daily ſhew more and more Evidences of a truly
 ' *Chriſtian Spirit*: what full Indemnity and Oblivion
 ' did he offer his Enemies, even tho' they would not
 ' allow Indemnity to his Friends; and how much
 ' was he againſt all cruel Practices!

*N. Ibid. The Sincerity of his Promiſes and Declara-
 tions were ſuſpected by his Friends as well as Enemies.*

Every one will be able to judge how groundleſs
 this Aſſertion is, from what has been already ob-
 ſerved. And as a further Confutation of it, I ſhall
 take the Liberty of adding Part of his Maſteſty's moſt
 gracious Meſſage to the *Lords and Commons*, from
Holdenby, May 12. 1647. Printed by *R. Royſton*
 1647. (p. 2.) ' His Maſteſty (that it may appeare to all
 ' the World how deſirous he is to give full Satisfac-
 ' tion,) hath thought fit hereby to expreſſe his Rea-
 ' dineneſs to grant what he may, and his Willingneſs
 ' to receive from them, and that perſonally, if his
 ' two Houſes at *Weſtminſter* ſhall approve thereof,
 ' ſuch Information in the Reſt as may beſt convince
 ' his Judgement, and ſatiſſie thoſe Doubts which are
 ' not yet cleere unto him, deſiring them alſo to con-

* *Whitlock's Memorials* p. 65.

† *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton* p. 354.

‡ *Dr. Gilbert Burnet's* 30 Jan. Ser. 1674. p. 18.

sider, that if his Majestie intended to winde him-
 selfe out of these Troubles by indirect Meanes,
 were it not easy for him now readily to consent to
 what hath, or shall be proposed unto him, and
 afterwards chuse his Time to breake all, alledging
 that forc't Concessions are not to be kept, surely
 he might, and not incurre a hard Censure from some
 indifferent Men. *But Maximes in this Kind are not*
the Guides of his Majestie's Actions; for he freely and
clearly avows, that he holds it unlawful for any Man,
and most base in a King, to recede from his Promises
for having been obtain'd by Force, or under Restraint.—
 And Bishop Burnet (in his 30. of Jan. Sermon. 1674.
 entitled *the Royal Martyr*. p. 19.) has the following
 Words. ' For his Fidelity in observing his Trea-
 tys, I have already mentioned some Passages, how
 religiously he resolved to observe them; and his
 refusing to serve his Interest by Promises which
 how useful soever they might have been to him,
 yet since he could not with a good Conscience ob-
 serve them, he would not make them, shews how
 sacred he accounted all his Promises.

N. Ibid. *So that he fell a Sacrifice to his arbitrary*
Principles, the best Friends of the Constitution being a-
fraid to trust him.

This is so remote from Truth, that sure Mr. Neal
 could not write it without a Blush.

* To cut off all Apology (says a late admirable
 Preacher,) from the *wicked Incendiarys* of that
 Time, it is observable, (*Clarendon's Hist.* l. 3.
 p. 206. 221.) That before the War commenced
 every disputed Right was given up, every Grie-
 vance real or imaginary heal'd by New Laws
 framed for that purpose; all which his Majesty
 most chearfully consented to, out of his Fatherly
 Love and Tenderness to his People, and with
 Hopes too of engaging their Affections, at least

* Dr. Maff's 30 of Jan. Ser. before the House of Commons. Jan. 30. 1706-7.
 p. 21.

* of Silencing their Murmurs and Complaints for
 * ever; so that in Effect, the Pretext of Male-Admi-
 * nistration was wholly removed, before they came
 * to carve out their own Remedy by the Sword.
 * And yet had it been otherwise, the Sword was no
 * * lawful Weapon for Subjects to wield against their
 * King. For tho' the regal Power is limited by Law,
 * and the People's Right secured to them by Law,
 * yet it can never be imagined, that there should be
 * any Law to warrant *Rebellion*, and *Regicide*.

* * He was (says *Clarendon*) if ever any, the most
 * worthy of the Title of an honest Man; so great a
 * Lover of Justice, that no Dispensation could dis-
 * pose him to a wrongful Action, except it was so
 * disguised to him that he believed it to be just.
 * He had a Tenderness and Compassion of Nature,
 * which restrain'd him from ever doing a hard-hearted
 * Thing: And therefore he was so apt to grant
 * Pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of the Land
 * represented to him the Damage and Insecurity of
 * the People, that flowed from such his Indulgence;
 * and then he restrain'd himself from pardoning ei-
 * ther Murthers or High-way-Robberies, and quickly
 * discerned the Fruits of his Severity by a wonderful
 * Reformation of those Enormities.

* † That Tyranny (says *Mr. Henry Jeanes* a *Pro-
 * byterian*,) should be objected to one of the best of
 * Kings, in whose Time fewer Men suffered Death,
 * than in any Time of like Extent throughout all
 * our Kings, shews Hellish Rage, not common Im-
 * pudence. In his Reign of sixteen Years, until this
 * * *abominable Parliament*, only one Peer suffered Death,
 * and that not for any Provocation against the King's
 * Person, but for Crimes of another Nature, a Ra-
 * rity in the Storys of the Best of Kings. * § How

* Lord *Clarendon's* Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. 3. p. 197.

† *Εἰκὼν Ἀλλαστος* The Image unbroken. A Perspective of the Impudence, Falsehood, and Prophaneness published in a Libel, entitled *Ἐκτροκελάστης*, against *Εἰκὼν βασιλική*, published 1651. p. 42.

§ Dr. *Gilbert Burnet's* 30 of Jan. Sermon. 1674. p. 11.

* careful

careful he was (says Bishop Burnet) to prevent a Rupture in the Nation, not only his great Concessions prove, but his constant Offers of Treaty, even when Things went prosperously with him, demonstrate. * I shall not engage further (says he in another Tract) between the King and the two Houses than to shew, that his Majesty had the Law clearly on his Side, since he not only consented to the Redress of all Grievances, for which the least Colour of Law was alledged, but had also yielded to † larger Concessions to secure the Fears of the Subject, than had been granted by all the Kings of England since the Conquest; yet their Demands were unsatisfied unless his Majesty had consented to the abolishing Episcopacy and the Discharge of the Liturgy, which neither the Laws of England, nor his Conscience allowed of. So that the following War cannot be said to have gone on the Principles of defending Religion, since his Majesty was invading no Part of the *established Religion*. And in || Scot-
land

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet's four Conferences printed at Glasgow, p. 241.

† For these Considerations, says Judge Jenkins, as has been before observed, (Impartial Examination of Mr. Neal's 2d Volume, p. 274.) the King's Party adhered to him. The Law of the Land was their Birthright, their Guide, where that is not violated, no Offence is committed. They found the Commission of Array warranted by Law, they found the King in this Parliament to have quitted Ship-Money, Knighthood Money, seven Courts of Justice, consented to a Triennial Parliament, settled the Forest-bounds, took away the Clerk of the Market, of the Household, trusted the Houses with the Navie, passed an Act not to dissolve the Parliament without the Houses Assent; No People in the World so free, if they would have been content with Oaths, Laws, and Reason, and nothing more could or can be devised to secure us, neither hath been in any Time. With whom agrees another Writer in those Times; (Vindication of the King, with Observations upon the two Houses 1642. p. 2. Publ. Libr. Cambridge xix. 7. 20.) Are not our Rights and Properties (says he) already established this Parliament by such Acts of Grace as could never find Precedents from his Ancestors. Besides the Utter Extirpation of Ship Money, Monopolies, upon what Pretence soever, those Arbitrary Courts of Justice, High Commission, Star-Chamber, Marshalsea, &c. has he not importuned the settling Religion in its Purity, and that there might be a Law to settle the tender Consciences of those who will not agree to the Ceremonies? Are not the taking away these sufficient Ground to dissolve our Jealousies, if ever we meant to be satisfied? As for their Fears I wish we had as little Reason to suspect the Fomenters, as the King, who is so clearly divested of any Power to make good the least Injustice.

|| I have already produced Variety of Instances to prove how perfidious the Scots Army (after the Grant of so many Favours) proved to the King. And the I am of Bishop Guthrie's Opinion, (Memoirs p. 195.) That for the Gentry, Burghs,

‘ land his Majesty had settled all Matters to their
 ‘ *Hearts Desire*, and by many frequent and solemn
 ‘ De-

Burghs, and Commonalty throughout the Kingdome of Scotland, (*Fife*, and the Westernshires betwixt *Hamilton* and *Galloway* excepted) there was a hundred for one, that abhor’d the Sale of their King. Yet I shall take the Liberty of adding some few Instances of the Cruelty and perfidious Hypocrisy of their *Presbyterian* Clergy and General Assembly, by which it will appear what excellent *Casuits* they were. Upon *David Lesley’s* Victory over the Marquis of *Montrose*, Bishop *Gutbry* informs us, (Memoirs p. 161.) ‘ That *Montrose’s* Foot (so soon as the Horse were gone,) drew to a little Hold which they maintain’d, until ‘ *Stuart* the Adjutant (being amongst them) procured Quarter for them from ‘ *David Lesley*; whereupon they deliver’d up their Arms, and came to a plain ‘ Field, as was directed. But then did the *Churchmen* quarrel, that Quarter should ‘ be given to such Wretches as they, and declared it to be an Act of the most ‘ sinful Impiety to spare them; wherein divers of the Noblemen complied with ‘ the Clergy, and so they found out a Distinction, whereby to bring *David ‘ Lesley* fair off; and this it was, that Quarter was only meant to *Stuart* the ‘ Adjutant himself, but not to his Company: after which (having delivered the ‘ Adjutant to *Middleton* to be his Prisoner) the Army was let loose upon them ‘ all, and cut them in Pieces. And after a Skirmish with *Mac Donald*, the ‘ Country-People (whom he had constrain’d to joyn him, *Gutbry’s* Memoirs ‘ p. 199.) submitted upon Quarter given them by *David Lesley*; but having fur- ‘ rendered their Arms, the Marquis (of *Argile*) and a bloody Preacher (Mr *John ‘ Newby*) prevail’d with him to break his Word, and so the Army was let loose ‘ upon them, and kill’d them all without Mercy. Whereat *David Lesley* seem’d ‘ to have some Check: For while the Marquis and he, with Mr. *Newby* were ‘ walking over the Anles in Blood, he turn’d about and said, *Now Mr John ‘ have you not once gotten your Fill of Blood?* This was reported by many that ‘ heard it.

After the Committee of the Kirk had issued a Declaration against Duke *Hamilton’s* Engagement in Favour of the King, and had sent unto the several Pres- ‘ byteries an Act ordaining all Ministers to preach against the Engagement upon ‘ Pain of Deposition. Bishop *Gutbry’s* Memoirs, p. 226. 232.) The very next ‘ Day after, viz. the 1st of August 1648. (See Mr. *Lesley’s* *Cassandra*. Num. 1. ‘ p. 54.) They issued a Declaration and Exhortation to their Brethren in *England*, ‘ wherein they address themselves to the King in these Words. “ Albeit your ‘ Majesty through the Suggestions of evil Men, may entertain hard Thoughts ‘ of us and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Con- ‘ sciences bear record unto us, that we bear in our Spirits those humble and do- ‘ tiful Respects of your Majesty, that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign, and that it would be our greatest Contentment upon Earth to see your ‘ Majesty Reigning, &c.” And 11 Days after, viz. 12 of August 1648. they sent their humble Supplication to the King, wherein they tell him, “ That ‘ they were very sensible of his Majesty’s Sufferings and low Condition, that ‘ they did not in the least Measure approve, but from their Hearts abhor any ‘ Thing that had been done to his Majesty’s Person; and that they did not ‘ oppose his Majesty’s Restitution to the Exercise of his regal Power.” And yet the first Article of their Oath of Association, for preserving the Ends of the Coven- ‘ nant 1648. “ was *Imprimis*, concerning Religion and the Covenant, that except ‘ the King did first subscribe and swear to both Covenants, it was not lawful ‘ for any to endeavour his Restitution. (*Gutbry’s* Memoirs p. 217.) And Bishop *Gutbry* informs us, (Memoirs p. 249.) That it was talked very loud that Crom- ‘ well when at *Edinburgh* communicated to some of their Ministers, Mr. *David ‘ Dick*, Mr. *Robert Blair*, and Mr. *James Gutbry* (and to the following Noblemen, the Marquis of *Argile*, *Loudon* the Chancellour, the Earl of *Lothian*, the Lord *Arbuthnot*, *Elcho*, and *Burleigh*) ‘ his Design in Reference to the King, ‘ and had their Assent thereto,

Declarations, declared his Resolution of observing
inviolably that Agreement.

N. p. 543. *At his Death he shew'd a calm and composed Firmness, which amazed all People, and so much the more, because it was not natural to him, and therefore was by his Friends imputed to an extraordinary Measure of supernatural Grace.*

Bishop Burnet mentioning the Intention of the Scots to deliver up the King to his *English* Rebels makes the following Remark. ‘ * One rare Instance of the King’s Temper appear’d at this Time, for after he had got this Account which brought him such ill Tidings, he took no Notice of it to those about him, but continued at a Game at Chess, and was as cheerful as before. And Lord Clarendon gives a remarkable Instance upon the Assassination of the Duke of *Buckingham*, by *Felton*, where he informs us, ‘ † That the Court was too near *Portsmouth*, and too many Courtiers upon the Place, to have this Murther (so barbarous in its Nature and Circumstances, the like whereof had not been known in *England* many Ages) long concealed from the King. His Majesty was at publick Prayers in the Church, when Sir *John Hippesly* came into the Room with a troubled Countenance, and without any Pause with Respect to the Exercise that was then performing, went directly to the King, and whisper’d him in the Ear what had fallen out; his Majesty continued unmoved, and without the least Change in his Countenance till Prayers were ended: when he suddenly departed to his Chamber, and threw himself upon his Bed, lamenting with much Passion, and abundance of Tears, the Loss he had of an excellent Servant, and the horrid Manner in

I am far from intending by these Instances to reflect upon the *Scotch* Nation, being fully satisfied, that there have been as many Persons who were as eminent for their Loyalty, and Virtue, as of any other Nation whatsoever: But they reflect upon that *Scotch* Faction, which invaded *England* in Assistance of the *English* Rebels, and their Abettors, the factious *Puritanical* Clergy, who afforded their helping Hand to destroy the *Monarchy*, and the *Church* in both Kingdomes.

* *Hamilton’s Memoirs*, p. 307.

† *History of the Rebellion*. Vol. I. p. 25.

• which he had been deprived of him, and he continued in this melancholic Discomposure of Mind
 • many Days.

• * Our Royal Martyr (says Bishop *Burnet*) depended upon God; and submitted to his Will in the
 • Course of all his Councils, both in Peace and War; when it pleased God for the Punishment of
 • his People to expose him to the Cruelty and Malice of his Enemies, even then he proved more than
 • Conquerour: † nor would he express the least
 • Meanness of Spirit, when brought lowest: He would neither give up the Rights of the Church nor
 • Crown, nor People; nor Parliament to *their* Insulting Pride, who triumphing upon all Laws, Sacred
 • and Human, had made themselves the sacrilegious Masters of his Person and Power.

The Character given of him by Mr. *Butler* (Author of *Hudibras*) is as follows. • || That he was a Prince
 • of incomparable Virtues, his very Enemies cannot deny, (only they were not for their Purpose) and
 • those so unblemished with any personal Vice, that they were fain to abuse the Security of his Innocence, both to accuse and ruine him. His Moderation (which he preserved equal in the Extremity
 • of both Fortunes) they made a common Disguise for their contrary Impalations, as they had Occasion
 • to miscall it, either an Easiness to be inflicted by others, or Obstinacy to rule by his own § Will.

* Dr. *Gilbert Burnet's* 30 of January Sermon 1674. p. 21.

† Letters concerning State Affairs. Vol. 3. No. 433. p. 452. In a Letter to Lord *Digby*, March 26. 1646. The King has the following Words, 'Howsoever I desire you to assure all my Friends, that if I cannot live as King, I shall die like a Gentleman, without doing that which may make honest Men blush for me.

|| *The Royal Martyr vindicated against the Republican Party.* See *Secret History of the Calves Head Club*, p. 122. See likewise *Butler's Remains*, p. 210.

§ So far was he from being arbitrary that he himself informs us, 'Εὐκρίν Βασιλικήν. Chap. 17. 'That he never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, [*viz.* the House of Lords] who would not vote according to his Conscience. And that these were not his Thoughts (says Dr. *Barwick*, Life and Death of *Thomas* Lord Bishop of *Duresme*, p. 152.) first taken up upon this Business, is a Thing so evident, that I have heard this reverend Bishop [*Morton*] very often magnify his Majesty's gracious Disposition, who did not only leave it free by Permission, but gave it under a Command to him, (and I make no Question to the Rest likewise) that he should use the Liberty of his own Conscience in voting in Parliament.

• This

' This Temper of his was so admirable, that neither
 ' the highest of Temptations, Adoration and Flat-
 ' tery, nor the lowest Misery, Injuries, the Insolency
 ' of Fools could move him. His Constancy to his
 ' own Virtues was no mean Cause of his Undoing;
 ' for if he had not stated the Principles of Govern-
 ' ment upon unalterable Right, but could have
 ' shifted his Sails to catch the popular Air when it
 ' grew high, (as his Enemies did) they had never un-
 ' done him with empty Pretendings to what he
 ' really meant. His Wisdome and Knowledge were
 ' of so noble a Capacity, that nothing lay so much
 ' out of his Reach as the profound Wickedness of his
 ' Enemies, which his own Goodness would neither
 ' give him leave to suspect, nor his Experience Power
 ' to discover; for they managed the whole Course of
 ' his Ruine, as they did the last Act of it, in Dis-
 ' guise; else so great a Wit as his had never been
 ' circumvented by the Treachery and Cheat, rather
 ' than Policy of ignorant Persons. All he wanted of
 ' a King was, he knew not how to dissemble, unless
 ' concealing of his own Perfections were so; in which
 ' he only deceived his People, who never understood
 ' his great Abilities, till their Sins were punished
 ' with the Loss of him. In his Death he not only
 ' outdid the high Resolutions of the *ancient Romans*,
 ' but the humble Patience of the *primitive Martyrs*;
 ' so far from the Manner of * *Tyrants* who use to
 ' wish all the World their Funeral Pile, that he em-
 ' ployed the Case of his last Thoughts about the Safety
 ' of his very Enemies, and died not only consulting
 ' but praying for the Preservation of those, whom
 ' he knew resolved to have none, but what was built
 ' upon their own Destruction.

* Dr. Denis Granville, Dean and Archdeacon of *Durham* (in a Tract intitled,
The chiefest Matters contain'd in Sundry Discourses made to the Clergy of the Arch-
deaconry of Durham, printed at Rouen 1689. p. 29. penes Rev. T. Baker S. T. B.)
 says, ' King Charles the Martyr was a King (I am persuaded) of the greatest
 ' Clemency that ever was upon the Face of the Earth. Such was his Goodness
 ' (says Bishop *Gutbry's* Memoirs, p. 101.) that being of incomparable Integrity
 ' himself, he was not inclined to be suspicious of any.

I shall conclude the Character of King *Charles* in the Words of the late Rev. Mr. *Long* of *Exeter*, who speaks in the following Manner. * He that will find a Parallel to the Life and Writings of our *Royal Martyr*, must ascend to the *Apostolical*, and *Primitive* Times, for among all our Modern Examples, if there may be any one found that may be compared with him in any one Grace or Virtue, yet there is none that comes near him for all those Graces which shined in him, as illustriously as the Sun doth above the other *Luminaries*: Where is there such an Instance of Condescension and Charity to Enemies, of greater Love and Constancy to his Friends, of Patience and Submission in Affliction, of Humility and Devotion to God, of the Contempt of Death in its most terrible Approaches, and dreadful Aspect? That which would have astonished and stupefied the Spirits of other Men, comforted and elevated his Passage, from a Crown of Thorns to a Crown of Glory. And in another Place he says, † That his Pen was incomparably the most princely and best polish'd in his Time, in the Council none reasoned more like a Senator, among the Lawyers, as an Oracle, in the Camp like *Cæsar*, among the Bishops as a *Constantine*, in the Temple as a Saint, on the Scaffold as an undaunted Martyr, who by his Arguments was more than Conquerour over *them*, who overcame him by their brutish Valour and Arms. In a Word, one of his greatest Failings was the Excess of his || Clemency, distrust of his own Judgment, and his easie Concessions to his subtle Adversaries, to whose Importunity he granted so much, till they had no more to ask, nor he to give.

* King *Charles* the first vindicated from the Aspersions of Dr. *Walker*, Part 2. p. 26. † Id. ib. p. 50.

|| Dr. *Perinchief* (Life of *Charles I.* p. 63.) informs us, 'That the King being asked by Colonel *Hammond* his *Taylor*, what Regret his Spirit had against his Enemies: He answered, *I can forgive them, Colonel, with as good an Appetite as ever I eat my Meat after Hunting, and that I'll assure thee was no small one.*

Proceed we now to Mr. Neal's Attempt to rob the *Royal Martyr* of the Credit of being Author of that excellent Book, intitl'd, 'Εικὼν Βασιλική, which he has printed in *Greek*, and then in *English* Types, for the Benefit of his *English* Reader. [Εικὼν Βασιλική, i. e. *Eikoon Basilikè*.] But he gives us to understand,

N. p. 543. *That it is a Book of suspected Authority, if not absolutely spurious.*

By whom has it been suspected? By * none, I believe, but *downright Republicans*, or Favourers of *Republican* Principles. And to the Authority of such Men he principally refers for the Disproof of the King's Right. [Dr. *Anthony Walker's True, modest, and faithful Account*, &c. *Bayle's Dictionary*. *Milton's Life* by Toland. *Critical History of England* by *Oldmixon*. *History of the Royal House of Stuart* by the same.] Choice Authorities indeed for his Purpose, and such as no one but a Person too deeply tinctured with *Party Prejudice*, would have ventured to have grounded such an Assertion upon. But to proceed to his Proofs.

N. p. 544. *Lord Clarendon makes no mention of it.* And what then? Is this *negative Proof* sufficient to destroy the King's Right? *Lord Clarendon*, tho' he corresponded much with Dr. *Barwick* (afterwards Dean of *Saint Paul's*) during the Usurpation, yet in his *History of the Rebellion*, he makes no Mention of him, and therefore (in Mr. Neal's Way of Reasoning) there could be no such Person as Dr. *Barwick*, and what our Historians mention of his being Dean of *Saint Paul's*, must be a Mistake, and

* *Rapin* (notwithstanding his unreasonable Prejudice against the Royal House of *Stuart*) gives in to the King's Right, (Vol. 2. Folio Edit. p. 347.) 'One of the most considerable Writings of those Days (says he) was the *Eikon Basilikè*, or the *King's Portraiture* published in 1649. It can hardly be doubted but *Charles* the first was himself the Author. 1. He undertakes in this Work to vindicate himself upon all the Articles laid to his Charge. It is properly an Abstract of the Reasons he had before published in several Papers printed by his Order, or addressed to both Houses of Parliament.— This Treatise has been highly esteem'd because it contain'd all the principal Arguments in Favour of the King. It may easily be presumed that the King forgot nothing material, since no Man could know his own Affairs better than himself: accordingly this Book has served for a Foundation to whatever has been since writ in his Favour.

his Life lately published by the Rev. Mr. *H. Bedford*, a downright Romance.

But 2. *Bishop Burnet* says, the Duke of York told him in 1673. That the Book was not his Father's, but Dr. *Gauden* writ it.

And *Bishop Burnet* in the same Paragraph observes,
 * That it is certain, that Dr. *Gauden* never writ
 any Thing with that Force, his other Writings being such, that no Man from Likeness of Style, would think him capable of writing so extraordinary a Book as that is.

Nay, the same *Bishop Burnet* in his 30th of January Sermon the Year following, has these Words. † We find it said of *Saul*, that after he was anointed, God gave him another Heart, and that meeting a Company of Prophets, he prophesied to the Astonishment of those that beheld him. How much of this divine Spirit rested upon our Royal Martyr, all those *Meditations* that were his Exercises in his Retirement do abundantly declare. And Mr. *Wagstaffe* observes, ‡ That King *James's* Letters Patent for the printing of King *Charles's* Works bore date Feb. 22. 1685. and refer to the first Edition of his Works 1662. In which his Majesty declares, that all the Works of his Father were collected and published. (And in that Edition the *Εικὼν Βασιλική* was printed,) which plainly proves, that he took that to be a Part of his Father's Works, and consequently could not believe Dr. *Gauden* to be the Author of it. But as a further Proof of King *James's* Opinion, § In his Letters to the Lords and others of his Privy Council, to be communicated to the Rest of the Nobility, the Lord Mayor of London, &c. and dated *St. Germain's en Laye*, Jan. 14. 1688-9. giving the Reasons of his with-

* History of his own Time. Vol. I. p. 51.

† Dr. *Gilbert Burnet's* Ser. preach'd at the *Savoy* 30 Jan. 1674. intitled, the Royal Martyr. p. 6. *penes me*.

‡ Mr. *Wagstaffe's* Vindication of King *Charles* the first, p. 2. Mr. *Long's* Vindication, Part I. p. 27.

§ *Wagstaffe's* Vindication, p. 22.

‘ drawing, among others, hath these Words; *Together with a serious Reflection on a Saying of our Royal Father of blessed Memory, when he was in the like Circumstances*: “ That there is little Distance between the
 “ Prisons and Graves of Princes; *which afterwards*
 “ proved too true in his Case, could not but persuade
 “ us, to make use of that which the Law of Nature gives
 “ to the Meanest, of freeing ourselves from Confinement
 “ and Constraint.” ‘ Now these Expressions are in
 ‘ the 28th and last Chapter of this Book.

But 3dly, *The Earl of * Anglesey gave it under his Hand, that King Charles the Second and the Duke of York declared to him in the Year 1675. that they were very sure the said Book was not written by the King their Father, but Dr. Gauden.*

But how this Certificate of the Earl of *Anglesey’s* is attested, he forbears to inform us. The whole Authority of it rests upon *Millington’s* Report, a fanatical *Auctioneer*, and a Person who was much prejudiced against the Royal Martyr.

‘ † *Millington* pretended to have discovered it providentially whilst he was auctioning the Book; and
 ‘ yet ’twas attested, that he had shewed this *forged*
 ‘ Memorandum to some of his Friends, at least a Month
 ‘ before. — And tho’ he had promised *Mr. Wag-*
 ‘ *staffe* a Sight of it more than once, when he had
 ‘ danced Attendance several Times at his *Ware-house*,
 ‘ (where he said it was lodged) he always put him off
 ‘ with some trifling Excuse, and either would not,
 ‘ or what is more probable could not, or durst not

* *Mr. Wagstaffe* after mentioning the Letters Patent of King *Charles 2d.* and King *James 2d* for printing their Father’s Works, makes the following Observation. (*Vindication of King Charles 1st.* p. 2.) ‘ A Man would imagine, there
 ‘ could not be any possible Dispute which was to be prefer’d, a publick and
 ‘ authoritative Attestation of the King’s themselves, or a private Memorandum
 ‘ by a third Person. For the immediate Question here is, not *who was the Au-*
 ‘ *thor of this Book?* But who was so in the Opinion and Judgment of those
 ‘ two Kings? And I would fain know, whether the Testimony of my Lord of
 ‘ *Anglesey* is a better Proof of their Sense and Judgment, than their own Testi-
 ‘ mony; or a private, obscure, unattested posthumous *Hand-writing*, a more valid
 ‘ Evidence than the *Broad Seals*.

† *Presbyterian* Prejudice Display’d, in Answer to *Mr. Ben. Bennet’s* Memorial of the Reformation, p. 64.

‘ produce it. And when Lord *Altam* Dean of *Exe-*
 ‘ *ter*, and Lord *Anglesey*’s Son, the most competent
 ‘ Judge whether it was wrote by his Father or not,
 ‘ desired a Sight of it, notwithstanding he promised
 ‘ to wait upon his Lordship with it, yet he never
 ‘ did, for fear he should have detected the Forgery.
 ‘ But to consider the Memorandum a little further.
 ‘ There are some memorable Circumstances in the
 ‘ Thing itself, which make it justly liable to Suspi-
 ‘ cion. Bishop *Gauden* in 1675. is called Bishop of
 ‘ *Exeter*, when before that he was made Bishop of
 ‘ *Worcester*, viz. in 1662. Indeed he had been Bishop
 ‘ of *Exeter*, but if it referr’d to his Style, when the
 ‘ Words are said to have been spoke, it must have
 ‘ been Bishop of *Worcester*; if to the Time he is said
 ‘ to have wrote it, it should have been Dean of *Bock-*
 ‘ *ing*. Besides, the *Memorandum* bears no Date, is
 ‘ not attested by so much as one Witness, and ’tis
 ‘ strange when ’twas designed for the Benefit of the
 ‘ Publick, that it should not be communicated by
 ‘ that great Man to any of his Family; that it should
 ‘ be inserted upon a loose Leaf of a printed Book,
 ‘ and not upon the Manuscript itself, which is said
 ‘ to have drawn this Declaration from the two Royal
 ‘ Brothers.’ Besides, * they both attested the con-
 trary by their Letters Patent to Mr. *Royston*, giving
 him the sole Privilege of printing all the Works of
 King *Charles* 1st. Those of King *Charles* 2d bear
 date Nov. 29. 1660. and expressly mention Mr. *Roy-*
ston’s Fidelity to King *Charles* 1, and to himself, in
 these remarkable Words. “ In printing and publish-
 “ ing many Messages, and Papers of our said blessed
 “ Father, especially those most excellent Discourses
 “ and Soliloquies, entitled, *Εικὼν Βασιλική.*” Nay
 in 1681. five Years after the pretended Memoran-
 dum, King *Charles* gave leave to Mr. *Royston* to
 print his Father’s Works, provided “ † He left

* Mr. *Wagstaffe*’s Vindication of King *Charles* 1st, p. 2.

† Id. p. 123. See King *Charles* 2d’s Letter to Monsieur *Tessard*, (March 15. 1650.) who translated the King’s Book into French, *Wagstaffe*’s Vindication, p. 21.

“ out those spurious Prayers, which in some Editions were inserted at the Instance of those two Miscreants, O. Cromwell, and Bradshaw.

4. Dr. Gauden himself after the Restoration pleaded the Merit of this Performance to Lord Chancellour Hyde; who return'd for Answer, that the Particular he mentioned was communicated to him as a Secret, &c. and for this he produces no other Evidence than the *Critical History of England*; and what Authority that Piece is of, few want to be informed. Besides, this has been fully answer'd by Mr. * *Wagstaffe*.

To Mr. Long of Exeter (to whom Bishop Gauden gave the first Prebend that was in his Disposal in that Church, and a Person of unquestioned Credit and Authority) upon his preaching there before the Bishop upon the 30th of January, and quoting several Passages in the *Εικὼν Βασιλική*. ‘ † The Bishop declared, that the King was the real Author of that Book. But

5. Dr. Walker, a Clergyman of the Church of England, after invoking the great God, the Searcher of Hearts, to Witness to the Truth of what he declares, says in his Book entitled, *A true Account of the Author of Eikoon Basilikè*, I know the Book was written by Dr. Gauden, except Chap. 16th, and 24th by Dr. Duppa.

‘ ‖ Dr. Walker (says Dr. Peter Barwick who perfectly knew his Character, being Cotemporary with him in Saint John's College Cambridge) ‘ when some Years above the Age of 70, and forty four Years after the King's Book was published, takes upon himself to revive this most impudent Fiction of Gauden's; and immediately after he had published a ridiculous Piece of his own, and his Wife's con-

* Mr. *Wagstaffe*'s Defence of the Vindication, p. 31. &c.

† Mr. *Wagstaffe*'s Vindication, p. 65. Mr. Long in his Ep. Ded. to his Answer to Dr. Walker's *True, modest, and faithful Account*, and p. 4. of the Book, has the following Words. ‘ I had the Hap to be acquainted with Bishop Gauden, as long as he was our Diocesan, and I have often heard him affirm, that he was fully convinced, that the *Εικὼν Βασιλική* was entirely that King's Work.

‖ Appendix to Dean Barwick's Life, p. 375.

' jugal Life, full of little trifling Stories, whereby
 ' he exposed himself to all Mens Scorn and Derision;
 ' he takes his Pen in Hand again, to employ it upon
 ' *this Fiction*, but with a Success equally unfortunate:
 ' for he ought to have remembred, that Faithfulness
 ' is at least of some Moment in writing History, as
 ' well as contetsting Matter of Right. But Dr. *Wal-*
 ' *ker*, as if Faith and Veracity were of no Impor-
 ' tance, draws up this *Romance* of his, without
 ' Appealing to the Faith of any whatsoever, as if
 ' the least Regard would be had to his Faith alone,
 ' (which he learnt formerly from his Preceptor *Gau-*
 ' *den*, a Professor of Subtlety and Deceit, as well as
 ' New Divinity) especially in the Royal Martyr's
 ' Cause. Yet *Walker* found a very convenient Time
 ' to vent the Malice he had harbour'd in his envenomed
 ' Breast against the most holy Martyr, namely, when
 ' all the Calumnies of old most undeservedly thrown
 ' upon his Majesty, and long since forgotten, were
 ' again called back from Hell, and when *Ludlow* the
 ' only Survivor of the *Regicides*, was not afraid to
 ' return into *England*, sent for, as was reported by
 ' his Friends, one or two of them Men of no Vulgar
 ' Note: But *Walker* rather chose that *Gauden* his
 ' Patron, and a grave Divine (as he desired to be
 ' accounted) should be branded with the Mark of a
 ' Forger and Impostor than miss any Occasion of de-
 ' filing the sacred Ashes of the Royal Martyr.

N. Ibid. Dr. *Gauden* (*says he viz. Dr. Walker*)
acquainted me with his Design, and shewed me the Heads
of several Chapters, and some of the Discourses: Some
Time after the King's Death I asked him, whether his
Majesty had ever seen the Book? He replied, I know it
certainly no more than you: but I used my best Endeav-
ours that he might: for I delivered a Copy of it to the
Marquiss of Hertford, when he went to the Treaty of
the Isle of Wight.

For the Disproof of this, we need only produce
 Mrs. *Gauden's* contrary Evidence; who likewise wrote
 a Narrative upon this Subject; and the positive Tes-
 timony

timony of others for its being wrote by the King long before the Treaty in the Isle of *Wight*.

Mrs. *Gauden* asserts in her Narrative (p. 37.) ' That an Opportunity was taken to convey the Book to his Majesty by the Marquiss of *Hertford*, when he went to the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*: That the Marquiss after his Return told her Husband, that he gave the Book to the King, and his Majesty did well like it; but was for putting it out, not as his own but as another's. But it being urged, that *Cromwell*, and others of the Army, having gotten a great Reputation for Parts and Piety, it would do best to be in the King's Name; his Majesty took Time to consider of it.' Mr. *Wagstaffe* (Defence of his Vindication, p. 53, 54, 55, 56.) has drawn together no less than 14. or 15. direct Contradictions in these two Narratives, and the Reader from thence may be left to judge how much they are to be depended upon. For as one of them must certainly be false, the other may probably be so too.

But to proceed to positive Evidence in Favour of the King's Right. At the fatal Battel of *Nazeby*, seventeen Chapters of the *Icon*, (with the rest of the King's Papers) wrote with the King's own Hand were taken by the Enemy; and were recovered again, and restored to his Majesty by Major *Huntington*, as has been fully and incontestably proved by Mr. * *Wagstaffe*, from Major *Huntington*'s Testimony: This was likewise acknowledged by the Earl of *Manchester* in the hearing of Dr. *Eales*, who certified it to Mr. *Wagstaffe*; and confessed by Mr. *Stroud*, who was one of the five impeached Members. Now as Dr. *Walker*, and those that assert Bishop *Gauden*'s Right to the Book, don't pretend that it was drawn up till about the Time of the Treaty of † *Newport*,

* Mr. *Wagstaffe*'s Vindication, p. 79, 80.

† The Battle of *Nazeby* was on the 14. of June 1645. Bishop *Gutbry*'s Memoirs, p. 149. Bishop *Kennet*'s Complete Collections, Vol. 3. p. 145. Historians Guide, p. 28. *Echard*'s Hist. Vol. 2. p. 529. The Treaty of *Newport* begun Monday 18th of September 1648. Sir *Edward Walker*'s Perfect Copies of all the Copies, &c. p. 10. published at the End of his Historical Discourses. Bishop *Kennet*'s Complete Collections, Vol. 3. p. 162. *Echard*'s Hist. Vol. 2. p. 611.

three Years at least after the Battle of *Nazeby*; so it is plain that Dr. *Gauden* from these Evidences compared, could not be the Author of it. But farther, we are told by Mr. *Wagstaffe*, ' That Mr. *Gauden*, a Nephew of the Bishop's, and Muster-Master of the *Blue-Squadron*, who in 1694. (the Fleet being at *Torbay*) made a Visit to Mr. *Getsius*, Rector of *Brixham*, a Town adjacent to the Bay, who hearing his Name, asked him in the Company of two others, whether he knew any thing of what Dr. *Walker* had published concerning his Uncle's Writing the King's Book? * He seemed troubled at the Question, and said he was sorry that a false Report should be spread abroad; for he knew that his Uncle was not the Author of the Book,' and expressed an Indignation against some Men, ' who endeavoured to rob the King of his Book, and for that they would make his Uncle guilty of so much Knavery, as to usurp it; whereas he had often and often heard him say, that the King was the Author and no Body else, and of this he was very well assured.

And Mr. *Levet*'s Testimony, who was one of the King's Bed-Chamber, is very home to our Purpose. || If any one has a Desire to know the true Author of a Book intitled, Εἰκὼν Βασιλική, I, one of the Servants of King *Charles I.* in his Bed-Chamber, do declare, when his Majesty was Prisoner in the *Isle of Wight*, that I read over the abovementioned Book (which was long before the said Book was Printed) in his Bed-Chamber, writ with his Majesty's own Hand, with several Interlinings. Moreover his Majesty King *Charles the I.* told me, sure *Levet*, you do design to get this Book by heart, having often seen me reading of it: I can testify that Mr. § *Royston* the Printer told me, that he was imprisoned

* *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 63.

|| Dr. *Hollingsworth's* Character of King *Charles the first*, p. 9. quoted by Mr. *Wagstaffe*, *Vindication*, p. 86. Mr. *Long's* *Vindication of King Charles the first*. Part 1. p. 42.

§ Great Sums of Money (says Mr. *Wagstaffe*, *Vindication*, p. 66.) were proposed to Mr. *Royston*, great Rewards of Hundreds of Pounds to Mr. *Simmons's* Widow,

imprisoned by *Oliver Cromwell* the *Protector*, because he would not declare that King *Charles I.* was not the Author of the said Book. Signed and Sealed
October 16, 1690. William Levett.

Nay, Mr. *Rushworth*, who was Secretary of War to the Rebel's Army, speaking of the *Irish Rebellion*, (Collections, Part III. Vol. I. p. 103.) thus expresses himself. † I shall here add his Majesty's own Words concerning the Matter, as I find them in *Icon Basilike*. Mr. *Wagstaffe* after producing a great number of Authorities in Proof of the King's Right, makes the following Remark.

‘ § If out of the Mouth of two or three (agreeing) Witnesses, every Truth shall be established, how clear must that Truth be, which is established and confirmed out of the Mouth of more than two Juries of Witnesses : Here are no fewer than 28, and 25 of them directly to the Matter, and other very strong and cogent Corroborations. And I believe there was never any Writing in the World (except those of *Moses, the Prophets, and the Apostles*) which has so many and so clear Evidences of its true Author.

‘ * If any thing (says he in another Place) thus attested by unexceptionable Persons, affirmed in various Ways and Manners, by different Persons, at diverse Times, on sundry Occasions, and yet all uniting in the very same Story : I say, if this be not sufficient to confirm the Truth of any Matter of Fact, then there is an End of all History, and the Credit of Historical Relations is extirpated out of the World.

But to proceed. The Style (as is acknowledged above by Bishop *Burnet*) plainly proves, that Dr. *Gauden* could not be the Author of it. And this Book is singled out by Bishop *Sprat* for its inimitable Style, in order to confute Monsieur *Sorbiere's* unwor-

‘ Widow, to own the King was not the Author; and there is no Doubt, but that they would not have stuck at any Rewards how great soever to have purchased such a Secret, they so much set their Hearts on, and employ'd all their Endeavours about. See *King Charles the first vindicated* from the late Aspersions of Dr. *Walker*, Part 1. p. 2. By Mr. *Tbo. Long*, Prebendary of St. *Peter's Exon.* See p. 39. Part 2. p. 57.

† *Wagstaffe's Vindication*, p. 101.

§ *Vindication*, p. 111.

* Id. p. 73.

thy Reflections on the *English Pens*. * We have
 one Book (says he) which we dare oppose to all the
 Treasures of the *Eastern* and *Western* Languages.
 It is that which was written by our late King and
 Martyr, whose Majestical Style and Divine Con-
 ceptions have not only moved all his Readers to ad-
 mire his Eloquence, but enclined some of the worst
 of his Enemies to relent their Cruelty towards him.
 † If *Amyntor* (says Mr. *Young*) can produce such
 an *Eulogy* on the choicest Product of Dr. *Gauden's*
 fertile Pen, or say, it deserves half that Celebration,
 or if he believes it was possible for a Man amidst
 twenty Years scribbling in his own Name and Behoof,
 so monstrously to outdo himself, and amongst so
 many Deformities, to bring forth the greatest Beauty
 in the World for another, I will forbear arguing
 with him, as one wanting Sense and Hellebore.

Mr. *Long* has produced a Specimen of Dr. *Gauden's*
 Style, from whence the Reader may be left to judge
 whether he was capable of writing the *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*.
 § Dr. *Gauden* in his *Anti-Baal Berith*, p. 101. says,
 That his Adversary struts in his *Rhodomontado* Titles
 of Defiance, in his prodigious Railings, in his *Sar-*
castical Ironies, in his Sophistical Sophisms, and his
 dull Argumentations. And in p. 16, he tells his
 Adversaries of their Cacotomy, their idolized sacri-
 legious Sectors, and Pasquil-Oratory, the Atrocity
 of their Facts and Impudicities, a Bye-Blow of De-

* Dr. *Sprat's* Observations upon Monsieur *Sorbiere's* Voyage, p. 173.

† Mr. *Young's* several Evidences, p. 11. Dr. *Richard Watson*, Chaplain to Lord
Hopton, in his Sermon before King *Charles the Second*, &c. at the *Hague*. Printed
 there 1649. Intituled, *Regicidium Judaicum*. p. 26. (4to penes me) has the follow-
 ing Words. * But to conclude all, maugre the wicked Policy of our *Jews*, in ra-
 sing his Name, altering his Stamp, and burning his Papers, (and leprous may that
 Arm be which brings such precious Fuel to the Fire) I say, for all this their pol-
 tick Malice, our Royal Martyr hath not only (no Thanks to his Judge) the
 Crown and Trophie of a Title, but the everlasting stupendious Monuments of a
 Book (*Eikon Basilike*) raised higher than the *Pyramids* of *Ægypt*, in the Strength
 of Language, and well proportion'd, spiring Expression, built without an *Hyper-*
bole to Heaven in Divine Meditations and Raptures, to which the *Babel* of other
 Mens Thoughts falls down, and lies like an Heap of confused useles Rubbish
 upon the Earth.

§ Dr. *Walker's* True, modest and faithful Account of the Author of *Εἰκὼν Βασιλική*
 demonstrated to be false, impudent, and deceitful. By *Tbo. Long*, B. D. Part II.
 p. 55. [penes me.]

‘ votion, the *Gorgon’s Head*, and *Devil of Mascon*,
 ‘ the Spirit of *Asmodeus*, Leopardick Presbyters,
 ‘ *Talismanick* Charms. He calls them Medicasters,
 ‘ and Crafty Emphyricks, compares his two Opponents
 ‘ to *Sancho Pancha*, and *Don Quixot*, with their Pick-
 ‘ vant Darts, Lippient Eyes, Herds of good Words,
 ‘ and Flocks of Figures. And all his Writings are
 ‘ stuffed with Greek Words, Latin Sentences, and
 ‘ * *Bombast* ; such as *Analeptist*, *Cacotomy*, *Impostorage*,
 ‘ *Borborities*, *Grassant*, *Truculent*, *Brontes*, *Fanto*, *Far-*
 ‘ *rago*, *Corbonist*, *Ecobolian*, *Antiseetical*, *Symoniack*,
 ‘ *Privado*, *Offa*, *Buccoone*, *Cordolium*, *Epbialta*, *Par-*
 ‘ *rhesy*, *Cæcinnations*, *Diabolettoes*, which may deserve
 ‘ an Explanation when *Blunt’s* and *Chamberlayn’s* Dic-
 ‘ tionaries of hard Words are next printed.

† The illustrious Beams of Piety and Charity (says
 Mr. *Wagstaffe*) ‘ of Wisdom and Goodness, which
 ‘ shine bright thro’ the whole Book, are but so many
 ‘ Lines terminating in this Centre, the horrid Perfidi-
 ‘ ousness and Baseness of those inhuman Wretches,
 ‘ who imbrued their Hands in the Blood of a Prince
 ‘ of such admirable Holiness and Virtue : And so
 ‘ long as this Book remains in the World, (and that
 ‘ I presume will be so long as this Nation lasts) Their
 ‘ monstrous and abominable Wickedness will stand
 ‘ upon Eternal Record, and they will be an Hissing,
 ‘ an Astonishment, an Execration, and a Curse to all
 ‘ Posterity, and for evermore.’ For a further Proof
 of the King’s Right, I refer the Reader to the Au-

* Id. Ib. p. 56. ‘ The Reader shall find (says Mr. *Long*, Part I. p. 10.) the
 ‘ Doctor’s Style and Expressions, as much differing from the Phrase and Expressions
 ‘ in the King’s Book, as the Waters of *Siloab*, which go softly from the rapid Falls
 ‘ of *Nile*, which keep within no Bounds, and abound with Mud and Monsters.
 ‘ His own Writings (says Dr. *South*, 30th of *January* Sermon, 1662-3. Vol. V.
 ‘ p. 66. bespeak him no less an *Author*, than a *Monarch* ; composed with such an
 ‘ unfailling Accuracy ; such a commanding majestic *Pathos*, as if they had been
 ‘ writ not with a *Pen*, but with a *Sceptre*. And for those whose virulent and ridicu-
 ‘ lous Calumnies ascribe that incomparable Piece to others, I say it is an Argument
 ‘ that those did not write it, because they *could not* write it. It is hard to counterfeit
 ‘ the Spirit of Majesty, and the inimitable Peculiarities of an incommunicable Ge-
 ‘ nius and Condition.

† Vindication of King *Charles I.* &c. p. 126.

thorities cited in the * Margin. And if Mr. Neal after so many incontestable Authorities, still persists in his Opinion, *That Dr. Gauden was the real Author of this Book*, and *that the Evidence by him produced, is as strong and convincing as any thing of that Nature can possibly be*; every Reader will be capable of judging of his great Sagacity.

N. p. 545. *Milton* (he informs us) *answer'd Salmasius's Defensio Regia, in a Book, intitled Defensio pro populo Anglicano, writ in an elegant but severe Style.*

This Book is such a Libel upon the Constitution, such a villainous Invective against the Royal Martyr, that it has been often wondered, by what Means the Author escaped the Gallows at the Restoration. This Piece was well answer'd 1651, in a Book entitled, '† Εικὼν Ἀκλας', *The Image unbroken, A Perspective of the Impudence, Falshood, Vanity, and Profaneness, published in a Libel, entitled, Εικονοκλάσης, &c. said to be written (says Mr. Anthony Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. 2. Col. 196.) by Mr. Henry Jeanes, that had closed with the Presbyterians in 1641, had intruded upon Dr. Walter Raleigh's living when he was thrown out, and kept a Seminary there during the Usurpation, contrary to his Oath, and yet was prevailed upon by the Force of Truth, to chastize that impious Libel against the best of Kings. On the Re-*

* *Princely Pellican*. Printed 1649. p. 2. (penes me.) 'Εικὼν ἡ Πιστὴ, p. 47. Printed 1649. in Answer to a Book entitled, Εικὼν Αλεθινὴ. 'Εικὼν Ἀκλας', in Answer to *Milton's Εικονοκλάσης*, p. 46, 47, 48. 82. [penes me.] Dr. Perinckbief's Life of King Charles, prefix'd to the King's Works. Edit. Fol. 1687. p. 59. 71. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, 68, 69. Dugdale's short View of the Troubles, &c. p. 380, 391. Sir Edward Walker's full Answer to William Lilly. Historical and Miscellaneous Discourses, p. 246. Life of Dr. Barwick, p. 366. Wagstaffe's Vindication, and Defence of the Vindication. In Answer to Toland's Amyntor. Mr. Young's several Evidences. In a Letter to Mr. Wagstaffe, 1703. Orleanse's History of the Revolutions in England, p. 41. 104. Restitution to the Royal Author; or a Vindication of King Charles the Martyr's most excellent Book. Printed for Keble, 1691. [penes me.] Lony's Review of Baxter's Life, p. 74. [penes me.] His Answer to Dr. Anthony Walker, ut supra. Dr. Hollingworth's Character of King Charles I. Bishop Kennet's Compleat Collections, Vol. III. p. 158. Mr. Echard's History of England. Vol. II. p. 585. Vol. III. p. 94. Bishop Blackball's Works, Vol. II p. 1076.

† Mr. Bedford's Note, in his Appendix to Dean Barwick's Life, p. 374.
printing

printing *Milton's* * *Εικονοκλάσης*, there was likewise published against it, a Sheet intitled, *Our Modern Demagogue's Modesty and Honesty in its true Light, being a Vindication of the Royal Martyr's sacred Memory from the antiquated Calumnies of the Villain Milton, as they are lately revived with Additions, by some bel- lowing Rebels of the Ban, in a Letter to a Friend.*

Our *Historian* towards the Conclusion of his Work, seems to be in a tolerable good Humour, and does not carry Matters (as I fear'd he would) to Extremities. He questions the Right of the Army to call the King to an Account; or at least to proceed *Capitally* against him: He has indeed all along run but too much into the Sovereignty of those Members who remain'd at *Westminster*, till a Seclusion of part of those Commons, and all those Lords; but at last seems to think that *the taking off the King was an Outrage upon our Constitution.*

And so was every Step towards it, from 1641, till the fatal Stroke was given, *Jan. 30, 1648.* which was the most monstrous *Outrage* upon Religion that ever was heard of, excepting *That* by the *Jews*, in the Crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour. And tho' I am far from pretending that there is an exact Parallel between our Saviour's Sufferings, and those of our Royal Martyr, for that would be Blasphemy indeed; yet I cannot make it out where the Blasphemy, or even Impropriety lies, in making *some Sort of Comparison between them*, and shall ever be of Opinion, that this *Detestable Regicide* cannot be painted in Colours too black, nor represented in a Light too odious.

N. p. 546. He tells us, *That the President Bradshaw in a Speech at pronouncing Sentence, goes upon the general*

* They hired (says Dr. *Perrinchief*, *Life of King Charles I.* p. 59.) ' Certain mercenary Souls to despoil the King of the Credit of being Author of it; especially one base Scribe naturally fitted to compose Satyr, and invent Reproaches; who made himself notorious by some licentious and infamous Pamphlets, and so approved himself as fit for their Service. This Man they encouraged (by translating him from a needy *Pædagogus*, to the Office of *Secretary*) to write that scandalous Book *Εικονοκλάσης*. Mr. Long, (in his Answer to Dr. *Walker*, Part I. p. 2.) calls *Milton* a Compendium of all the Villainies and Impieties of the Age. — This is that infamous *Milton*, whom the Regicides hired by the Price of 300 *l.* to deface that Royal Monument.

Topicks, that the People are the Origin of Civil Power, which they transfer to their Magistrates upon what Limitations they think fit, and that the King himself is accountable to them for the Abuse of it.

And I wish I could not say, that Mr. Neal has inclined but too much to this Opinion in several Places of his two last Volumes. But even these wicked Regicides were so sensible of their overstretching their Power, that they were willing that Posterity should be ignorant of some Part of their *Hellish* Proceedings, as appears from an * Order of that *High Court of Justice* (as they falsely and villainously stiled themselves) against the Publication of some of their Proceedings. And yet, notwithstanding this, they had the Impudence to recommend some of their § Fellow Traytors, Regicides, and Mock-Officers, viz. Steele, Attorney General, Cooke, Solicitor, Aske and Dorislaus, two of their Council against the King, and some others, to the *Rump* for Favours.

Our *Historian* takes some Pains to shift off the King's Murder from the *Presbyterians* and Independents; but how far each of them were concern'd, there are Variety of Authorities to prove. The *Presbyterians* first took up Arms against him, and endeavour'd to take away his Life in the Field of Battle: But when the *Independents* in the Army had worm'd them out of Power, they openly ('tis own'd) declaim'd against taking away his Life. * *Salmasius* a *Presbyterian*, ** *Milton* an *Independent*, † *Sir William Dugdale* a

|| If you could but get your God (says Mr. Butler in his *Royal Martyr vindicated against the Republican Party. Secret History of the Calves Head Club*, p. 105. Butler's Remains, p. 202.) 'as you have done your King before such an *Impartial High Court of Justice* as this; How would you charge him with Misgovernment in Nature, for which by the very same Logick, you may prove he made us all Slaves, in causing the Weaker to hold his Life at Pleasure of the Stronger; that he set up a Sun to dazzle our Eyes, that we might not see, and to kindle Fevers in our Veins, made Fire to burn us, Water to drown us, and Air to poison us, and then demand Justice against him; all which you may easily doe, now you have the Trick of it. For the same Reason will serve again. For 'tis easier to prove Men have been drown'd, &c. than to make it appear, the King ever used your finer Device to remove Publick-spirited-Men.

* Appendix, Numb. 80, 81.

§ Appendix, Numb. 84.

* *Salmasii* Defens. Reg. p. 338. Edit. 1649.

** See *Milton's* Opinion, *True Briton*, October 25, 1723.

† *Dugdale's* Short View of the Troubles, p. 375, &c.

Church of *England* Man, and § others have charged them home with it. Nay, Mr. *Wesley*, (once a *Presbyterian*) says of the Dissenters of his own Time, * That as to the *Dissenters* abhorring the Murther

§ *Wesley's Cassandra*, Numb. 1. p. 53. As to the King (says he) ' Each endeavour'd to blacken the other with that Part of the Rebellion, which was separately their Share. The *Presbyterians* laid the King's Death upon the *Independents*. ' The *Independents* said they killed no King. That the *Presbyterians* had long before unking'd him, and despoil'd him of all Marks of Royalty, had reduced him perfectly to a private Person, and carried him up and down a Prisoner for the Shew of the People! that the *Independents* had indeed at last mump'd the *Presbyterians* of him, and made their own Advantage of this *Royal Sacrifice*, which the *Presbyterians* had design'd; and were now enraged to see others, and their younger Brother reap the Fruit of all their Labours. And again, (p. 55.) let the several Sorts divide the Murther of the King among them. They were all guilty of it. The *Presbyterians* began the Rebellion against him, and brought him to the Block; and just as they were ready to strike the Stroke, the *Independents* snatched the Ax out of their Hands, and did it themselves. There is no Difference between *Rebellion* and *Regicide*; the one is in Order to the other. In vain therefore do these Rebels lay the Murther of the King upon one another; one disarms him, another binds him, a third cuts his Throat; who are most Guilty? Even all alike.

Mr. *Samuel Butler* (in his *Memoirs* of 1649, 1650. Remains, p. 257.) says, ' That the *Presbyter* of the two proved the gentler Thief, and differ'd from the *Independant* as a Tinker from his more savage Trull. One stript and bound the King, that the other might cut his Throat: One silenced the Bells of his Nativity, and the other made them ring for his Funeral. Both are guilty of his Blood, only this *Pilate* would wash his Hands, *Presbytery* made him an *Anchorite*, and *Independence* a Martyr. This kills *Charles*, and that the King. To prepare the Ax is little better than to give the Blow.

The Presbyter and Independant
Had in their Turns been both Ascendant;
And tho' the latter got the Saddle,
The former did him first disable:
From whence upon the whole we note,
One bound him, t'other cut his Throat;
And 'tis in Law almost the same,
To lend the Sword, as kill the Man.

Again, Mr. *Butler* in his *Geneva Ballad*. (Remains, p. 65.) has the following Lines.

Soon his unballow'd Fingers stripp'd,
His Sovereign Liege of Power and Land;
And having smote his Master, slipp'd
The Sword into his Fellow's Hand.
But he that wears his Eyes may note,
Oft'times a Butcher binds a Goat,
And leaves his Boy to cut the Throat.

* *Wesley's Reply* to *Palmer*, p. 70. 94. 100. Mr. *Baxter*, (who was a *Presbyterian*) seems to justify the Fact, in his *Key for Catholics*, p. 323. dedicated to *Richard Lord Protector*. Printed 1659. Quarto. Where he asserts, ' That if the Body of a Commonwealth, or those that have Part in the Legislative Power, and so in the Supremacy, should be willingly engaged in a War with the Prince, and after many Years Blood and Desolations, judicially take away his Life as guilty of his Blood, and not to be trusted any more with Government: And all this they do not as private Men, but as the remaining Sovereign Power, and say they do it according to Law: Undoubtedly this Case does very much differ from the *Powder Plot*, or *Papists murdering their Kings*, and teaching that 'tis lawful for a private Hand to do it.

‘ of King Charles, he declares it to be false as to the
 ‘ Generality of them, especially those with whom he
 ‘ has been acquainted.’ A remarkable Instance of
 which he gives to the following Purpose. That a
 Clergyman not far from London, preaching upon the
 30th of January, 1698. several that belonged to an
Academy in the Neighbourhood, came to hear him,
 two of them were detached to invite him to a noble
 Entertainment that Night, but he excused it, by al-
 ledging how disagreeable such a Compliance would
 be to the Occasion of the Day. They began to quar-
 rel (says he) ‘ with his Sermon on this Account, that
 ‘ he had given too great a Character of the *Martyr*:
 ‘ For they said he was one of the worst of Princes,
 ‘ and a *curst Tyrant*; and whereas he had called the
 ‘ Tragedy of that Day a barbarous Murther, it was
 ‘ (they affirmed) a just Execution of a *damn’d Male-*
 ‘ *factor*.

N. p. 550. Dr. Lewis Du Moulin, *History Pro-*
fessor in Oxford, who lived through the Times, says, ‘ That
 ‘ No Party of Men as a Religious Body were the Actors
 ‘ of this Tragedy.’

’Tis certain that no Party that had any thing more
 than the bare Form and Pretence of Religion, could
 be capable of acting so dismal a Tragedy. But *Du*
Moulin, I suppose, said this to shift it off from his
 own Sect, which was * *Independent*. And it must be
 allow’d he had some peculiar Oddities, from his
 remarkable Plea for the § Right of Ministers to sit
 and vote in Parliament. The *Presbyterians* ’tis granted
 (as Mr. Neal observes, p. 532, and 536.) boldly re-
 monstrated against taking away his Life. But ’twill

* See a remarkable Information concerning the *Independents*, Appendix, N. 82.
 § *Lewis Du Moulin’s Proposals and Reasons humbly presented to Parliament*,
 Cap. 3. Of the Ministers Capacity to sit and vote in Parliament. Publick Library,
 Cambridge, 19. 7. 2. Dr. John Owen did not fully come into *Du Moulin’s* Opinion,
 for *Anthony Wood* informs us, (*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 738. 2d Edit.) ‘ That
 ‘ in 1654. Owen stood to be elected Burgeis for the University of *Oxon*, to sit in
 ‘ the Parliament then called, and rather than he would be put aside, because he was
 ‘ a Theologist, he renounced his Orders, and pleaded that he was a meer Layman,
 ‘ notwithstanding he had been actually created Dr. of Divinity in the Year before;
 ‘ but his Election being questioned by the Committee of Elections, he sat only for
 ‘ a little Time in the said Parliament.

be a difficult Matter even from thence to prove them wholly free from ** Guilt.

N. p. 554. *Though the Wisdom of the Nation has thought fit to perpetuate the Memory of this unhappy Day by an anniversary Fast, as that which may be instructive both to Princes and Subjects ; yet if we may believe the Declaration of his Majesty at his Tryal, or the Act of Parliament that restored his Successor, the putting the King to Death was not the Act of the People of England. nor of their Legal Representatives, and therefore ought not to be remembred as a National Sin.*

And even allowing some Part of this Paragraph to be true, it ought notwithstanding to be remembred, in order to deter others from acting the like dismal Tragedy. 'Tis indeed but too common an Objection with the *Dissenters*. ' § That the observing of the ' Day tends to keep up Differences, and perpetuate ' Divisions, which seem inconsistent with the Piety, ' Devotion, and Humility, of a Fast. But it is not ' considered, † That these Differences and Distinc- ' tions are of absolute Necessity, and must be pre-

** We have read indeed (says the Writer of *The Apologetick for the sequestred Clergy*. Printed at New Munster in the Year of Confusion, p. 18. (penes me.) The Vindications which have come forth from some particular Members, and from some Bodies, (or as they love to speak, some *Classes* of them.) ' We cannot but approve ' and say *Amen* to their Abhorrence of so traitorous an Attempt : But when we ' weigh the Grounds they goe upon, *their voluntarie Oaths and Covenants*, of which ' we may well ask, *Quis requisivit ?* What Law of God or Man required them ? ' When we remember not a Word or Argument urged by them for their former *Legal Oath of Allegiance* to their undoubted Sovereign ; as if there had been no Tie or ' Obligation upon their Souls, till that *accursed Thing the Covenant* came out ' to the Disturbance of three Kingdomes : When we consider that their chiefest ' Motives are drawn from their *implicit Faith* of the pretended (so they now ap- ' pear) Professions, Protestations, and Declarations, of the *Gentlemen at Westmin- ster*, to be very tender of the Rights, Honour, and Life of their Sovereign, and ' to make him a *glorious King* ; and so indeed they have by *Suffering*. When we ' reflect upon the Rise and Grounds first laid and still persisted in by them, which ' infallibly begat that fatal Stroke which was given immediately, indeed by other ' Hands, but consequentially by theirs. (For if it be resolved in Point of Law, that ' there are no *Accessaries*, but all are *Principals* in High Treason ; no Question they ' have as much to answer for that *bound the Hands*, as they that cut off the Head ' of his sacred Majesty.) When we consider these and many more which highly ' aggravate their Guilt, we cannot think them so innocent and free from Participation ' in that horrid Crime of shedding the precious Blood of our Blessed Sovereign ; but ' that they are infinitely beholden to the Pardon and Prayer of the highest Charity. ' That God would not impute his Blood to them, farther than to convince them, what ' need they have of *Christ's Blood*, to wash their Souls from the Guilt of shedding his.

§ Mr. Ben. Bennet's Memorial of the Reformation, p. 297. † Mr. Archer's Serm. before the Lower House of Convocation, Jan. 30. 1710. p. 23.

‘ serv’d so long as the World shall last ; for they are
 ‘ founded upon the necessary Difference between Good
 ‘ and Evil : And I suppose the Nature of these is not
 ‘ much changed, I suppose the Nature of Treason
 ‘ and Rebellion, and Sacrilege, is the same now that
 ‘ it was fifty Years agoe ; and that Schism and Sepa-
 ‘ ration partake of the Malignity they had in the late
 ‘ Times of Confusion and Discord ; and are therefore
 ‘ to be expos’d, * abhorred and cautioned against
 ‘ as much now as ever.

‘ § I am exceedingly afraid (says a late admirable
 ‘ Divine) if the Matter were narrowly look’d into,
 ‘ that the very Crime of this Day is not so generally
 ‘ so thoroughly repented of as it ought to be. If it
 ‘ be, how comes it to pass, that the very same
 ‘ Maxims and Doctrines that brought the King from
 ‘ the Prison to the Block, are so publicly avowed
 ‘ and industriously propagated ? And what can be
 ‘ the Meaning of that * *barbarous Feast*, that is said
 ‘ (nor can it be gainsay’d) to be annually kept up to
 ‘ mock

* *Ogygia. Roderic. O Flaberty*, 1685. Ep. Ded. Sanguis ille nunquam dedolen-
 dus, nunquam satis deplorandus, è ferali *Whitballensi* pegmate Regiæ Aulæ parietem
 inde libi Characterè conspergens malorum Eluvie per Britanniarum regna longè
 lateque diffusus, me quoque suis vorticibus involvit, Fortunæ subvertit, Posteris ex-
 terminio stirpitus multavit. Filii extunc nati tenebris delitescunt, & qui nascuntur
 sortem suam olim miseratur penultimum Januarii Diem miseriarum suarum Kalendas
 inter nefastos numerabunt, & nigro Calculo notandum æternum execrabuntur.

§ *Dr. Mofse’s* Sermon before the House of Commons, Jan. 30, 1706-7. Quarto,
 p. 27. &c.

* *Mr. Tho. Long* (Compendious History of all *Popish* and *Fanatical* Plots.
 Printed 1684. p. 186. *penes me.*) ‘ Informs us of one *Lewis*, a stickling *Presby-*
 ‘ *terian*, that had gotten the Sequestration of *Tottenbam High-Cross* from Mr.
 ‘ *Wimpew*, a Loyal Minister of the Church of *England*. To this *Lewis* many
 ‘ Noblemen and Gentlemen sent their Sons for Education ; and to divert his Scho-
 ‘ lars, he compos’d a *Farce*, wherein the young Gentlemen were to be Actors. The
 ‘ *Farce* had all the Formalities of a *High Court of Justice*, *President*, *Solicitor*,
 ‘ *Witnesses*, &c. The Criminal was an old *Stock Water Dog*, which he call’d
 ‘ *Charles Stuart*. This Dog was arraigned, tried, condemn’d, and executed, by
 ‘ cutting off his Head : By which Action he instilled the Principles of *King-killing*
 ‘ into his Scholars, as if the murdering of a King were no more than cutting off a
 ‘ Dog’s Neck.

‘ *Calves Head Feasts* (says Mr. *Lesley*, *Cassandra*, Numb. I. p. 47.) are notori-
 ‘ ous in *London*, their History and Anthems printed, and have been continued from
 ‘ that fatal Day to this. I am told (says he, p. 49.) that last 30th of *January*,
 ‘ at one of the Principal of their *Calves Head Feasts* here in *London*, they us’d a
 ‘ *Symbolical Ceremony*, of sticking their Knives at once into the biggest of the
 ‘ *Calves Heads*, thereby engaging themselves in a Band of Unity for the Restoration
 ‘ of *Puffs*, that is their *Commonwealth*, and the Extirpation of *Monarchy*, especially
 ‘ in the Line of the *Martyr*, whom they thus represented.

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mock the sad Solemnity of the Day, and glory in
 the execrable Deed? What should it mean too, that
 even under the Shelter of the highest Authority we
 cannot be admitted to solemnize the Day in Confes-
 sions and Deprecations, and other the sober Expres-
 sions of a just Detestation of the Fact, without be-
 ing indecently ridiculed, and scandalously traduced
 by

Mr. Butler in his *Friendly Conference between a Puritan Preacher, and a Family of his Flock, upon the 30th of January, (Remains, p. 62.)* notably girds this iniquitous Practice, in the following Lines.

Wife. I must confess we have not dress'd
 What's worthy of so good a Guest;
 Yet 'tis a Dish as we may say,
 Is suited to the present Day,
 'Tis a Calf's Head to tell you Truth,
 I wish such Fare may suit your Tooth.
 Preacher. Bless me, the best and only Dish
 Upon this Day, that I could wish;
 No Food besides could so delight
 My Eyes, and 'eke my Appetite.
 Good pious Saints, that you should join
 Your Hearts so mutually with mine.
 Well, give me now the other Glass,
 I see that you abound in Grace;
 The L — d of Mercy and of Power
 Hath Blessings for such Saints in Store.
 I cannot bid you now Farewell,
 Thy Invitation must prevail.
 Methinks from Heaven I hear a Voice,
 That bids me tarry and rejoice.

Husband. This is a Day of Joy and Mirth
 Among the Saints that dwell on Earth.
 This and the fifth Day of November
 We're always careful to remember;
 Both which deserve the utmost Reuerence.
 For our remarkable Deliv'rance.

Preacher. 'Tis very True, we ought to praise
 The Lord upon these blessed Days,
 And typify the fall of him,
 That caus'd the Land in Blood to swim;
 So good a Dish, on such a Day!
 What Christian can refuse to stay.
 But tho' I tarry here to dine,
 Pray do not send for any Wine,

Husband. A little Sir, — Wife send the Maid
 For two of Palm, and two of Red:
 This Day we always drink, you know,
 To the pious Hand that gave the Blow.

Preacher. The Lord direct thee, prithee do
 What thy own Mind inclines thee to,
 But I must crave thy leave to light
 One Pipe to wet my Appetite.
 When that is done we'll shut the Door,
 And praise the L — d for half an Hour.

See a further Account of their Calve's Head Feast. *Secret History of the Calves Head Club Compleat*, 5th Edit. London, 1705. Mr. Samuel Wesley's Reply to Mr. Palmer's Vindication, p. 66, 67, 68, 69, 70.

by licentious Tongues and Pens? And what means it at last, that there is so much wishing and urging to have the Day abolished? And why abolished I beseech you? Why? Because it only serves to keep up *odious Names*, and *Marks of Distinction*, and to perpetuate Heats and Animosities. And 'tis true Rebellion and Murder are *odious Names*, but then they are *horrid Crimes* too, that ought to be mark'd and distinguished, to the End that the People may be sufficiently warn'd against them: And if any can find in their Hearts to conceive or retain Anger or Animosity against us, for calling (as we usually do upon this Day) fighting against the King, Rebellion, and Killing him, Murder, 'tis much to be fear'd, they are still in the *Gall of Bitterness*, and the *Bond of Iniquity*. Acts viii. 23. And ill would it become the Ministers of God, to soothe such People in their Sins, or suffer them to sleep on securely. Howsoever it be, * the Day is fit to be solemnly kept, and may be very profitably, both by the Guilty and Innocent. For the Guilty, if they are not quite harden'd in their Impiety, may possibly by having the Threats of God frequently sounded in their Ears, be awaken'd at last into some Sense and Dread of his deserv'd Wrath, both for the Sins of their Forefathers, and their own. And for the Innocent, those I mean, who were not Partakers in the Guilt of this Day's Fact, they however ought to be ready to join in the

* The late Mr. James Pierce, a Presbyterian Preacher at Exeter, (in his Sermon at Exeter, Jan. 30, 1717. Intituled, the *Curse causeless*, pref. p. 3.) says, he never could see reason to *Faß*, or pay any religious Regard to the Day, (and p. 6.) calls it, a *saffing for Strife*. Nay, is so bold to affirm, that a great Part of the Matter (charged upon their Party) is so far from being criminal, that it is truly noble, and deserves much Praise and Commendation. Meaning (as he owns, p. 12.) what was done against the King, or his evil Counsellours; and that all the World must justify that Parliament for standing up in Defence of the Right of the Subjects, and (p. 13.) is so free to call that Rebellion a noble Stand, to which we are indebted that we are not a Generation of Slaves, tho' the Fact it self is called (Stat. 12. Car. 2. cap. xi. p. 30.) A *Horrid, Execrable, Detestable Murder*; an *impious Fact*, an *unparallell'd Treason*. The Court which decreed it, a *traiterous Assembly*, a *prodigious and unheard of Tribunal*. And the Persons who drew their Sword against their Sovereign, are branded, as a *Parcel of wretched Men, desperately wicked, and hardened in their impiety*.

Devout Observation of it, for their own Sake, and for the Sake of the Publick Good : For their own Sake, that they may be the better, and the oftner put in Mind to humble themselves before God for all those other Sins which they are conscious of; and that by the Prevalence of their Prayers and Tears, they may prevent their own being involv'd in the Common Ruin, if peradventure God might be otherwise provok'd to visit with some National Judgment, or sweeping Destruction: And for the Sake of other Men, who have more Guilt to answer for than themselves, that by their Example they may stir up them also to a sincere Contrition and Humiliation, or by their charitable Intercessions procure a longer Forbearance for them; and perhaps at last obtain a Discharge from all further temporal Punishment, or at least a Mitigation of it, for a whole sinful Land and People. Let us not therefore *forsake the assembling our selves together, as the manner of some is*, Heb. x. 25. For it is good for us all to meet and prostrate ourselves in the House of God upon this solemn Day, † and may the Day be for ever kept, (this I speak with all imaginable Deference to Authority) may it be for ever kept with all Religious Strictness! May the Memorial of it never cease, the unhappy Occasion never be forgotten: For to what Purpose should it, unless it could be blotted not only out of our *Calendar*, but out of our *English Annals*, and all other Histories; and pass at once into a perpetual Silence and Oblivion

† There was a villainous Libel republished, and sold by *J. Baker*, at the *Black Boy*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*, 1715. Intituled, *Reasons humbly offer'd to the Parliament, for abrogating the Observation of the 30th of January, (penes me.)* Mr. *Salmon* (Chronological Historian, p. 345.) informs us, 'That *John Wine* was order'd to be prosecuted, 9 *January*, 1714. for this Libel. Let us reprehend (says Dr. *Trapp* 30th of *Jan* Sermon before the Lord Mayor, 1729. p. 21.) 'and discourage all those who have the Impudence to insinuate that the solemn Fast of this Day will ever be abolished. *Reasons for abrogating the Observation of the 30th of January.*—A Pamphlet with that Title was some Years since printed and published. I say no more of it, the bare mention of it I hope is sufficient. To retrieve our Reputation (says the Right Reverend *Robert Lord Bishop of Peterborough*, in his 30th of *Jan.* Sermon before the Lords, 1731, p. 19.) with foreign Countries, I hope this Day will ever remain in our *Kalendar*, and that some Sort of Annual Commemoration of it will be continued throughout all Generations and Ages of the World.

‘ among Men ? And yet if all this were practicable (as it is not) it would avail nothing, unless it could be blotted out of God’s Book, never more to be remembered against us, or any that shall come after us, either in this World, or that which is to come, But this we know is only to be done by the unfeigned Tears of penitential Sorrow, sanctified by the all-atoning Blood of Christ.

How this horrid Fact was relented by some truly Loyal Persons in those Times, the following Instances abundantly prove. * I was met (says the Marquis of Ormonde, by Sir *Piercy Smith*, full of the inhuman Tragedy acted upon the King by the execrable Rebels in *England*. The Grief, Horror, and Amazement of this barbarous Action for some Time took up all my Thoughts and Faculties, &c.

In another Letter to King *Charles II.* Feb. 21, 1648. He has the following Words. ** ‘ May it please your Majesty, the Death of your Royal Father and my gracious Master, as it is a Subject for deepest Grief and Amazement in all, so the manner of it requires an unusual Duty from the World, (and more especially from your Majesty and all your Subjects, who have been by so insolent a Treason depriv’d of the best King that ever ruled ; your Majesty’s Government who only are like to equal if not to surpass him, being yet unknown to your People :) This Duty is a Justice upon the inhuman *Parricides* proportionable (if this World can afford it) to their unparallel’d Villany : To which end, together with my most humble and hearty Acknowledgment of your Majesty’s Succession, I offer at your Feet my Life and my utmost Endeavours, &c.

Lord *Digby* in a Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, makes the following Complaint against those horrid *Miscreants*. † ‘ O my Dear Lord, I am seiz’d with such Astonishment and Horror with this Morning’s

* Letter to the Marquis of *Clanricarde*. Letters concerning State Affairs, published by Mr. *Carte*, N^o 604. p. 603.

** Letters, N^o 609. p. 608.

† Letters, No 608. p. 607.

dismal News, that my trembling Hand cannot without great Difficulty perform this said Office of acquainting your Excellence with the King's being beheaded on the 30th of last Month, (old stile) the Particulars whereof your Excellence will receive at large in the Prints. After the Sentence was pronounced, the Warrant was signed by * *Fairfax*, † *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, ‖ *Pride*, § *Heuison*, and one whose Name is not yet come to us. From the Creation, to the accursed Day of this damnable Murther, nothing to ** *parallel* it ever was heard of. Even the crucifying
‘ of

* Lord Digbby was misinform'd as to *Fairfax*, he was nominated one of the King's Judges, but I don't find that he ever acted as such.

† Dr. Moss (Sermons Vol. 7. p. 33.) speaks of the Share that *Cromwell* bore in this accursed *Parricide*, in the following Manner, ‘ That *Arch-Rebel*, and *Arch-Hypocrite* of our own Nation, who after all the Rapine, Murder, and Sacrilege that he had reform'd us with, resolved to mount the Throne upon the Neck of his Butcher'd Sovereign; and when his Way was a little obstructed by the Scruples or Misgivings of some, who were more tender-conscienced, or at least more tender-hearted than himself, he put on the grave Pretence of seeking God in Prayer upon so important an Occasion, and the mean while dispatch'd his secret Orders, that the fatal Blow might be timely and securely given; which was such a Profanation of Prayer, and such a Solemnity added to Murder, as no Pharisee could ever outdo, and hardly any History can parallel. See a further Account of his Hypocrisy. Epistle Dedicatory to Lord Holles's Memoirs.

‖ This *Pride* was the Person who secluded many of the Commons who staid at Westminster, to make way for the King's Tryal, which Seclusion was called Colonel *Pride's Purge*. Echard Vol. 2. p. 621. Mr. Butler (in the ludicrous Will drawn up for the Earl of Pembroke, Remains p. 231.) alludes to Colonel *Pride's* being a Foundling. ‘ Bury me, I have Church Lands enough, but do not lay me in the Church-Porch, for I was a Lord, and would not be buried, where Colonel *Pride* was born.

§ Mr. Butler's Description of *Heuison*. (Remains p. 155.)

A one-ey'd Cobler then was one

Of that rebellious Crew;

That did in Charles the Martyr's Blood

Their wicked Hands imbrew.

Mr. Echard observes (Hist. Vol. 2. p. 862.) ‘ That *Heuison* was a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards a Clerk to a Brewer of small Beer.

** There are two remarkable Instances in History: But these not parallel to the Case of King Charles the Martyr.

The first of *Deiotarus* who was made King of *Galatia* or *Gallugræcia* by the Roman Senate, and in the famous Civil War, sided with *Pompey* in Opposition to *Cæsar*, who tho' *Cæsar* was reconciled to him, after this, was accused for his Treachery and evil Designs against *Cæsar*, and was summon'd to a Tryal before *Cæsar*; who in Effect had the whole Authority of *Rome* in his Hands. *Tully* in pleading his Cause, informs his Audience, ‘ That it was a Thing without Example for a King to be arraigned for capital Crimes, that this was the first Instance of that Kind that ever was heard of. [*Est ita inusitatum Regem capitis reum esse, ut ante hoc Tempus non sit auditum.* Pro rege *Deiotraro* ad *C. Cæsarem*, Orat. 42. p. 541. Edit. R. Stephan.] And this he spoke not as an Ora-

tor,

' of our blessed Saviour (if we consider him only in
 ' human Nature) did nothing equal this, his King-
 ' dom not being of this World, and he, though un-
 ' justly condemn'd, yet judg'd at a lawful Tribunal.
 ' Since then this is too horrid an Action to beset forth
 ' in its true Colours, and never to be sufficiently la-
 ' mented; may all Tears for his Majesty be dried up
 ' in such an Indignation, as may enflame all honest
 ' Hearts to a noble Vengeance of so innocent a Suf-
 ' fering, wherein a firm Belief that your Excellence
 ' is designed by Heaven to be a glorious Instrument
 ' possesseth the Heart of

Your Excellence's, &c.

John Digby.

Caen, Febr. 21. 1648.

' * Never any King (says Dr. Perrinchief) not
 ' only of the *English* but of whatsoever Throne had

tor, but as an *Historian*; being too sensible of *Cæsar's* great Learning to imagine
 he could impose upon him a Case of this Nature, and he was only tried, but not
 condemned, as far as I can learn, for *Cæsar* left the Matter undecided.

The second Instance is of a more modern Date. Of *Conradine* the King of
Naples and *Sicily*, who was deprived of his Right by four successive Popes, and
 formally excommunicated and deposed by *Clement* the fourth; and his Dominions
 transferr'd upon *Charles* Prince of *Anjou*, a near Relation to the King of
France, who assisted him in his Usurpation: *Conradine* having met with an
 unfortunate Defeat in Battle was led captive to *Naples*, and his own People
 were forced by the inhuman Conquerour to condemn him, in a *Mock Court*
of Justice, and an ugly Sentence was extorted from them, to have his Head
 cut off; and he was accordingly brought upon a Scaffold, where he submit-
 ted to the fatal Stroke: But even with all his Pomp and Pageantry, that
 Case differ'd much in its Circumstances from the detestable Murder of our
Royal Martyr: For *Conradine* was a King deposed by the See of *Rome*, and
 his *Catbolick* Subjects might upon that, be easily taught not only to disown
 him, but even murder him: but after all, it was not their own Act and Deed,
 for they were terrified into it by the Threats of a haughty and imperious Con-
 querour, so that whatever the formal Mockeries of Law might seem to be; he
 tell a Sacrifice to War: And yet this *Palliated Wickedness* appear'd so abominable
 to his very Enemies, that they abhor'd the Action. For when the *Mock Presi-*
dent (as 'tis reported) had pronounced the Sentence upon *Conradine*, a noble Earl
 (*Robert* Earl of *Flanders*) transported with Indignation, (having before endeavour'd
 to persuade him from giving Sentence) drew his Sword, and sheath'd it in the
 Breast of that *Mercenary Judge*: and as soon as the villainous Executioner had given
 the Blow, another Executioner by Appointment, stood ready, and immediately
 killed the Wretch. [*Spondani* Annal. Eccles. sub Anno 1269. S. 7. 8. Ann.
 Cont. p. 273. *Naucleri* Chron. Ograph. Vol. 2. Generat. 43. p. 963. *Bzovii*
Annal. Eccl. 1268. S. 2. 11. &c. *Annal.* To. xiii. 747. 751. Vide *Hoffmanni*
Lexic. Universal. sub. Voce *Conradin.* *Mezeray's* General Chronological History
 of *France* translated by *J. Bulteel.* London 1683. p. 311. See *Collier's* Dictionary,
 Vol. 1.]

* Life of King *Charles* 1st, p. 59. See likewise *Echard's* Hist. of *England*.
 Vol. 2. p. 646.

' his

his Death lamented with greater Sorrows, nor left the World with a higher Regret of the People. When the News of his Death was divulged, Women with Child for Grief cast forth the untimely Fruit of their Womb, like her that fell in Travel, *when the Glory was departed from Israel*. Others both Men and Women fell into Convulsions and * *swounding Fits*, and contracted so deep a Melancholy as attended them to the Grave. Some unmindful of themselves as though they could not, or would not live, when their beloved Prince was slaughter'd, (it is reported) suddenly fell down dead. The Pulpits were likewise bedewed with unsuborn'd Tears, and some of those, to whom the living King was for *Episcopacy's* sake less acceptable, yet now bewailed the Loss of him when Dead, Children (who usually seem unconcern'd in publick Calamities,) were also affected with the News, and became so prodigal of their Tears, that for some Time they refused Comfort. Even some of those who sat as Judges, could not forbear to mingle some Tears with his Blood when 'twas spilt. † Thus dies a Prince (says the Author of the *Loyal Satyrift*) ' whose Innocence had taught Poyson Allegiance, made Pistols Royalists, and kept *Rolf* from being cursed. A Prince for whom *Hotbam* was a Martyr, *Brown* a Prisoner, and *Shimei Prin* undertook a Vindication. *Hammond* at last becomes a Captive to his Charge. The good Apostle converts his Gaoler. He disarms the Rebels even with his Fetters, and like the Hand of Providence is then most powerful, when it is thought most weak. He subdues as if the Castle were not his Prison, but his Fort. 'Tis a Question whether he was most miraculous for

* Archbishop *Usher* (as Dr. *Parr* informs us in his Life p. 72. See likewise *Echard* Vol. 2. p. 646.) swooned away upon the Leads of Lady *Peterborough's* House at *Charing Cross*, when he saw the Preparations making for this inhuman *Paricide*, and just before the fatal Blow was given.

† *Mercurius Menipeus*, or the *Loyal Satyrift*, p. 23. See *Butler's Remains*, p. 259. to whom it is ascribed, p. 244. under the Title of *Memoirs of the Years* 1649. and 1650.

curing Disloyalty or the Evil : *Hammond's* Blindness
 was as desperate as the Woman's ; he dispossesses so
 fast, *Cromwell* can scarce find Devils enough to bait
 the *Exorcist*. Let the Vipers but kiss his Hand,
 and they are innocent. Had *Bradshaw* that con-
 demned him, been longer on the Bench or Single,
 that *Dagon* too had fallen before the captive Ark.
 But oh ! at the Scaffold he engrosses Miracles, there
 he *Christens* by Wholesale, that one Blow slew more
 Rebels, than all these seven Years. Our *Sampson*, tho'
 shaved both Hair and Head away, killed more *Pbi-*
listins at his Death than all his Life Time. Now
 they would swear Fealty to his Trunk, and Homage
 to a dipt Handkerchief. They adore his very
 Ghost, and will atone their Rebellion, by being
 Subjects, now there is no King. And who cannot
 continue Loyal for such a King, that dies for the
 Sins and Safety of his People ? Who would refuse to
 be his Subject, who is their Martyr ? He acted a
Christian better than most Divines can describe one,
 and bled Doctrines freelier than they can speak
 them. He shewed * Graces, the *Schoolmen* scarce
 ever heard of, we might edifie more from the Scaf-
 fold in one Hour than from the Pulpit in an
 Age.

† Thus lived this glorious King, (says Mr. *Long*)
 and

* The Writer of an *Apologetick for the sequestred Clergy*, p. 4. speaking of King
Charles the first, has the following Words, ' Here we are oppressed with so much
 Light, and such transcendent Beauties of Perfection, in all the Passages of his
 blessed Life, and glorious Martyrdom, that all we can conceive or say of him
 would come as far short of his incomparable Merits, as doth a Pebble of a Dia-
 mond, and a Candle of the Glories of the Sun, or our unworthy Pen of his
 victorious and Seraphick Quill. We cannot add a Grain of Honour to his Glo-
 ries, of which he is as full as the Eternity of Heaven, in the Fruition of Christ
 and God, can make him. Where he hath exchanged his *Crown of Thorns*, for
 one far more illustrious of Stars, and where his Charity which was kindled here
 to very high and extraordinary Proportion, had now attain'd her ultimate Per-
 fection, and burneth with ever-living Flames.

† King *Charles* the first vindicated, &c. p. 56. Mr. *Lesley* in his *Cassander*
 Number 1. 2d Edit. 1705. p. 34. observes, ' That King *Charles* the first courted
 the *Fanaticks*, established them in *Scotland*, indulged them in *England*, and even
 made himself a Sacrifice to them ; yet they hate his Memory.

‡ *Q. Elizabeth* prosecuted them with the utmost Rigour, made severe Laws against
 them, and put them in full Execution. She reckoned them as her worst En-
 emies.

and thus he died as another *Moses*, though of a *stammering Tongue*, yet mighty in Words and Deeds. His whole Life, as *Philo* says, was a Martyrdome to God, being worried by the Contradiction of a rebellious People, who chose Idols to goe before them, a *Chorah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, rather than *Moses* and *Aaron*. He was the meekest Man on Earth, when a rude Soldier spit in his Face, he wiped it off with a pious Thought, my *Saviour* (said he) *endured this, and more for my Sake*, he was not appaled when he saw the Red Sea before him, and the Armies of the *Ægyptian* Soldiers on every Side. He did not as *Moses* exceedingly quake and fear, being more concerned for his Murtherers than for himself—as Majestick on the Scaffold as on the Throne, which he ascended as more than a Conquerour.

I shall now conclude this Answer, (which I confess is drawn out to too great a Length, and had I consider'd every Thing justly exceptionable in Mr. *Neal's* Book, it must have been swell'd to double the Size that it now is) with a summary View of Mr. *Neal's* inveterate Malice to the Memory of the *Royal Martyr*, from his own Words scatter'd throughout this third Volume of the *History of the Puritans*; which will give the Reader a just *Idea* of our Historian, and convince him how partial he may probably be in most other Respects.

N. p. 17. *There was no Room* (says he) *for a Treaty till the previous Question was determin'd, whether there was just Reason to confide in the King, and restore him to his Rights, upon his bare Promise of governing by Law for the future.* N. p. 87. *Historians are at a Loss to reconcile this solemn Appeal to Heaven with the*

mies, even worse than the Jesuites themselves, and to have been instrumental in the Spanish Invasion, as you may see in the Lord Chancellour Puckering's Speech, which I have therefore annex'd, Num. 3. and yet they pretend to reverence her Memory. One Reason for their hating King Charles's Memory is (p. 35.) That when Men have perpetrated their Wickedness, they think themselves obliged to stand by it, and justify it, and therefore must not afford a good Word to those whom they have injured, for that is to condemn themselves. And herein is that saying verified, That it is he who doth the Injury, cannot forgive.

King's Piety and sincere Devotion. N. p. 165. King Charles did not like his Sister's Principles, who being a resolute Protestant, had been heard to say, (if we may believe L'Estrange) "That rather than have her Son bred up in Idolatry at the Emperour's Court, she had rather be his Executioner." N. p. 252. The Parliament Commissioners could place no Manner of Confidence in his Majesty's Promises, nor abate any Thing of a full Security to themselves and the Constitution. N. p. 263. Considering the State of the King, and his servile Attachment to the Councils of a Popish Queen, it was easy to foresee that it could not be otherwise. (viz. the breaking off the Treaty at Uxbridge.) N. p. 265. Such was the Queen's Ascendant over the King, and his Majesty's servile Attachment to her * Imperious Dictates: The Fate of three Kingdoms was at her Disposal. N. p. 314. But tho' the Independents were Enemies to the Presbyterian Discipline, they durst not trust the King's † Promises. N. p. 322. The two Houses were so persuaded of his Art and Ability in the Choice of ambiguous Expressions, capable of a different Sense from what appear'd at first sight, that they durst not venture to make use of them as the Basis of a Treaty. N. p. 347. 'Tis very surprising, that his Majesty should be so much intangled with that Part of his Coronation Oath which relates to the Church, when for 15 Years together, he broke through all the Bounds of it with Relation to the Civil Liberties of his Subjects, without the least Remorse. N. p. 358. The Kirk was as peremptory as the Commissioners, they said, the King's Heart was not with them, nor could they depend upon his Promises any longer than it was not in his

* Chevalier Ramsay (History of the Viscount de Turenne. Vol. 1. p. 362.) speaking of the Queen's Death, hath the following Words. "She died with all the Resolution of a Heroine, and the Sentiments of a perfect Piety: The Court lost by her Death a Princess, that knew how to distinguish Merit, and respect it."

† A Writer who lived in those Times [Vindication of the King, &c. 1642. p. 2.] says, "The Conservation of these [viz. the Rights and Properties of the People] are so attested by him in the Word of a King, with such unusual Expressions, that if they came from a Stranger (I suspected not an Infidel) I was bound to believe in Charity: Witness those serious Affirmations, God so deal with me, and my Children, as I intend to conserve my Parliament in its Privileges, the Rights of the Subject, and the true protestant Religion, and so prosper me in what I take in Hand."

Power to set them aside. N. p. 422. 'Tis hardly possible for the Art of Man to justify his Majesty's Conduct before the War, or to vindicate his Prudence and Sincerity in his Treaties afterwards. N. p. 514. One may justly wonder, that this Branch of the * Coronation-Oath should stick so much with the King, when it was notorious that his Government for almost 15 Years, was only one continued Breach of *Magna Charta*. [The like candid Remark p. 347. tho' there, the Words are, 15 Years together.] N. p. 521. The King's Concessions were certainly a sufficient Foundation for a Peace with the Presbyterians, if they could have been relied upon, Id. ib. They suspected his Sincerity, because the Duke of Ormond at this very Time was treating with the Irish Rebels by his Majesty's Commission which he would not recall. N. p. 541. In his Treaties with the Parliament he was chargeable with great Insincerity, making use of doubtful and ambiguous Terms. [Repetition, See p. 322.] The Explication of which he reserv'd for a proper Time and Place. He had high Notions of the absolute Power of Kings, and the unlimited Obedience of Subjects; and tho' he was very scrupulous about his Coronation-Oath with Regard to the Church, it gave him no Trouble with Regard to the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects, which he lived in the constant Violation of for 15 Years. [Repetition again. See p. 347. 514.] N. p. 542. He was wilful and impatient of Contradiction — He would never own any Irregularities in Government, but justified them all to his Death.

* Mr. Samuel Butler (in his *Royal Martyr vindicated against the Republican Party*. Printed with the *Secret History of the Calves Head Club*, p. 89. See likewise *Butler's Remains*, p. 197.) has the following Words. 'If he were so perfidious a Violator of Oaths, as you would have the World believe, what Reason had he to be so conscientious of taking them? Certainly he had little Cause to be nice what Oaths he takes, that hath no Regard what Oaths he breaks. The following Expression of the King's mentioned by Mr. Wood (*Atbenæ Oxon.* Vol. 2. pag. 528. 1st Edit.) plainly disproves Mr. Neal's unwarranted Assertion; Crowns and Kingdoms are not so valuable as my Honour and Reputation: Those must have a Period with my Life, but these survive to a glorious Kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone; a good Name being an Embalming of Princes, and a sweet Consecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude amongst Posterity.

If any gave him Advice contrary to his Inclinations, he would never be Friends with him again. These are some of Mr. Neal's injurious Reflections upon the Royal Martyr, the Best of Princes, and the Best of Men; and what could the most rancorous Republican have added to defame him? I pray God once more to forgive him.

E R R A T A.

PAGE 3. line ult. del. a. p. 4. l. 13. read against. p. 7. m. l. 2. r. in. p. 8. m. l. 2. after think add) p. 9. l. 17. r. us. p. 20. m. l. 18. after there, add) p. 30. l. 3. d. 50. p. 34. l. 25. r. further. p. 48. l. 11. after able r., m. l. 1. r. Fee-Farm. p. 51. l. 21. r. Parliament. p. 54. l. 15. r. diverse. p. 58. l. 18. d. was. p. 59. m. l. 5. r. quoquo. l. 7. r. illum. l. 17. at. p. 67. l. 4. add 50. p. 70. r. Heylin. p. 78. l. 26. r. and l. 31. add Persons. p. 79. l. 15. r. Oath. p. 82. l. 26. r. superstitious. p. 84. l. 15. r. Culmer's. p. 97. l. 1. r. Hamil. p. 100. l. 3. r. national. m. l. 1. r. 223. p. 101. l. 22. r. practices. p. 105. l. 31. r. appears. p. 111. l. 12. r. Thucydides. p. 114. m. l. 1. r. 1732. p. 116. l. 11. add (. p. 119. l. ult. r. who. p. 121. l. 26. r. promoting. m. l. ult. r. and. p. 139. l. 1. r. to. m. l. ult. r. for p. No. p. 142. r. St. John's. p. 148. l. 2. r. Johnson. p. 166. m. l. 9. add nearly. p. 167. m. l. 4. r. 25. p. 170. m. l. 2. r. illorum. l. 13. and 15. r. till. p. 178. m. l. 7. r. supplicationi. p. 179. l. 1. r. Chester-Men. l. 26. r. Sberfield. p. 187. l. 32. r. Objections. p. 191. l. 22. after Rolph r. 193. m. l. 4. r. 1660. p. 196. l. 13. r. Tuesday. p. 201. l. 17. r. differs. p. 203. m. l. 1. add of. l. 5. after London, add]. p. 207. m. l. 10. for Dugdale r. Deodate. p. 209. l. 18. r. Parochial. l. 31. d. &. p. 210. l. 19. r. Schismaticis. p. 217. l. 3. r. 265. l. 20. add at. p. 218. l. 10. r. contented. p. 224. m. l. 15. r. perused. p. 225. l. 16. r. Clergyman. p. 226. l. 21. r. Commons. p. 227. m. l. 2. r. not. p. 228. l. 18. r. affair. p. 242. r. Margetson. p. 243. l. 29. d. the. p. 244. m. l. 3. r. 1645. l. 10. r. appear. p. 249. l. 6. 7. d. inverted commas. p. 250. l. 1. ad Sir. m. l. 4. r. to. p. 269. l. 17. r. Heu. p. 270. l. 5. add was p. 274. m. l. 2. r. Calidonia. ibid. l. 12. add). p. 281. m. l. 9. r. maxime. p. 285. m. l. 1. ad Ludlow's Memoirs Vol. 1. p. 199. p. 286. m. l. 1. r. Fifeburst. p. 291. m. l. 3. r. queries. p. 292. l. 16. r. causers. p. 294. l. 23. r. resolution. p. 299. m. l. penult. r. 2. p. 304. l. 20. 22. r. cite & citation. Ital. p. 307. m. l. 7. r. Brent. p. 320. m. l. 5. r. 40 Pounds. l. 7. r. 101. p. 329. m. l. 8. r. 12 Pence. p. 344. l. 5. after Church r. 351. m. l. 4. r. the 357. m. l. 23. r. after, l. penult. add]. p. 364. l. 27. add and. p. 365. l. 21. r. arguments. p. 370. m. l. 2. r. Western-Shires. p. 373. l. 30. r. care. p. 385. m. l. 3. after softly r., p. 386. m. l. 12. r. Long's. p. 387. l. 7. r. Bulls of Bala. p. 396. l. 9. r. refented. p. 397. l. 2. r. sad. p. 398. m. l. 2. add in. l. 13. r. this. l. 28. r. Chronograph.

A P P E N D I X.

P. 1. l. 6. r. D. D. l. ult. d. four. p. 19. l. 14. r. desire. p. 29. r. Ridings. p. 44. r. Holborn. p. 49. l. 8. r. Her. p. 51. l. 20. for 31. r. 30. l. 21. add of. p. 53. r. Num. 37. p. 71. r. Vinter. p. 89. for Comat. r. Conant. p. 89. after Winckburne, add Welson. p. 321. l. 6s. 8d. p. 124. l. 3. r. which. p. 125. r. Darley.

Append. to Impart. Exam. of Mr. Neal's 2d. Vol. p. 427. r. from the Beginning of the Year 1682. to the End of the Year 1683.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X,

*Of Letters and Papers, Copied from
the Original Manuscripts of the Late
Revd. John Nalson, LL. D. now
in the Custody of the Revd. Dr.
Philip Williams, S. T. P. President
of St. John's College in Cambridge.*

Number I.

S I R,*

“S I R Henry Barclay being taken by my Forces,
“and being brought to *London*, and I under-
“standing by Sir *Edward Hungerforde*, that
“Lieutenant-Colonel *Hungerforde*, a Gentleman of
“Worth, was Prisoner at *Oxford*, and in very bad
“Condition there, I was content to release Sir
“Henry Barclay for him; and knowing Sir Henry
“to be a Prisoner of War, and noe Reason why
“he should not be exchanged (if I sawe Cause) did
“give him a Release, and Lieutenant-Colonel
“*Hungerforde* thereby got his Liberty at *Oxford*.
“But since at the instance of Mr. *Ashe*, Sir Henry
“has been restrained, and I desired that by *Wednes-*
“day Night (omitting no Time not knowing how
“soon the Army might remove) Mr. *Ashe* should
“have sent me his Witnesse, whereby I might see

* Dr. *Philip Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. III. N^o 59. an Original. I take the Liberty of writing the Word Manuscript thus [MS.] according to the usual Way. Notwithstanding we have the celebrated Mr. *Oldmixon* as a Precedent for writing Manuscript thus. [MSS.] Arts of *Logick* and *Rhetorick*, pag. 19.

“ the Cause of such his Detainer ; but hearing not
 “ of him yet, and myne Honour so much engaged in
 “ it, I have thought fit to send Sir *Henry Barclay*
 “ another Discharge, and rest your assured Friend,

St. *Alban's* 26th
 October, 1643.

ESSEX.

For my worthy Friend *William Lentball*, Esq;
 Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.
 These.

Number II.

S I R,*

“ I Believe it is not unknown unto you, that his
 “ Excellency hath intrusted me with the Govern-
 “ ment of the Town of *Southampton*, which I shall
 “ be as careful to preserve. I have thought fit to
 “ put the Inhabitants to the *Test*, I have offered a †
 “ *Vow* and *Protestation* which is here inclosed, and I
 “ have met with a better Concurrence than I ex-
 “ pected ; indeed so cheerful an Acceptance, that
 “ I cannot but expect much Security by it, even a
 “ Blessing from above. Some *devilish Spirits* there
 “ are, that have refused it, but I shall *pair their*
 “ *Nails*. Notwithstanding this, we are not with-
 “ out some Wants, which may prove prejudicial
 “ unto us, and that is Money : I confess the Par-
 “ liament hath dealt no less nobly than justly by
 “ us, in allowing us the Excise of this Place for the
 “ Maintenance of it, but trading is of a sudden so
 “ fallen here, that the Excise will not be enough to
 “ pay one Company, if it rise no more than hi-

* Dr. *Philip Williams's* MS. Collections. Vol. X. No. 205.
 An Original.

† I meet with the following Remark in the Margin of this
 Letter. “ A most *Solemn* and *fearful Oath*, with an *Execration*
 “ upon them and their Posterity, if they did not persist in *Dam-*
 “ *nable* Rebellion, this which he calls a *Vow* and *Protestation*.
Vide infra the *Vow* itself.

“ therto it hath done, and the Enemy is now drawn
 “ so near us, that we have not the Liberty scarce
 “ of taking the Air abroad without some Danger,
 “ so that I cannot longer expect any Money out of
 “ the Country; if therefore it would please the
 “ Honourable House to allow the Custom of this
 “ Place, only for a short Time, for three Months;
 “ or while the Enemy hath the Power of the Coun-
 “ try, it would be some Help, and a very great
 “ Encouragement to our hungry Soldiers; we were
 “ indifferently well able to shift for Provisions out
 “ of the County till now the Enemy is in Garrison
 “ within a little of us at *Romsey*, so that all our
 “ Provision must come by the Penny out of the
 “ *Isle of Wight*; I beseech you, Sir, be pleased to
 “ make this known unto the House, that we may
 “ have some speedy Relief in this my Desire; or if
 “ they in their Wisdom shall think of any better
 “ Course, we shall think ourselves extremely obli-
 “ ged to them, though it be for their own Service.
 “ The Town is certainly of very great Importance
 “ to the State, and would be a very great Enemy
 “ to the *Isle of Wight*, should the Enemy possess it;
 “ but this, by God’s Blessing, I no ways distrust,
 “ so we may have any seasonable Relief; I hope
 “ Sir *William Waller* will take care of us, that we
 “ shall not be too hard press’d, yet we must pro-
 “ vide to stand upon our own Legs. I shall desire
 “ to give a good Account of my Trust, therefore
 “ I make bold to trouble you with our Wants as
 “ soon as I can, lest the Neglect of it may prove a
 “ Loss unto us; my Prayers and Endeavours shall
 “ be always for the Advancement of this good
 “ Cause, who am

Your very faithful Servant,

RICHARD NORTON.

Colonel *Richard Norton* to Speaker *Lenthall*.

**The Vow and Protestation (inclosed) taken for the Preservation of the Town of Southampton, with an Expectation of a Blessing thereupon.*

“ **W** Hereas this Town of *Southampton* hath
 “ been, and now is kept for the King and
 “ Parliament, I *A. B.* in the Presence of Almighty
 “ God, do vow and protest, that I will to the ut-
 “ most of my Power, by God’s Assistance, faith-
 “ fully maintain, keep and defend the Town of
 “ *Southampton*, with all the Fortifications belong-
 “ ing to the same, against all Forces now raised,
 “ or that shall be raised against the said Town by
 “ any Power or Authority whatsoever, without
 “ the Consent and Authority of both Houses of
 “ Parliament now sitting. Neither will I by any
 “ Way or Means whatsoever contrive or consent to
 “ the giving up of the said Town and Works, or
 “ any part of them into the Hands of any Person
 “ or Persons whatsoever, without the Consent of
 “ both Houses of Parliament, or by such as are
 “ chiefly authorized by them therein: Neither will
 “ I raise, or consent to the raising of any Tumults,
 “ or Mutinies against the said Town; nor will I
 “ by any Means give, or yield to the giving any
 “ Advice, Counsel, or Intelligence, to the Preju-
 “ dice of the said Town and Works, either in
 “ whole or in part in the Sense before expressed;
 “ but will with all possible Speed faithfully disco-
 “ ver to the Commander in Chief, and to the

* *Dr. Philip Williams’s MS. Collections. Vol. XI. No. 206.*
 In the Margin is this Observation. “ What a Noise was made
 “ by the Faction against the Bishops imposing an Oath by the
 “ King’s Consent, yet now every bold *Traitor* takes upon him
 “ the Power to do it, against the Law, and the King’s express
 “ Command.

“ Mayor

APPENDIX.

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“ Mayor of the said Town, whatsoever Design I
 “ shall know or hear of hurtful or prejudicial to
 “ the Preservation of the said Town in the Sense
 “ before expressed. Neither will I be against the
 “ bringing of additional Forces for the Preserva-
 “ tion of the said Town in the Sense before ex-
 “ pressed. And this my Vow and Protestation I
 “ make without any Equivocation, or mental Re-
 “ servation whatsoever; believing that I cannot be
 “ absolved from this my *Vow* and *Protestation* *, and
 “ wishing no Blessing from God on myself and
 “ Posterity, if I do not truly and sincerely per-
 “ form the same.

So help me God.

Number III.

† *An Estimate of what Monies hath been received
 by the Treasurers at War for the Army under
 the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, from
 March 28, 1645, to the 1st of March 1646,
 exclusive.*

“ BY so much advanced to	l.	s.	d.
“ the Treasurers at War	}	0080000	00 00
“ and several other Persons, up-			
“ on the Ordinance of the 28th			
“ of March 1645, towards re-			
“ cruiting the Army,	}		

* The Note in the Margin. “ A most horrible Curse, where
 “ whether the *Vow* be kept or broken, Damnation is at both
 “ Ends of it.

† Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol XIV. N^o. 220.
 An Original.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" By so much upon the Or- " dinance of the 15th of <i>Febru-</i> " ary 1644, and the additional " Ordinances for levying and " collecting 20 Months Affess- " ment for the Payment of the " Army,	0732313	03	01
" By so much upon several " Ordinances of Parliament, by " the Commission of the Excise.	0124847	13	04
" By so much Money re- " ceived of several Persons that " advanced upon the Ordinance " of the 2d of <i>September</i> 1645, " towards the Payment of the " Army, to be repaid out of the " Office of <i>Excise</i> ,	0040000	00	00
" By so much advanced by " the Treasurers at War upon " several Orders by the Com- " mittee of the Army upon " emergent Occasions,	0045391	02	09
" By so much advanced by " the Treasurers at War at fe- " veral Times to make up Mo- " nies for the Army,	0026000	00	00
" By so much received from " the Committee at <i>Goldsmiths-</i> " Hall out of Delinquents E- " states, upon an Order from " the Committee of the Army " grounded upon an Order of " the House of Commons, dated " 30th of <i>April</i> , 1646,	0070000	00	00

Summe Total ——— 1118551 19 02

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Number IV.

**An Estimate of what Monies hath been paid by the Treasurers at War, from the 28th of March 1645, to the 1st of March 1646, inclusive.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“ BY so much repaid to the			
“ Lenders of the Monies			
“ advanced upon the Ordinance			
“ of the 28th of <i>March</i> , 1645,	008	3598	04 02
“ together with Interest for the			
“ same,			
“ By so much sent to the Ar-			
“ my for Payment of Officers			
“ and Soldiers, upon several	068	2836	17 04
“ Warrants from the said Army,			
“ By so much for recruiting			
“ the said Army with Horse and			
“ Foot, as also with Arms, Am-			
“ munition, Cloaths, Victuals,			
“ and all necessary Provisions			
“ for the said Service, and with			
“ such other incident Charges,			
“ as have been disbursed for the	027	0761	18 08
“ carrying on the whole Work,			
“ as will appear by several War-			
“ rants from the Committee of			
“ the Army, and by Certificates			
“ from the Committees of the			
“ several Cities, Counties, and			
“ other Places of the Kingdom,			

** Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIV. No. 220. An Original. Indorsed, an Estimate of Monies received, and paid by the Treasurers at War, for the Use of Sir Thomas Fairfax his Army.*

“ By so much repaid to the	l.	s.	d.
“ Treasurers at War, together			
“ with Interest, being so much			
“ by them advanced upon several	0046918	13	01
“ Orders from the Committee			
“ of the Army upon emergent			
“ Occasions,			
“ By so much more repaid to			
“ the Treasurers at War, being			
“ so much by them advanced at	0026000	00	00
“ several Times, to make up			
“ Moneys sent to the Army,			
“ By Cash remaining to Balance,	0008436	05	11
Summe Total	1118551	19	02

Number V.

* *August* the 2d, 1651.

“ **T**HE Charge of the Forces in *England, Ireland,* and *Scotland* for seven Months and 14 Days, viz. from the 24th of *March* last, 1650, to the 20th of *October* next, 1651, per Estimation will be as followeth, viz.

	Pay per Mensm.			For 30 Weeks.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
“ For <i>England</i> ,	65596	19	8	493477	7	6
“ For <i>Ireland</i> ,	20000	0	0	150000	0	0
“ For <i>Scotland</i> ,	071500	0	0	536250	0	0
				1179727	7	6

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XVI. N^o. 86.
An Original. See N^o. 108.

“ *Towards*

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" Towards which there is provided by the Assessments,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" By the Arrears of former Assessments until the Commencement of the present six Months, (being the 24th of March last,)	096750	00	00
" By the present six Months Assessments of 120,000 <i>l.</i> per Menssem. determ. the 29th of September next, 1651,	720000	00	00
Summ	816750	00	00

" Out of which is to be deducted for the Charges in Collection, &c. by Estimate,	020418	15	00
" And so the neat Summe of the Account will be,	796331	05	00
" So there will be wanting to pay the said Forces until the said 20th of October next,* the Sum of 383396 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>			

* *October*, 1650. An Act for raising 120,000 *l.* per Menssem. for the Maintenance of the Forces of England, Scotland and Ireland read the First Time. *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 459. The Act passed for continuing the Assessment of 120,000 *l.* per Menssem, for six Months. *April* 1651. *Whitlock's* four Mem.

Which

“ Which may be charged as followeth, viz.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
“ Upon the Re- “ mainder of the “ Monies to come “ in upon the Sale “ of Fee Farm “ Rents, which is “ already charged “ by the Parlia- “ ment for the Ser- “ vice of <i>Scotland</i> ,				79633	1	5			
“ Upon the grand “ Excise in Courfe,									
“ Upon the Re- “ ceipts at <i>Gold- “ smith's-Hall</i> next “ after the 20000 <i>l.</i> “ lately charged “ for the 4000 “ Foot,	200000	0	0				38339	2	6
									1179727 7 6

“ *Memorand.* That the above-
“ mentioned 20000 *l.* lately char-
“ ged upon the Receipts at *Gold-
“ smith's Hall* for the 4000 Foot,
“ is over and above the Sum of
“ 1179727 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*

And is particularly provided for
as aforesaid.

Read Aug. 6, 1651.

Numb.

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Number VI.

l. s. d.

“ THE* present Charge of
 “ the Forces both by Sea } 2426989 00 00
 “ and Land, including the Go-
 “ vernment will be
 “ The whole present Reve- }
 “ nue in *England*, *Scotland*, and } 1900000 00 00
 “ *Ireland* is about

“ By the Petition and Advice of the Parliament,
 “ they engage to settle but 1300000 *l. per Ann.*
 “ which doth diminish the Revenue which may be
 “ now raised by the present Government 600000 *l.*
 “ *per Ann.* And the whole Sum which may now
 “ be raised comes short of the present Charge
 “ 542689 *l. per Ann.* and although an End should
 “ be put to the *Spanish* War, yet there will be a
 “ Necessity for the Preservation of the Peace of
 “ the two Nations to keep up the present establish’d
 “ Army at Land in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*,
 “ and also a considerable Fleet for some good
 “ Time, untill it shall please God to quiet and com-
 “ pose Mens Minds, and bring the Nation to some
 “ better Consistency. So that considering the Pay
 “ of the Army coming to upwards of 1100000 *l.*
 “ allowing for the Fleet 500000 *l. per Ann.* and
 “ accounting 300000 *l.* for the Government, it
 “ will be necessary, that during the Time of —
 “ Years, there should be raised over and above the
 “ 130000 *l.* the Summe of 600000 *l. per Ann.* more,
 “ and also that the Parliament will likewise declare,

* Dr. Philip Williams’s MS. Collections. Vol. XVI. No. 142.
 Indorsed, The second Paper presented by his Highness to the Com-
 mittee the 21st of *April*, 1657, and by them presented to the
 House, and read the 23d of *April*, 1657.

“ what

“ what further Summe they will raise for the carry-
 “ ing on of the *Spanish* War, and for what Time.

Number VII.

* *Charles R.*

“ **W** Hereas we understand that there be many
 “ of the Gentry, and others, Inhabitants of
 “ our County of *Surrey*, who out of Loyalty and
 “ good Affections to us, are disposed to contribute
 “ towards our present Occasions: These are there-
 “ fore to command and fully to authorize you for
 “ us, and in our Name to receive the several Con-
 “ tributions of Money, Plate, or other valuable
 “ Things which many of our well-affected Sub-
 “ jects of our County aforesaid shall be disposed
 “ to give or lend unto us, for which you shall seve-
 “ rally give them a Note of Receipt under your
 “ Hand, for such Sum or Sums or other valuable
 “ Things as you shall receive from them for our
 “ Use. Assuring them that as their present Assi-
 “ stance will be very seasonable to us, so shall we
 “ remember the same to them for their Good and
 “ Advantage as God shall enable us, and Occasion
 “ be offered, given under our Sign Manual at our
 “ Court at *Oxford* the 21st Day of *December*, 1642.

To our Trusty and Well Beloved
William Howard of Tundridge,
in our County of Surrey, Esq;

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XII. No. 33.*

Numb.

Number VIII.

“ **W**E * the Inhabitants of *Stanwell* thought
 “ good to certifie to your Worsheps what
 “ Doctren our Docter Mr. *Reeves* talt upon this last
 “ Saboth, being 3d *July*, 1642; that we oft to
 “ obay the King in all his Commands, that there
 “ were some *Brownists* and *Anabaptists* in these
 “ Times that did comand contrary to the King’s
 “ Commands, but we oft not to obey ther Com-
 “ mands; for they seek to shake off all Obedience
 “ to lawful Authority, aleding some Skriptures,
 “ that we weare damned if we persist in it, wherea-
 “ fore we your Petishoners and Inhabitants of
 “ *Stanwell* desir to be resolved in these Points which
 “ so neerely confernes us.

Henry Southern.
Danil Cranaway.
Thomas Hiller.
John Leodgold.
Richard Fly.
Edmon. Stannie.
William Flacke.

Number IX.

“ **A**T† a Sermon to the Clergy in the Cathe-
 “ dral of *Sarum*, *May* 22d, 1634, before

* Dr. *Philip Williams*’s MS. Collections. Vol. XIII. No. 71.
 An Original. Dr. *Bruno Ryves* was Dean of *Chichester*; was
 Rector of *St. Martins* in the Vintry, *London*, and *Stanwell Vi-*
carage in *Middlesex*, and was Master of the Hospital at *Chiche-*
ster. *Walker*’s Sufferings. Part ii. pag. 12.

† Dr. *Philip Williams*’s MS. Collections. Vol. XIII. No. 4.
 An Original.

“ Sir

“ Sir Nathaniel Brent, Vicar-General of the Lord
 “ Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at his Grace’s Me-
 “ tropolitical Visitation. Dr. *Chaffin*, now one of
 “ the Clerks of Convocation for that Diocese, af-
 “ ter an Invective against *Lay Puritans*, and *Lay*
 “ *Parliaments*, took Occasion highly to commend
 “ the Practice of that blessed Archbishop of *Can-*
 “ *terbury*, (as he stiled him) *Thomas Arundell*, pre-
 “ ferring to his, the present Care of our little
 “ *Aaron*; and concluded this Passage (to the great
 “ Offence of many his Hearers) with these ensuing
 “ Words, which he professed should ever be Part
 “ of his *Letany*.

*From all Lay Puritans, and Lay Parliaments,
 Good Lord deliver us.*

Peter Thacker, Rector of *St. Edmunds*
in Sarum.

Nathaniel Noyes, Rector of *Holdrington.*

Nathaniel Conduit, Master of the Free-
 School in *Sarum.*

Gabriel Sangar.

Number X.

**To the Right Honourable the Committee of the
 Counsel of State for the Affairs of Ireland and
 Scotland.*

WE the Trustees for the Sale of Fee-Farm
 Rents, &c. humbly certify,

APPENDIX.

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	<i>per Ann.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
" That the cleare yearely Re- venue that wee were to sell, " according as the same is re- turned unto us, (all Reprizes " being deducted) is so neare as " wee can compute,	077000	00	00
" There is already contracted " for so much Revenue as a- mounts to about the Summ of			
" The Sale whereof hath, and ought to produce the Sum of			
" So that there remained to be sold as much as amounts to			
	whereof <i>per Ann.</i>		
" There is already contracted " for so much Revenue as a- mounts to about the Summ of	025300	00	00
" The Sale whereof hath, and ought to produce the Sum of			
" So that there remained to be sold as much as amounts to			

Which being sold upon doubling publique Debts,

" At eight Years Purchase, " will produce the Summ of	413600	00	00
" At ten Years will produce the Summ of			
" At twelve Years Purchase will produce the Summe of	620400	00	00
" At fourteen Years Purchase will produce the Sum of			
" At sixteen Years Purchase will produce the Summ of	827200	00	00

All which we humbly submit to the Consideration of the honourable Committee.

Worcester-House,
the 14th of Dec.
1650.

*R. Harrison.
Jo. Hunt.
Tho. Cooke.
Sil. Taylor.*

*Ri. Sydenham.
Daniel Searle.
Jo. Sparrow.*

Numb.

Number XI.

“UPON* Consideration of the Certificate of
 “ the Contracts made to this Committee the
 “ 31st of *August*, expressing that the Value of such
 “ of the Deans and Chapters Lands as have been
 “ contracted for to the 30th Instant amounteth unto
 “ the gross Sum of 980724*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.* or there-
 “ abouts, so the Neat Sum remaining *ultra* Re-
 “ prizes, is 954531*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* or thereabouts.
 “ And upon Perusal of the Act of Parliament
 “ for settling of 1200*l.* *per Ann.* upon Sir *Henry*
 “ *Vane*, Junior, next in Course, after which is also
 “ the Monies charged for Lieutenant-Colonel *John*
 “ *Lilburne*, appointing that so soon as the said Con-
 “ tractors shall have contracted for Monies upon
 “ the said Lands to the Value of 180000*l.* the said
 “ Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lilburne* shall be ad-
 “ mitted the Benefit of their respective Acts, and
 “ taking Notice that it does appear from the Trea-
 “ surer’s and Register’s Accomptant, that the
 “ whole Sum of doubled Bills and transfer’d Mo-
 “ ney charged on the Security of the said Lands,
 “ besides the Interest for the same, amounts unto
 “ 862193*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* whereby there is cast in the
 “ Sum of 127907*l.* or thereabouts, for Interest,
 “ Reprizes, and other Charges to make up the said
 “ Sum of 180000*l.* For the ascertaining therefore
 “ the Course in which said Sir *Henry Vane*, and
 “ Lieutenant-Colonel *Lilburne* shall be admitted
 “ by the Contractors: And the Monies hereafter
 “ to be doubled for the Use of the Publick, may
 “ be of no Prejudice to the said Sir *Henry Vane*,
 “ and the said Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburne*.

* Dr. *Philip Williams’s* MS. Collections. Vol. XVI. No. 55.

“ The Committee are of Opinion that the Parlia-
 “ ment be moved to declare, that the said Sir *Henry*
 “ *Vane*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *John Lilburne* be
 “ admitted forthwith by the Contracts to be satis-
 “ fied their several Proportions, to receive the Be-
 “ nefit of their respective Acts.

Reported Sept. 3, 1650.

Number XII.

**To the Honourable House of Commons now as-
 sembled in Parliament. The Humble Peti-
 tion of the Ministers of the Assembly hereunto
 subscribed,*

Sheweth,

“ **T**HAT there remaineth in Arrears due unto
 “ them seven Thousand, and five hundred
 “ Pounds and more, for which and for Payment
 “ of the future, they humbly petition this honoura-
 “ ble House. The Care hereof to suggest some
 “ Way of Provision was referred to a *Committee*,
 “ which *Committee* is ready to make Report of what
 “ they have considered off in this Matter.

“ The Petitioners would with Silence have still
 “ waited, had not their many and urgent Wants
 “ pressed them hereunto, being such, and so great,
 “ as doe render divers of them altogether unable to
 “ subsist, unless forthwith relieved by this honoura-
 “ ble House. May it therefore please this honoura-
 “ ble House to call for the Report, and to expedite
 “ the same. That thereby the Petitioners may
 “ have wherewith to support their Families, and

* Manuscript Collections of Dr. *Philip Williams*. Vol. XXII.
 No. 54. An Original.

“ defray the great Taxes, and other unavoidable
 “ Expences, and comfortably go through the Ser-
 “ vice this honourable House hath called them
 “ unto.

And they shall pray, &c.

John Green.
Oliver Bowles.
Thomas Boyly.
Nicolas Proffet.
Theodore Bathurst.
John Maynard.
Humfry Chambers.
Fra. Woodcocke.
Charles Herle.
Sta. Gower.
John Langley.
Anthony Burgess.
Henry Wilkinson, Jun.
Thomas Young.
John Ley.
Philip Nye.
William Bridg.
Sidrach Simpson.
And. Perne.
Thomas Hodges.
Edward Reynoldes.
Hum. Hardwick.
John Lightfoote.

William Mew.
William Twisse, Pro-
locutor.
John White, Assessor.
Peter Smith.
Josbua Hoyle.
John Whincop.
Thomas Gataker.
George Walker.
Francis Taylor.
Henry Wilkinson.
Richard Vines.
Sam. Delaplace.
De la March.
Herbert Palmer.
Daniel Cawdrey.
Thomas Case.
William Prior.
Samuel Gibson.
Thomas Carter.
Gasp. Hickes.
John Strickland.
Henry Scudder.

Petition from the Assembly, Read January 8, 1644.

Number XIII.

*Honourable Sir,

“ **H**AVING received an Order of Parliament
 “ dated upon *Thursday* the fifteenth Day of

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. VIII. No. 18.
 An Original.

“ this

‘ this Instant *August*, that we should certify to
 ‘ the Parliament the whole Truth of the Matter
 ‘ of Fact concerning the Tryal of Major *Richard*
 ‘ *Cheadle*, in Observance of which we give you
 ‘ this Account thereof. The said Major *Cheadle*
 ‘ was indicted before us, the last great Sessions
 ‘ held for the County of *Caernarvon* for the mur-
 ‘ thering of *Richard Bulkley*, Esq; in *February* last
 ‘ past: The said Major *Cheadle* upon his Arraign-
 ‘ ment and Tryal, had as fair and indifferent Pro-
 ‘ ceedings, and as free Scope and Liberty of all
 ‘ Advantages, that the Lawes of this Land al-
 ‘ lowed him; as himself, or his own choice Coun-
 ‘ cil did challenge or design, or ourselves knew to
 ‘ be due to him: And in the Choice of his Jury,
 ‘ he had as much Freedom as his Council required,
 ‘ and none was sworn of the Jury of Traverse,
 ‘ but such as had formerly subscribed the Engage-
 ‘ ment, or not being required before, subscribed
 ‘ it then voluntarily and readily in our Presence:
 ‘ And the Jury (as we believe) were all knowing
 ‘ Men. The Foreman of them *John Owen*, Esq;
 ‘ a Justice of the Peace of the said County, a
 ‘ Man always well affected to the Parliament; and
 ‘ one who hath declared his Affection constantly
 ‘ to them from the Beginning of their late Trou-
 ‘ bles, to this present Time, and one other a Quar-
 ‘ ter-Master in the Army, and one other employed
 ‘ in a Place of Trust: And we think it very fit-
 ‘ ting to do Colonel *Carter* the Sheriff of the said
 ‘ County so much Right as to inform you of his
 ‘ great Care in the Carriage of the Business, and
 ‘ in returning a well-affected and indifferent Jury.
 ‘ Upon the Evidence, it did appear that the said
 ‘ Major *Cheadle*, and *Richard Bulkley* both passing
 ‘ over the Ferry of *Bewmaries* about the same
 ‘ Time,

“ Time, from *Anglesey* to the said County of
 “ *Caernarvon*, and both taking Horse about the
 “ same Time, rid together a short Way upon the
 “ Sands from the Ferry, and upon some Passages
 “ that happened between them in their riding to-
 “ gether, Mr. *Bulkley* did strike at him with his
 “ Hand, without any Weapon in it for ought ap-
 “ peared, and thereupon rid away; But Major
 “ *Cheadle*, forced his Wife from behind him; and
 “ threw downe his Cloake, and drew his Tucke, and
 “ pursued Mr. *Buckley*, and in Pursuit Mr. *Buckley*
 “ turning towards him, the said *Cheadle* gave him
 “ his mortal Wound in the Breast with his Tucke.
 “ Severall Witnesses did prove Enmity, and former
 “ Malice between them, and Threatnings of the
 “ said Major *Cheadle* to be revenged on the said
 “ Mr. *Bulkley*, and to pistol him within a small
 “ Time before the Death of Mr. *Bulkley*: There ap-
 “ peared no Reconciliation at all, only a Brother-
 “ in-Law of Major *Cheadle*’s affirmed, that not
 “ long before the Fact committed, Major *Cheadle*
 “ should say, he had no Malice to Mr. *Bulkley*;
 “ and a Cousin of Major *Cheadle*’s averr’d, that
 “ the Night before the Murder, Major *Cheadle*
 “ upon some Discourse with him concerning Mr.
 “ *Bulkley* said, that if the two ould Men their Fa-
 “ thers were dead, he did beleieve they should a-
 “ gree well enough. But to cleare all Doubt, two
 “ Witnesses who had been in Major *Cheadle*’s Com-
 “ pany in his Flight after the Fact committed, did
 “ depose, that Major *Cheadle* said, that he had now
 “ done that which he long intended, and purposed
 “ in killing Mr. *Bulkley*, and that he would have
 “ done it at a Horse-Race, which was a little be-
 “ fore at *Conway*, but for disturbing the Company
 “ there, and that he had purposed and resolved of
 “ a long Time to be revenged of Mr. *Bulkley*
 “ whensoever he found Opportunity, and that this
 “ was

“ was the first Opportunity he had to doe it: Upon
 “ all which we were fully satisfied there was a high,
 “ and continuing Malice unto the Stroke committed:
 “ And wee beleeeve that both the Jury, and
 “ all those present, were fully satisfied therein:
 “ Upon all which Evidence, the Malice being
 “ fully proved, the Jury did find him guilty of
 “ Murder, and Judgment and Sentence of Death
 “ was given and pronounced against him according
 “ to Law; but out of our Respect to his better
 “ part, and something for publick Consideration,
 “ wee thought good to reprieve his Execution eight
 “ Days after the Sessions Weeke, that he might
 “ make his Peace with Almighty God, not expecting
 “ any other Use would have been made of
 “ it; and in Truth, not conceaving him a meet
 “ Object for the Mercy of the Parliamente. And
 “ this is the true Account of the whole State of this
 “ Buifness, whiche we have represented unto you
 “ very faithfully, having noething else to adde, but
 “ that wee are,

Your most humble Servants,

Bal., Aug. 23,
 1650.

Wil. Littleton.
Edward Bulstrode.

For the honourable *William Lentball*, Esq;
 Speaker of the Parliament of *England*.

Notwithstanding this full Proof of the Murder,
 there was a Person who gave the following Account
 to *Lentball*, which occasioned (I suppose) the Order
 of the *Rump* referred to by *William Littleton*
 and *Edward Bulstrode* two of their Judges.

Number XIV.

**Right Honourable,*

“ I Make bold to inform your Honour, that
 “ I Major *Richard Cheadle*, who hath done very
 “ great Service for the Parliament, is condemned
 “ to die last Week at *Conway* Affizes, for the sup-
 “ posed murdering of Colonel *Buckley* the vilest
 “ Malignant that was in *Wales*, and in the Opinion
 “ of all the well-affected Spectators, Mr. *Bulstrode*
 “ one of his Judges appeared most harsh and par-
 “ tial towards the said Major, in countenancing
 “ then the Malignant Party exceedingly, and palpa-
 “ bly admitting of notorious *Cavaliers* contrary to
 “ all Probabilities to swear against the said Major,
 “ whereby he was cast unjustly, and to the great
 “ Discouragement of the well-affected, as most
 “ that were well-affected and present at his Tryall
 “ doe conceive. I humbly desire theirfore your
 “ Honour will be pleased to move the Parliament
 “ presently to reprieve the said Major at least for
 “ one or two Months, till the Disservice that our
 “ Party may be more discerned, especially in re-
 “ gard two of the most material Witnessees against
 “ the said Major were Soldiers under Colonel *Moston*
 “ who married the said Colonel *Bulkley*’s Sister.
 “ One of the said Soldiers being reputed a Thief,
 “ and both now harboured by the said *Buckley*’s Fa-
 “ ther. I remain

Your Honour’s Humble Servant,

Chester, Aug. 11, 1650.

† *Roberte Duckenfield.*

To the Right Honourable *William Lentball*, Esq;
 Speaker to the Parliament of *England* at *Westmin-*
ster, These present. Number

* *Dr. Williams’s MS. Collections.* Vol. VIII. N^o. 14.

† This Colonel *Robert Duckenfield* was appointed a Member
 of the High Court of Justice for the Tryal of the King. See
Dugdale’s Short View. pag. 368.

Number XV.-

*June 2, 1642.

“ **M**R. *Richard Foster* saith that about five
 “ Weeks since, whilst he this Informant was
 “ Prisoner in *Newgate*, Mr. *Henry Darrel* came to
 “ him to see him, and asked this Informant what
 “ can you not get off yet? Whereunto he answer’d
 “ no he was out of Hope. Mr. *Darrell* then re-
 “ ply’d, Money or Bribes may doe it; and he ve-
 “ rily believed, he said, Mr. *Pym* may do it; or
 “ if you make Means to Mr. *Pym*, he may get
 “ you off, or Words to that Effect: And he fur-
 “ ther saith, that he believeth, that the Summ of
 “ 30*l.* was mentioned, but he cannot positively
 “ affirme it; neither doth he remember that at that
 “ Time, or any other, any Mention was made of
 “ any Person that had given Mr. *Pym* 30*l.* or that
 “ lent that, or any other Summ to that Purpose, but
 “ saith to the best of his Remembrance, the said
 “ Mr. *Darrell* did tell him this Informant, that a
 “ Bribe of 30*l.* might get him off.

Richard Foster.

“ *Richard Widofon* saith that upon *Monday* last
 “ he went with Mr. *Darrel* his Master over to the
 “ *King’s-Bench*, being commanded by him to go
 “ with him, to bear Witness what Mr. *Foster*
 “ should say unto him touching Mr. *Pym’s* taking
 “ a Bribe of 30*l.* then his said Master asked Mr.
 “ *Foster*, whether Mr. *Pym* had not taken a Bribe
 “ of 30*l.* to which Mr. *Foster* answered *yea, yea:*
 “ And the said Mr. *Foster* further said, that Mr.
 “ *Pym* did use to take Bribes of the Parties coming

* Dr. *Philip Williams’s* MS. Collections. Vol. XIII. No. 69.
 An Original.

“ into question, or before, but not after : And
 “ faith, that he heard no further Communication
 “ betwixt them, and faith that the forementioned
 “ Question, was the first that his said Master asked
 “ the said Mr. *Foster*, and asked him no other Que-
 “ stion but that, for he presently went from him.

Richard Widoſon.

“ “ *Change Places Charles, putte thou on Pimmes grave Gown,*
 “ *Whileſt he in th’upper Howſe doth weare thy Crowne,*
 “ *Lett him be Kinge awhile, and bee thou Pime,*
 “ *Then weel adore thee, as wee now doe him.*
 “ *And hange up Biſhops who ſee proudly ſtrive*
 “ *To advance their owne and thie Prerogative ;*
 “ *And bee content, ſince Roundheads call them Romans,*
 “ *To have ſome Traytors in the Howſe of Commons.*
 “ *Lett us doe what wee liſt, and thou ſhalt ſee,*
 “ *Wee’le all be Kings as well as Pyme and Thee.*

“ The 29th of *March*, 1642, Mr. *Peter Maxeſeild*
 “ who liveth as wee conceive at *Meare* in the
 “ Countie of *Stafford*, did publiſh a Paper of Verſes
 “ in the Hearering of us whoſe Names are ſub-
 “ ſcribed, and divers others at *Woer* in this Countie
 “ of *Salop*, he having come along to the ſaid Towne
 “ of *Woer* with his Maſteſty’s Carriages, of which
 “ Paper of Verſes, this above written is a true
 “ Coppie for Subſtance, and as wee verily believe
 “ for Words ; In Teſtimony of which wee have
 “ hereunto putte our Handes.

Thomas Loachard.

Robert Endley.

Number XVI.

† S I R,

“ I T haveing pleaſed God to give the Forces
 “ under the Command of Colonel *Roffiter* Vic-

* Dr. *Philip Williams’s MS. Collections.* Vol. XII. N^o. 12.

† Dr. *Philip Williams’s MS. Collections.* Vol. VII. N^o. 57
 An Original.

“ tory

“ tory over that Part of the Enemies, whoe
 “ much threatned theise Parts with Evil, wee the
 “ Committees of Parlyament for the Counties of
 “ *Lincolne* and *Nottingham*, doe most humbly de-
 “ fire, that for the future Discouragement of
 “ such-like rebellious Practices in the Kingdome,
 “ some of the chiefeft Actors in this late Design
 “ may be brought to speedy Tryal at the next As-
 “ sises, for levying Warre in the Kingdome, con-
 “ trary to the knowne Lawes thereof, or other-
 “ wise as the Parliament shall think fitte, and the
 “ rest of the Prisoners now in Custody to bee sente
 “ over-Sea, whoe will otherways remayne here as
 “ Seeds of new Insurrections: And that the Charge
 “ of keeping Prisoners till then, and cureing of
 “ our wounded Souldiers, which are very many,
 “ may be reimbursed out of the Sale of some Part
 “ of the Estates of such Person or Persons Par-
 “ ties in this late Designe, as shall be presented to
 “ the honourable House by any seaven of the
 “ Committees of theise Counties: And that suche
 “ other humble Desires as wee have intreated Mr.
 “ *Weaver* to present to the honourable House in
 “ Behalf of our respective Counties, may be
 “ granted for the better Encouragement and Se-
 “ curity, if they shall appear reasonable. Sir,
 “ wee are,

Your most humble Servants,

Will. Drewry, Major. Jos. Widmerpole.

Charles Hall.

William Nix.

Will. Bury.

Gilbert Millington.

Nicholas Charlton.

John Disney.

Ja. Chadwick.

To the Hon. *William Lentball*, Esq; Speaker of
 the Honourable House of Commons, These.

Number

Number XVII.

*S I R,

“ I T hath pleased God to give us a seasonable
 “ Victory over the *Pontefract* Horse and Foot,
 “ an increasing, active and resolved Enemy; for
 “ which we desire the Lord of Hosts, and God of
 “ all Victories may have the sole Honour and Praise.
 “ This timely Advance of Sir *Henry Cholmley*,
 “ with those under his Command (stopping their
 “ Retreat by his lying on the North-side of *Trent*)
 “ gave us this Opportunity of fighting them. My
 “ present Indisposition occasioned by my Wounds
 “ received, in this sharp Engagement, will not
 “ give me Leave to present you with an Account
 “ thereof in Writing. I have therefore sent my
 “ Captain-Lieutenant to give you a full Narrative
 “ of the whole Business. Sir, I am,

Nottingham,
 July 6, 1648.

Your Humble and Faithful Servant,

Edward Rossiter.

To the Hon. *William Lentball, Esq;* Speaker of
 the Honourable House of Commons, These.

Number XVIII.

October 11, 1644.

† *The Information of Fredericke Faber, and
 William Jones, Commissioners for the Excise
 and new Impost in the City of Durham and
 County thereof.*

“ W Hereas by Virtue of several Ordinances of
 “ Parliament, wee the said Commissioners

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. VII. No. 58.*
 An Original.

† *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIX. No. 78.*
 An Original.

“ made

“ made Seazure of seventeene Rowles of Tobacco
 “ belonging unto *Robeart Sympson*, and lying in the
 “ Howse of *Rowland Scott* in *Durham*, where we
 “ committed the same under Lock and Key, until
 “ Satisfaction was given for the Excise thereof,
 “ theese are to testify that Major *Rickarton* caused
 “ the Dore to be broaken open, and in contempt
 “ of the said Ordinances of Parlyament, and De-
 “ fiance of us the Commissioners, with many daring
 “ Words and Pretence of Strokes, commanded the
 “ said Tobacco to be carried away, saying that
 “ what hee did, hee would maintayne: Which
 “ Presedent of his hath caused us and our Com-
 “ mission to be slyted. The Execution of the Or-
 “ dinances of Parlyament neglected, and the State
 “ much damnefyed. For the which wee humbly
 “ crave Redrefs.

Your Servants to command,

Postscript. More we
 shewed him the Coppy
 of my Lord General's
 Warrant which he did
 refuse to obey.

Fred. Faber.
William Jones.

Indorsed. Information of the Excise-Men of *Dur-*
ham against *Scots* Officers for obstructing the Excise.
October 11, 1644.

Number XIX.

**Gentlemen,*

“ **W**EE presume you may be hereby fully as-
 “ fured from us, that the several Particulars
 “ touching the *Scotts* late represented by you to the
 “ honourable House of Commons, by your Let-
 “ ter dated at *York* 25 *July* last, will be punctually

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections.* Vol. IV. No. 17.
 An Original.

“ verified and made good, whenever an Oppor-
 “ tunity shall be offer’d for that Purpose, as namely,
 “ that the *Scotts* were then, and are yet possessed
 “ of three Garrisons near adjoyning to *Carlisle*,
 “ viz. *Naward Castle*, *Corby Castle*, and *Skailby*
 “ *Castle*, and that further (then was as yet signi-
 “ fied) they have sessed all the Parishes excepting
 “ only three, within one of the Divisions of the
 “ County, and that they have interrupted by con-
 “ trary Warrants, the Execution of an Order
 “ made by Sir *William Armyne*, and Mr. *Darley*,
 “ and Mr. *Barwis* upon the taking of *Carlisle*,
 “ which was seconded by the Committee here, and
 “ endeavoured to be put in Execution for the pre-
 “ sent Subsistence of the Officers of the County
 “ Forces, and for their Demands of Maintenance
 “ from this County; the same were inclosed in a
 “ Letter from three of us, of the 23d of *July* last,
 “ and for their menacing Language some of our
 “ own Number hath not bene exempted therefrom.
 “ Wee may adde hereto the Free Quarter they
 “ daily and constantly take without rendring so
 “ much as Tickets, and poore Mens Horses they
 “ feize, and frequently wrest by Violence, and
 “ sometimes our Troops-Horses escape them not,
 “ neither can we, having several Times hereto ap-
 “ plied ourselves to their Commanders to obtaine a
 “ just Redresse; and from parte of this County
 “ instead of free Quarter they exacte Compositions.
 “ Further, on *Friday* last, the Governour of *Car-*
 “ *lisle* sent a Party of Horse to one of our High
 “ Constables his House, with a Warrant to appre-
 “ hend him, for that Provisions of Fuel were not
 “ brought into *Carlisle Castle* by the Country, ac-
 “ cording to the Governor’s former Warrants,
 “ directed to the same High Constable, who was
 “ carried to *Carlisle*, and there detained till he was
 “ forced

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“ forced to enter Bond that the Country should
“ bring in Provisions. Accordingly, we remaine,

Your assured Freinds to serve you,

Wigton, Aug. 6,
1642.

Wilfrid Lawson.

Thomas Cholmley.

William Brisco.

Thomas Lamplugh.

Jo. Barwis.

Mich. Studholme.

To the honourable *Francis Peirepont*, Esq; Sir
Thomas Malleuerer, Knight and Baronet, and the
rest of the Honourable Committee for the *Northern*
Association at *Yorke*, These.

Number XX.

S I R,

“ **T**HE * *Scotts Army* is unexpectedly returned
“ into these Parts againe, and albeit wee the
“ Committee of the several Redinges have made
“ known unto them, that we neither have Autho-
“ rity to impose any such Burthens upon the Coun-
“ try, and if we had such Power, yet that wee
“ know the Country unable to beare them, with-
“ out the universal Ruine of the Inhabitants. Ne-
“ vertheless the Commanders of the said Army
“ have of themselves taken up their Quarters in
“ the North Rydeinge, and spread their Charge,
“ and fende out their Warrantes in other Partes of
“ the Countye, requiring from the People, such
“ vast Summes of Money, and Proportion of Pro-
“ visions as have not been hearde of in other Parts

* Manuscript Collections of Dr. *Philip Williams*. Vol. IV.
No. 102. An Original.

“ of this Kingdome, which nevertheless they force
 “ the People to bring into them. Theis Imposi-
 “ tions thus layd by them upon the Country, as wee
 “ understand by daily Complaints brought to us
 “ from severall Places, are in most Partes of the
 “ Country at the Rate of * 144468 *l. per Menssem*;
 “ being distributed in the same Measure through
 “ the whole Country; and in some other Parts not
 “ so much; but in no Place that wee have yet
 “ heard of less than after the Rate of 45000 *l. per*
 “ *Mensem*, and all this taken under Pretence of
 “ Order from their superiour Officers, besydes the
 “ infinite Oppressions and Extortions of the Offi-
 “ cers and Soldiers, who take away the Subjects
 “ Horses, Goods and Moneys, without any pub-
 “ lique Order, which we conceive may equal the
 “ Proportion of their certen Assessments. Theis
 “ insupportable Burthens must of Necessity intro-
 “ duce an universal Poverty and Desolation of the
 “ Country, and so prepare the Dispositions of the
 “ People to desperate Associations and Resolutions,
 “ to rise in Opposition: Which how destructive it
 “ may prove to the present Union of the Nations,
 “ we leave to your Considerations. And wee may
 “ not omitt herewith to represent unto you, as a
 “ Matter conducing to the same, and that the
 “ Ways to raise Money in this County for the Pay
 “ of our own Army, being wholly obstructed by
 “ those Leavies of the *Scotts*, that take up the
 “ whole Substance of the Country, it will be im-
 “ possible to contayne our own Soldiers, who were
 “ *mutinous* before, but that now their Distemper
 “ will be much increased, and being united to an
 “ oppressed People, may give more speedy Vent
 “ to the *Heart-Burnings* and Discontents contracted

* See Dr. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XII. No. 147.

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“ by their Sufferings; which visibly tends to an
“ utter Confusion of this Countye.

“ Sir, whatsoever our succeeding Miserys may
“ be, yet we conceive wee have now discharged
“ our Duties, in making this Remonstrance of our
“ Sufferings to that honourable House, which is
“ the only Place under Heaven, from whence we
“ can hope for Reliefe. And our Request is in
“ order to the Prevention of the Damages immi-
“ nent, that the *Scotts* Armye may immediately
“ be removed from theis Partes: And some Course
“ taken for Reparation of the Countrey's Sufferinges,
“ by the other Parts of the Kingdome; lyable to
“ the Burthen of the Army; which we humbly
“ desire may immediately be presented by you to
“ the House. From

Your most affectionate humble Servants,

York, Oct. 3, 1645.

J. Anlaby.

Ri. Robinson.

Will. Allanson.

James Challoner.

John Stillington.

Ra. Rymere.

Math. Boynton.

Rich. Darley.

Jo. Bourchier.

Ro. Barwicke.

Robert Legard.

Jo. Wastel.

Thomas Stockdale.

Jo. Bright.

Jo. Farrer.

Chri. Ridley.

Thomas Dickenson.

Rich. Darley.

Thomas Chaloner.

Thomas St. Nicholas.

John Clayton.

Will. Armytage.

For our honorable Freind *William Lenthall*, Esq;
Speaker of the House of Commons.

Westminster.

Numb.

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Number XXI.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

“ **T**HIS is the third Addresse which wee have
 “ made to you, being occasioned by further
 “ and new Complaints since our last, containing
 “ the deplorable and now almost ruined Estate of
 “ this County, by Reason of the *Scottish* Army
 “ quarter’d upon us.

“ Wee are most unwilling to be troublesome
 “ unto you where we can possibly avoid it, and
 “ therefore wee pray you too peruse this inclosed
 “ Coppy of our Letter to General *Leaven*, which
 “ will not only satisfy you in the Particulars of our
 “ Grievances, but that wee omitt noe lawful Waies
 “ we can thinke for our owne Preservation. † The
 “ Coppie of his Answer to us is also herewith sent
 “ you, of whome wee must needs give this honoura-
 “ ble Testimony, that if the inferiour Officers of
 “ his Army had been as careful to maintain the
 “ good Correspondency betweene the Kingdomes,

* *Dr. Philip Williams's Manuscript Collections.* Vol. IV.
 No. 118. An Original.

† “ *Gentlemen*, I received a Letter of yours dated at York
 “ the 4th of *October*, and in it an Account of the Cuntrie Peo-
 “ ples Greivances against our Armie. I have not been many
 “ Days from them, and am exceeding sorrie that so short a Time
 “ hath bred so great a Change in their Carriage; my Care hath
 “ ever been, and shall be to preserve them in Order, and the
 “ Cuntrie from Oppression: And as I have ever bene ready to
 “ heare the just Complaints of the meanest, and to give them Sa-
 “ tisfaction and Reparation, soe I shall make it a Request unto
 “ you, that all Complaints of these kindes you mention, may be
 “ ready at my Returne unto the Armie, (which, for that very
 “ Cause, I shall hasten) and you shall see Redresse of them to
 “ the full, which is all for the present can be said to you at this
 “ Distance by your very affectionate Freind, subscribed *Leaven*.

Berwick, Oct. 6, 1645. Dr. Williams's MS. Collections.
 Vol. XII. No. 148.

“ as his *Excellency* hath beene, wee verily believe,
 “ that wee should not have had any Occasion of
 “ making these Complaints. But wee perswade
 “ ourselves, that his Commands are not observed,
 “ because our Sufferings increase daily with his Ab-
 “ sence, soe as without present Ease, wee cannot
 “ expect any thing but suddaine Ruine; for they
 “ demeane themselves not as if they came onely for
 “ their Subsistence, but purposely to destroy us.

“ Wee nothing doubt of the Parliaments equal
 “ Care of us as of other Parts of this Kingdome,
 “ and our Fidelity to the Cause assures us, that wee
 “ have not merited to be designed out to Destru-
 “ ction: Nor that wee only should mourn at this
 “ present, when all *England*, by God’s Mercies,
 “ hath such Occasion to rejoyce.

“ Our Necessitys therefore embolden us to be
 “ thus importunate for our present Reliefe, being
 “ not otherwaies able to appease the Cryes and
 “ Teares of such a Multitude of miserable Peo-
 “ ple, who daily flocke unto us for Redresse.

“ And it being the greatest Part of our Gréife
 “ in that wee are not able to help them, wee hum-
 “ bly desire your present and speedy Assistance,
 “ who desire, with their utmost Endeavours, to ap-
 “ prove themselves,

Your Humble Servants,

Yorke, Oct. 10, 1645.

Rich. Darley.

Jo. Bourchier.

Thomas Stockdale.

Ar. Ingram.

John Savile.

Ro. Barwicke.

Jo. Bright.

Chr. Legard.

Darcy Wentworth.

James Chalonier.

Jo. Wastell.

Geo. Marwood.

Jo. Farrer.

W. Armitage.

Ra. Rymere.

Thomas Challoner.

Chr. Percehay.

To our honourable Friend *William Lentball*, Esq;
 Speaker of the House of Commons in Parliament,
 at *Westminster*.

C

Numb.

Number XXI.

* *A Particular of Part of the Countreyes Sufferings by the Scottish Army, (viz. the North Riding in Yorkshire) Jan. 12, 1646.*

“ **T**HE *Scottish* Horse doe generally quarter foe
 “ many together, that they destroy all the
 “ Meadows in their Quarters, besides much
 “ Wast of Corne growing.

“ The Townes where they quarter doe furnish
 “ them with Horse-Meate, and for want of Oates,
 “ they pay them 6*d.* for every Horse *per diem*,
 “ and for their Meat and Drink many Complaints
 “ are of extraordinary Provisions which poore
 “ Men are forced to get them. Many Troopes have
 “ about sixe Townes for their assistant Quarters,
 “ which they charge with Provisions after the Pro-
 “ portion of 7000*l.* a Month. Every two or
 “ three Days in many Places, which Provisions,
 “ they will not receive in kind, but at such Rates,
 “ as that the Owners must loose a third Part, if
 “ not halfe in most Things.

“ In their Assistant Townes, if they receive Pro-
 “ visions, they commonly sell it againe, and as
 “ yet, very few have given any Part of their Pro-
 “ visions for the Reliefe of their Quarters.

“ They have beaten divers, till they have granted
 “ to lay on Assessments.

“ They have carried some out of Townes where
 “ they dwell diverse Miles, and then beaten them
 “ till they have promised to pay them Monies.

“ They have threatned many to kill them, if
 “ they would not pay them their Demands, and
 “ doe daily exact and levie Money.

* Manuscript Collections of Dr. P. Williams. Vol. XII.
 No. 193.

“ Orders

- “ Orders granted upon Complaints by the Com-
 “ manders in chiefe for the Reliefe of the Com-
 “ playnants, feldome observed by the Troopers.
 “ Seven Pence *per Diem* demanded by Troopers
 “ when absent out of their Quarters.
 “ The Sequestrators, Collectors, and Officers
 “ for the Publique, and the best affected are fled
 “ from their own Houses.

Number XXII.

** May it please your Honour,*

I Have so often troubled your Honour with
 Complaints of the Disorders both of Com-
 manders and Soldiers, that I am ashamed in their
 Behalfe to say any more: And I could wish,
 that they were ashamed of their Abuses, but
 that I think they will never be. For the last
 Week here came a Regiment of *Scotch* Horse un-
 der the Command of one Collonel *Frisell*: Their
 Carriage was most barbarous; they abused all
 where they came, taking away Mens Horses by
 strong Hand, and if they followed after them
 to have their Horses again, they beat them, nay
 wounded many and killed some. Two of your
 Honour's poor Tenants of *Wooller* that had
 their Horse taken from them went after them,
 but instead of getting their Horses back, they
 have almost gotten their *Carage* according to
 the Phrase of the Country: They were both sore
 wounded, the one 'tis thought will hardly scape.
 From the two *Middletons*, they took but six
 Horse, and did the like by their Men that fol-
 lowed them. What with the Soldiers, and this

* Dr. P. Williams's Manuscript Popery. Vol. V. No. 93.
 An Original,

“ continuing Storme, if it lye but one Month
 “ more, there will bee neither Beast nor Sheepe
 “ left in the Country. Your Honour’s Deere and
 “ wild Cattle, I fear will all dye, doe what wee
 “ can: The like of this Storme hath not beene
 “ knowne by any now living in the Country. The
 “ Lord looke uppon us in Mercy, if it be his blef-
 “ sed Will. I

Your Honour’s poor Servant,

Chill. Jan. 20,
 1645.

Will. Ashburne.

Superfcribed. To Sir *Henry Vane*, or Lord Gray.

Number XXIII.

A Letter from the Committee at York.

*S I R,

“ **T**HE continewed Pressures of the *Scottish*
 “ Armie upon this Countie in the North
 “ Rydeing, and Parte of the Weste, doe occasion
 “ so great and so many Complaints from the poor
 “ oppressed Countriemen, that wee must crave Par-
 “ don still to continewe the transmitting of the
 “ same Complaints to the honourable House; and
 “ for the Taste of the Sufferinges of the whole,
 “ wee offer the † Inclosed, which wee doe not pre-
 “ sume to offer, but upon very certeyne and credi-
 “ ble Informations. Wee had two Daies agoe a
 “ Letter from the *Scottish* Lords at *Newcastle*,
 “ (which wee send heere inclosed) declaring a De-
 “ sire to receive the Accounts of the Armie, to

* Dr. *Williams’s* Manuscript Collections. Vol. VI. No. 7.
 An Original.

† The Inclosed referred to lost.

“ which

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“ which wee have returned Answer in Writing
 “ by their own Messengers, a Coppy whereof we
 “ also send heerwith. And wee intend to beginne
 “ the Examination thereupon in the most remote
 “ Southern Weapontake in this County, at *Rother-*
 “ *ham*, the 25th of *June* Instante, according to
 “ the Commission in that Behalf issued under the
 “ Great Seale the 15th of *August* last: But it is our
 “ humble Desire, that the same Commissions may
 “ be forthwith removed, and more Commissioners
 “ named therein for the better expediting the Ser-
 “ vice in each Weapontake, if that the Service bee
 “ not interrupted, but fairly complied with by the
 “ Presence of some of the *Scottish* Partye, according
 “ to the Commission, as is now offered by their said
 “ Commissioners. And so wee rest,

S I R, Your most humble Servants,

Yorke, June 12,
 1646.

Jo. Bourchier, Vic.
Rich. Darley.
Edward Rodes.
Ro. Barwicke.
Bar. Bourchier.

Jo. Farrer.
Ra. Rymere.
John Stillington.
Tho. St. Niclas.

To the Hon. *William Lentball*, Esq; Speaker of
 the House of Commons.

Number XXIV.

**To the Right Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons, the Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of that Part of the County of Nottingham lying on the North-Side of the Trent.*

Sheweth,

“ **T**HAT wee did of late by our Humble Pe-
 “ tition present to your Honours, the Pay-
 “ ments, and Sufferings of this County (by Occa-
 “ sion of the present Warre) within three Years
 “ last did amount to above one Million of Money,
 “ whereof we did account the Charge of this pre-
 “ sent *Scottish* Army to be but † 20000 *l.* which now
 “ upon Examination, by your Honour’s Direction
 “ will appear to be 26189 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* notwith-
 “ standing divers whole Townes, and many
 “ other particular Persons have not brought in their
 “ Bills touching that Particular, wee did with less
 “ Griefe undergoe the Pressures of the *Scott’s* Army,
 “ with a comfortable Hope, that your Honours
 “ coming into these Parts would have offered us a
 “ speedy Reliefe, (being fully perswaded then, as
 “ wee are still) that that Army was not invited or
 “ drawne hither with any Intent to be our irrepa-
 “ rable Ruine. Notwithstanding our humble Re-
 “ presentation, and your Honours Accessse, wee yet
 “ understood not of any Ease, but find this Part of
 “ the County still charged with an Assessment of
 “ 2500 *l.* weekly, besides for the most Part, with
 “ *Free Quarter* for most Officers, and lysted Sol-

* *Dr. Philip Williams’s Manuscript Collections. Vol. V. No. 75.*

† *Que.* Whether not 20000.

“ diers,

“ diers, and all other Men, Women and Boys de-
 “ pending, or shadding themselves under that
 “ Army; and which is most of all, the *Tyranny*
 “ and Evils incident to free Quarter, in the best
 “ governed Armies. If that 2500*l.* with the
 “ Charge of *Free Quarter* shall still continue, it
 “ cannot be lesse in our Opinions weekly than
 “ 5000*l.* which must bee borne by two Parts of
 “ three, and an half Part of this County, by Rea-
 “ son of untenanted Grounds and Places visited by
 “ the Sickness. This being our most sadd and la-
 “ mentable Condition, bringing upon us a present
 “ and apparent Distruction, wee once more humbly
 “ crave Leave to present this same to your Honours
 “ Goodness and great Wisdome, and beseeching
 “ your Honours Consideration and present Reliefe,
 “ without which, these Cessments and Pressures
 “ still continuing uppon us, it will inevitably fol-
 “ low, that a third Part of this Part of the Coun-
 “ ty is already deserted, and every Day others are
 “ continually leaving their Habitations, and con-
 “ veying what Goods they can away, (the small
 “ Remainder that cannot doe the like must bear all
 “ the Burthen, or sink under it) will be driven to
 “ prostrate all their Estate to the Mercie of the
 “ Army, and bee forced to begg from them a
 “ Part, to keep themselves and their Families from
 “ perishing.

Superscribed. To the Right Honourable the Lords,
 and others Commissioners at *Grantbam*. Humbly
 These.

Number XXV.

**Notes of some Things done by the Scotts Army and Officers.*

Garrisons. ' **F**IRST placing of Garrisons, as
' *Warkworth, Hartlepool, Stockton,*
' *Tbirlewall, Newcastle, Tynemouth, and Carelyle.*

' These the Commissioners of Parliament can
' testify, whereof are now in Towne four of them.
' *Tynmouth. Secondly,* ' The Government of *Tyne-*
' *mouth Collo. Lodowick Lesley,* hath raised new
' Workes about the Castle of *Tynemouth,* and by
' the River's Mouth, without any Warrant from
' the Parliament, and haith much oppressed the
' adjacent Parts by pressing the Country People for
' eight Months and more by past, for Pioneers
' and Carriages; having raised a Troope of Horse
' that doe no other Service but compell the People
' to come in daily to these Workes, or pay Moneys
' to the said Troopes, taking likewise free Quarter
' abroad in the Country, and cessing the People for
' their Maintenance, cessing them also for Bedding
' for their Soldiers that are in the Castle; all this
' being done, notwithstanding the Castle was for-
' merly so strong, as that Sir *Thomas Ridell,* late
' Governour for the King, was able to make good
' Conditions for himself before he would yield it
' up.

' These the Committee of the County will testifye,
' and doth appeare by their last Remonstrance, and
' divers Warrants from the Officers for cessing.

' Mr *Milbourne* of the North *Shaeles,* oppressed
' by this Garrison, taking away his Coals without

‘ Money, and the Works likely to be lost as by
‘ his Petition appeareth.

‘ *Thirdly*, ‘ Collo. *Micbell Weldon*’s Officers being a
‘ Regiment under the *Scotts* Command, consisting
‘ of *Engliff* and *Scotts*, one Captain *Burton* one of
‘ his Captains cessed the Country without War-
‘ rant, whereupon the People
‘ rising to oppose, the Soldiers *Off.* 14, 1645.
‘ fell upon them, killed one, and
‘ wounded divers more, and plundered the High
‘ Constable’s House, utterly ruined him, whereof
‘ he complaining to the Committee, the Collo. took
‘ him Prisoner, and soe detained him untill he gave
‘ his Engagements to make no more Complaints,
‘ this will further appear by the severall Petitions
‘ and Proceedings of the Committee thereupon.

‘ The High Constable, and others, will be ready
‘ to prove it, if they be called upon.

‘ Capt. *Lancelot Weldon*, another of the Officers
‘ of the said Regiment, cessed the Country, as ap-
‘ peareth by the Country’s Petition.

‘ Others of Collo. *Weldon*’s Men killed one of
‘ the *Erringtons* who lived a little
‘ above *Hexam*, because he would *Michaelmas*,
‘ not give them the Sheet wherewith 1645.
‘ he was sowing his Corne.

‘ This will be proved by the Man’s Friends.

‘ Others of Collo. *Weldon*’s Men killed another
‘ Man lately in *Bramburgh* Ware
‘ nere to Mr. *Richard Foster*’s House
‘ a Justice of Peace, who of late About Jan. 1,
‘ made Complaint thereof to the 1645.
‘ Committee.

‘ *Fourthly*, ‘ The Officers of the *Scotts* Army af-
‘ ter the storming of *Newcastle*, imposed 5s. upon
‘ the Chaldre of Coals as by a Coppie of that Or-
‘ der which may be produced, and the proceedings
‘ thereupon appeareth, as also the Arguments
‘ against

‘ against the said Cesse, and Votes of the Horse
 ‘ for easing the Trade of that Burthen, the great
 ‘ Quantities of Coals ready wrought, might have
 ‘ brought much Money to the Estate, if the Se-
 ‘ questration thereof had not been obstructed.

Sunderland. Fifthly, ‘ Collo. Steward Gover-
 ‘ nour there, employed a *Delinquent*, one *Hancocke*,
 ‘ who had been in Armes against the Parliament, to
 ‘ seize upon Delinquents Persons, Goods and
 ‘ Horses, soe raising his Troope; *Hancocke* was
 ‘ taken and brought to the Commissioners of Par-
 ‘ liament with his Warrants about him, and was
 ‘ by them sent Prisoner to *London*; the Warrants
 ‘ are extant.

Custom-House. Sixthly, ‘ Touching the *Scotts*
 ‘ taking upon them to sit in the Custom-House at
 ‘ *Sunderland*, sitting there, and signing of War-
 ‘ rants, the Governour taking Tole of all the
 ‘ Malt that came in, and divers of them transport-
 ‘ ing prohibited Goods to *Scotland*.

‘ Let Mr. *Lee*, and Mr. *George Lilburne* of *Sun-*
 ‘ *derland* be called to testify this.

Hay for Officers. Seventhly, ‘ Two Hundred and
 ‘ Six Waine Loads of Hay demanded for the
 ‘ Horses of the Officers of every Foot Regiment
 ‘ that are in Garrison at *Newcastle*.

Eighthly, ‘ The Excise of *Durham* obstructed by
 ‘ the *Scotts* Officers, as by the Excise Officer’s Peti-
 ‘ tion doth appeare.

‘ Touching other Misdemeanors done in the
 ‘ County of *Durham*, Collonell *Robert Lilbourne*
 ‘ now in Towne can speak to that.

Indorsed, Notes of some Things done by the
Scotts Officers and Army.

Mr. *Fenwick*.

Numb.

Number XXVI.

- * *To the Worshipful his Majesty's Justices assembled in Session for the North Riding.*
 * *The Humble Petition of the Distressed Inhabitants of Cleveland, in Yorkshire.*

* *Humbly Sheweth,*

" THAT a Part of the said *Wapentake* hath
 " for these eight Months last past, or there-
 " abouts, paid to the *Scotts Army* 4000*l. per*
 " *ensem*, and upwards in Money and Provisions;
 " whereby they are so extreamly impoverished,
 " that some of them have neither Oxen left to till
 " their Ground, nor Seede to sowe the same withall.

" That yet notwithstanding the said Army shew
 " themselves so incompassionate of their said Mi-
 " sery, that they, or most of them doe demand
 " (upon Penalty of our Lives) a Month's Pay afore-
 " hand, towards their Advance, which is a Thing
 " altogether impossible for your Petitioners to per-
 " form, though it lye upon their Lives.

" The former Premisses considered.

" Their Humble Desire therefore is, that you
 " will be pleased in Consideration of their deplora-
 " ble and wasted Estates and Condition to mediate
 " with some Persons of Honour, that the *Scotts*
 " Army may not levye anye Advance Money, but
 " to give such strict Order as the poore Country
 " be no further charged, then it has been formerly.
 " And, &c.

" *Ad General. Session. tent. apud Helmesley Duo-*
 " *decimo Die Januarii Anno Regni Caroli, &c. 22.*

* Manuscript Collection of Dr. Ph. Williams. Vol. XXII.
 No. 91. An Original.

" *Coram* Rob. Berwick milite, Georgio Marwood,
 " Ricardo Eithington, & Isaaco Newton, Ar-
 " miger. Justic. Dist. Domini Regis ad pacem, &c.
 " George Marwood, Esq; one of his Majesty's
 " Justices of the Peace of the said North Riding, is
 " desired by this Court to represent to General Ma-
 " jor Skippon the humble Desire of the Inhabitants
 " of Cleveland, and to be a Suitor to him on the
 " behalf of this Court, that he will be pleased to
 " afford them his Assistance and Mediation; as
 " he shall conceive most conducing to the Reliefe
 " of the poor exhausted County.

Cl. Cur. J. Folborne.

Number XXVII.

Tickbill [Yorkshire.]

**The Complaint of the Grievances lately suffered,
 from certain Reformadoes pretending them-
 selves to belong to the Scottish Army.*

" I. **F**IRST Mr. Slyman complains, that Capt.
 " Stuart sent for him, and demanded fifty
 " Shillings of him, which he was forced on Fri-
 " day last, being the 9th of January, to pay out
 " of hand, and forced him to promise him fifty
 " Shillings a Week so long as he stayd in the
 " Towne: Protesting that at Carleton, the Week
 " before, he had foure Pounds ten Shillings Week-
 " ly; and when Mr. Slyman urged his Charge of
 " Children, he replied, *The Devil goe with thee and*
 " *thy Children too*; protesting, if he did not pay
 " him presently hee would drive all his Beasts out
 " of his fold, into Nottinghamshire.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. XIX. No. 184.

2. Mr.

2. " *Mr. George Wilson* complains, That Capt. *Stuart* forced him to pay him foure Pounds in Hand, or presently he would drive his Beasts, and urged him to compound with him for four pounds a Weeke during their aboade at *Tickbill*, and over and above, he hath paid since one Sacke of Oates,

3. " *Peter Greenfield* complains, That Lieutenant *Kerney* demanded of him foure Shillings a Daye, for the Week before they came, forcing him to pay twenty Shillings in Hand, and was forced to covenant with him, to pay him four Shillings a Day and keep him two Horses and a Man, so long as he staid. The same Lieutenant demanded of *Richard Farnworth* fourteen Shillings for fourteene Days, and of *Humphrey Denby*, a poor Man, twenty-five Shillings.

4. " *Christopher Nicholson* complains, That Lieutenant *Shepherd* forced him to pay him twenty Shillings in hand upon *Monday* the 12th of this Instant *January*, and to promise him thirty Shillings more, the said Lieutenant with another, drawing their Swords, and forcing him, his Wife, and Maid Servant out of the House all the Night long.

5. " *Robert Nicholson* complains, That Capt. *Plume* forced him to pay at his first coming, for four Days before he came forty Shillings, and urged him to covenant with him for three Pounds ten Shillings weekly while he staid. Which said Money he was to pay on *Monday* the 12th of *January*.

6. " *Martin Boswell* complains, That Lieutenant *Browne* had of him, at his first coming, for certayne Days, that he was absent nineteen Shillings, besides which he kept five Horses and one Mare.

7. " *Thomas*

7. “ *Thomas Gaunt* complains, That Lieute-
 “ nant *Fargison* demanded of him twelve Shillings
 “ a Day, which he would have him make up, de-
 “ manding it was his ordinary Pay, he keeping be-
 “ sides two Horses and Man.

“ *Tho. Hudson* complains, That Captain *Ad-*
 “ *dison* demanded of him seven Shillings a Day, for
 “ seven Days before he came, and forced him
 “ to pay thirty-five Shillings in hand, and further
 “ demanded six Shillings a Day whilest he staid,
 “ and to keep him two horses and a Man.

8. “ *Robert Hall* complains, That Capt. *Whit-*
 “ *ford* demanded of him at his first coming to
 “ Towne, five Pounds, but he took tenn Shillings
 “ of him, with a promise to pay him other ten
 “ Shillings, attempting to *ravish his Wife* before
 “ diverse that were present, and farther covenant-
 “ ing for ten Shillings weekly, whilest he staid.

9. “ *Josbua Sampall* complaynes of the said
 “ Captain *Whitford*, that he would have *ravished*
 “ *his Wife*, and had well nigh slayne the Con-
 “ stable, farther demanding of the said *Josbua Sam-*
 “ *pall* in Money five Pound, which he refused to
 “ pay.

10. “ *Tho. Awkland* complaynes, That Major
 “ *Howson* demanded of him fifteen Shillings a Day
 “ for nine Days before he came to the Town, and
 “ forced him to leave his own House, further pro-
 “ testing that if he would not come in to pay him,
 “ he would doe him and his Howse Mischief, the
 “ said Major *Howson's* Boy protesting that he had
 “ as much Powder, as would burn that House and
 “ such another, and with much Difficulty was re-
 “ strained from so doing. Major *Howson* ever
 “ protesting, That if he would not pay him his De-
 “ mands, he would drive his Cattle.

11. “ Mr. *John Lawton* complains, That Coll.
 “ *Sybell* demanded six Pounds of him, and he was

“ con-

“ constrained to pay him three Pounds in Hand,
 “ with a Promise of forty Shillings att the Week’s
 “ end; besides the mainteining of three Men and
 “ three Horses, whilst they staid in the Towne.

12. “ *John Holle* complains, That the abovesaid
 “ Major *Howson*, demanded for one Captain *How-*
 “ *son*, who is at *Newcastle*, as he confesseth, the
 “ Summe of five Pounds and ten Shillings, for a
 “ eleaven Dayes before, and since they came to the
 “ Towne, protesting that if he did not pay, that
 “ he would run him through.

13. “ *Robert Sympson* was forced to pay an-
 “ other Lieutenant, who demanded nine Shillings
 “ a Day, for three Men at three Shillings a Day
 “ a-piece for each Man, but his Name he knowes
 “ not.

“ *George Holmes* complains of Captain *Gunn*, That
 “ he demanded five Pounds of him at his first
 “ coming, of which he forced him to pay twenty
 “ Shillings in Hand; and if he paid him not the
 “ other, he will selle his Goods, striking him with
 “ a Pitchforke.

14. “ *Thomas Spavin* complaynes, That he and
 “ two Cottagers more were to pay Lieut. *Gibb*
 “ fifteen Shillings, this *Tuesday*, being the 13th of
 “ this Instant *Jan.* 1645. but that they were pre-
 “ vented.

“ 15. *John Ibbatson* complains, that Lieut. *Ceir*, or
 “ *Kair*, demanded of him twenty-eight Shillings.
 “ But he with much adoe put him of with fourteen
 “ Shillings. He the said Lieut. received of *Anth.*
 “ *Spencer* thirteen Shillings and Six-pence.

16. “ *Tho. Hickson* payed to the same Man four-
 “ teen Shillings; *Wm. Ranby* paid him fourteen
 “ Shillings, whose house he broke on *Sunday Night*,
 “ and crept in at the Window, and would have
 “ ravished his Maid, and to rescue her, he was
 “ forced to give other fourteen Shillings.

17. “ *Robert*

17. " *Robert Swift* was forced to pay Capt.
 " *Gunne* twenty Shillings in Money, and promiss
 " four Shillings a Day whilest they staid at
 " *Tickbill*.

18. " *Robert Ingall* was forced to pay unto *Bar-*
 " *nard* — ten or twelve Shillings *per Diem*, whilest
 " he staid in the Towne.

19. " *Tbo. Damm* paid Major *Fleetwood* thirteen
 " Shillings, and was forced to covenant with him
 " for twenty Shillings a Week whilest he staid, be-
 " sides free Quarters.

" *George Ingall* complains, That Capt. *Goodman*
 " threatned to take his Life, or drive all his
 " Goods, if he would not give four Pounds out of
 " hand, to buy his Wife a Gowne.

20. " *Miles Stockes*, was forced to pay a Leiate-
 " nant, whose Demand was large, to pay in hand
 " eleven Shillings, and to promise more to save
 " himself.

Ja. Read was forced to pay Capt. *Whitwell* 20s. in
 " hand, he demanded forty Shillings for ten Days be-
 " fore he came to the Towne, and to pay him
 " Twelve-pence *per Diem*.

21. " *Tbo. Farnworth* paid to Capt. *Yore*, be-
 " sides Quarter for four Horses, twelve Shillings,
 " and was to pay him thirteen Shillings a Day
 " whilest he staid in the Towne.

" *William Howlett* complaynes he was forced to
 " pay thirty Shillings in hand to Leiat. *Gibb*.

" These are but part of those Grievances which
 " we have lately suffered; besides to fire Houses
 " and to burn our Townes, as shall be made mani-
 " festly appeare to your Honours.

Number XXVIII.

Tortures. Tickhill.

“ **M** R. *Slyman* was taken by Capt. *Geyer*, and
 “ Leift. *Kerr*, who beat him very sore, put
 “ a Rope about his Neck to torture him, and so
 “ kept him Prisoner all Night.

“ *Thomas Aukland's* Wife was taken by Capt.
 “ *Geyer*, who caused the Soldiers to hold her, whilest
 “ he heating the Tongs red hott, and taking up
 “ her Cloths, said he would *Seare* he, that never
 “ Man should deale with her.

“ *Rich. Roberts* had his Hands tyed with a
 “ Rope, and was so dragged through the Streets;
 “ he ryding and insulting him, untill he was forced
 “ to pay 10 l. 11 s. 00 d. to be set at Liberty.

“ Mrs. *Holland* had her Nose burned with a
 “ Candle, and threatned to be tyed by Cap^{ne}.
 “ *Geyar*, if she would not confesse where her Mo-
 “ ney was.

“ Widow *Hacket* was held to the Fire, and
 “ threatned to be roasted, which was done by Lieut.
 “ *Kennedy* till she swooned.

“ *Geo. Hacket* had his Beard set on Fire, and
 “ Leift. *Kennedy* attempted to burn out his Eyes,
 “ and beat, and wounded him with a drawn
 “ Sword.

“ *Robert Swift* (rescuing a Maid whome the
 “ Scots Soldiers attempted to ravish) was taken by
 “ a Soldier called *Russell*, and another, his Armes
 “ tyed with a Rope, and so pulled up to a Balke,
 “ where he hanged a Quarter of an Hour, one
 “ beating him, and another holding a drawn Sword

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIX. No. 177.

“ to his Breast, and he was not let down, till he
 “ promised them Money.

Number XXIX.

“ **I**MPRIMIS* they professe themselves to be
 “ *Cavalleers*, and real Enemies to the Parlia-
 “ ment, and will be while they breathe, wishing
 “ that Prince *Rupert* had 40000 Men to joyn with
 “ them against the Parliament.

“ *Item*, They say, They doe the King better
 “ Service in destroying the Parliament Quarters
 “ here, then if they were in the Armie.

“ *Item*, They draw their Swords at Women
 “ great with Child, and threaten to punch the
 “ Child forth of their Bellies, and say they will cut
 “ Mutton forth of their Bellies, and Beefe from
 “ their Backes.

“ *Item*, They beate the Inhabitants very sore,
 “ and drive Men, Women, and Children out of
 “ Doores.

“ *Item*, They make extraordinary Spoyle of
 “ Goods, and are not content with any Quarters,
 “ neither doe they pay for any.

“ *It*. They are always either drunk or fighting
 “ amongst themselves, or with the Inhabitants.

“ *It*. They sweare they will burne the Houses,
 “ and kill the Inhabitants, calling them *Round-*
 “ *beaded Rogues, Whores, and Witches.*

“ *It*. They wish that his Excellency Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Fairfax* *

“ *It*. They bid a Plague of God light of the
 “ Parliament of *England*, saying they neither fight
 “ for them nor the King, neither can they get
 “ Money out of either of them, but what they get
 “ by dint of hand forth of their Quarters.

* Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIX. No. 183.
 one would imagine that Mr. *Neal* had drawn his false Account of
 the King's Army, from this Representation of the *Scottish Army.*

“ *Item*,

“ *Item*, They drink Healths to *Montrofs*, *Gore-
ing*, *Langdale*, and to all the Parliament En-
mies they can devise or think of.

“ *It*. They say they will not be fed with such
Meat as Round-headed Rogues eats, calling
Porke Divells Flefh.

“ *It*. They boast, they fear not hanging, saying,
they have cut many a Country Man’s Pate, and
stollen 20 Horfes, and they never came into
that Danger.

“ *It*. They say, when they want Money, they
must goe meet with *Robin-Hog*, meaning (as we
suppose) Country Men, saying he shall pay for
it.

“ *It*. They demand daily paye for soe many as
they pretend should have been billited at each par-
ticuler, soe encreasing their number to more then
they themselves say should have been quartered
amongst us.

Number XXXI.

“ UPON * the Complaints of the Inhabitants
“ *Tickbill* to Lieutenant General *Lesley*, he de-
clared himself much offended with the People for
“ carrying his Men Prisoners to *Pontefract Castell*,
“ and utter’d Language, threatning to be revenged
“ of the Towne of *Tickbill*, whilest he had any
“ Blood in his Body, and said, that a *Foxe’s-Taile*
“ is a smoothe thing and softe, but I will send you
“ such a *Foxe-Taile* to *Tickbill*, as shall flea the
“ Skin, and tear the Flefh to the very Bone, and
“ then expressed, that he would send three Regi-
ment to quarter upon them.

* Dr. *Ph. Williams’s MS. Collections*. Vol. XIX. No. 185,
186.

Number XXXI.

Lesley's Letter to the Governor of Pomfret-Castle, as follows.

* S I R,

" I Understand by this Bearer you have caused
 " I apprehende, or at least receive in Prison
 " some Reformiers under my Command, who
 " had orders from our Quarter-Master Generall
 " to quarter there : By what Authority you have
 " done this, without acquainting mee, I desire
 " you to lett mee understand, and withall giving
 " you Assurance, that if there be right to bee had,
 " I will use all Meanes appertaining to

Your loving Freind,

† David Leslie.

* Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. XIX. N^o 136. *David Lesley's* Soldiers I find complained of in the Year 1650. ' That
 ' *David Lesley's* Men plunder, ravish, and kill the Country Peo-
 ' ple, and put to Death some of them for refusing to serve in the
 ' Army. *Whitlock's* Memorials p. 458, which should be 459.

† The following Original Letter I meet with [in Dr. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. IV. N^o 48.]

" My Lords and Gent. I receaved yr to, of the 15th commend-
 " ing to tack into my charge all the *Yorkshire*, *Nottingham*, *Derby*,
 " *Lincolne*, and other Forces now in a Body in *Yorkshire*,
 " and with them together with these of the *Scottish* Army, to
 " prosecute the service now in hand. The King no sooner under-
 " stood of my joyning with the *Yorkshire* forces, but he retreated
 " to *Newwark*, so that he had not recruited much in thes Parts,
 " thoe I think the Affectyone of the People is not wanting
 " to his way, nether shall we geve him much rest to strengthen his
 " Forces, and if Opportunitye offer I shall not be wanting to ap-
 " prove my selfe my Lords and Gent. yr to most humble and
 " most obedient Servant *David Leslie*. *Batre*, August 22. 1645.

To the Right Hon. Committee of both Kingdomes, *London*,
 humbly present thes.

Indorsed,

Indorfed, A Copy of the Letter to Colonel Overton, Governour of *Pontefraët* Castle.

The *Scots* indeed held a Council of War upon these, and variety of other Complaints from the same Place, of Rapes, and Plunder by the common Soldiers; but how partially they acted, the following Protestation of the *English Commissioners* sufficiently proves.

Number XXXIII.

* *Balderton*, 5. of May, 1646.

“ W H E R E A S your Lordships upon our
 “ Desire of the 23d of *Aprill*, to know the
 “ Names of the two Malefactors mentioned in the
 “ Letter you then imparted to Us at *Gainsborough*,
 “ to be executed for the Misdemeanors committed
 “ in or near *Tickbill*, were pleased the 30th of
 “ *Aprill* to deliver unto Us the Proceedings of some
 “ Officers, as of a *Councell of Warre*; wee con-
 “ ceive our selves obliged by the Trust reposed in
 “ Us from the Parliament of *England*, to repre-
 “ sent unto your Lordships, some Particulars of
 “ the true State of the Proceedings, concerning the
 “ Business at *Tickbill*, which we believe are un-
 “ known to your Lordships, or the Lord Generall
 “ *Leven*. Wee find, and wee were before inform-
 “ ed thereof, That one of those Persons executed
 “ near *Tickbill*, was sentenced for running away
 “ from your Army, and had never committed
 “ any Offence by Us complained of; and the o-
 “ ther Person who suffered Death was an ordinary
 “ Trooper, and none of the great Offenders, and

* Dr. *Phil. Williams's* Manuscript Collections. Vol. XIX.
 No. 162.

“ was sentenced for other Offences formerly com-
 “ mitted, as well as for those wee complained a-
 “ gainst; wee sent the Complaints of the Inhabi-
 “ tants of *Tickhill* unto Lieutenant General *Lesley*
 “ on the 22d of *January* last, and after some time
 “ spent to have the Forces removed, before wee
 “ could get any Witnesses to appear for fear of
 “ them; the Witnesses, and many of the offenders
 “ were heard at *Gainsborough* on the 27th of *Fe-*
 “ *bruary*, and *Condigne Punishment* promised to be
 “ inflicted on the Offendors. After a Counsell of
 “ War was appointed to be at *Tuxford* on the se-
 “ cond of *Aprill*, and Warrants sent for divers
 “ Witnesses to attend there; of which forty seven
 “ appeared, many of them poor Persons, and who
 “ stayed there all that Day and Night, at their
 “ own Charge, but noe Counsell of Warre was
 “ held, nor notice given to the contrary till the
 “ next Morning. After, another Counsell of Warre
 “ was appointed to be held at *Bawtry* on the 16th
 “ Day of *Aprill*, and Warrants sent out for the
 “ Witnesses, of which many appeared before Lieu-
 “ tenant General *Leslie* and others, diverse of the
 “ Witnesses, and some Parties were heard, one
 “ Witness sworne to prove a material Complaint,
 “ and a *Spanyard* sworne on the Part of a Male-
 “ factor, but no further Proceedings, because it
 “ was alledged, there were not Officers enough
 “ come to make a full Counsell of Warre, and
 “ that it was past twelve of the Clock, before
 “ which Houre, the Court was to be fully consti-
 “ tuted, or else (they sayd) they could not accord-
 “ ing to their accustomed Rules of Warre, sit as
 “ a *Martial Judicatory* for that Day. Since, it
 “ seems by the Paper received from your Lord-
 “ ships, there was a Meeting the 21st of *Aprill*
 “ last, at *Laughton* in the Countye of *Yorke*, pre-
 “ tended to bee a Counsell of Warre, for senteneing
 “ the

" the Malefactors, for the Offences committed at,
 " or neere *Tickbill*. Against which, and the Pro-
 " ceedings thereof, *Wee do protest*, as that the Judges
 " were not competent Persons, nor doing accord-
 " ing to Justice: For first, the Regiment of *Coll.*
 " *Frazer* is complained against; and all the pre-
 " tended Counsell of Warre were of that Regiment.
 " Secondly, Not one of those but Collonel *Frazer*
 " were of the former meeting at *Bawtry*, before
 " whom the Witneses were heard, and sworne,
 " as aforefaid. Thirdly, Some of the Persons
 " of the Council of Warre were peticularly in-
 " terested in this Business. Fourthly, This Coun-
 " sell of Warre did not summon, or hear any
 " Witneses; and their Sentences seeme to be gi-
 " ven (in many Peticulars) on the Answer of the
 " Offenders only; and what proofes were read
 " in Evidence agaynst the Offenders wee know
 " not; for wee heard not of this pretended
 " Counsell of Warre, till it was past, neither
 " were any there present from us, whereas
 " wee our selves were at a former Examination,
 " and at the Desire of Lieutenant General *Leslie*
 " (upon very short warning) wee had some Persons
 " present at the other two Hearings. We there-
 " fore most earnestly desire of your Lordshippes,
 " that due care may be taken to redresse the Gri-
 " vances of this pretended Counsell of Warre: For
 " wee doe averre, by what wee heard our selves,
 " and by the Examinations taken at *Bawtry*, di-
 " verse heinous Misdemeanours were fully proved
 " to be committed by the Persons acquitted, or
 " but sentenced to suffer some small Punishment,
 " nothing proportionable to their Offences; and wee
 " doe insist upon it, that the Offenders of greater
 " Quality (against whom there are yet no Proceedings)
 " for the Misdemeanours committed in, or neere
 " *Tickbill*, may receive *Condigne Punishment*, and
 " that

“ that the Malefactours, against whom your Lord-
 “ ships heard the Examinations at *Gaynsborough*
 “ the 23d of *Aprill* last, may be duely punished.
 “ Exemplary Justice is the way to prevent future
 “ Misdemeanours, and remove the Guilt from
 “ your whole Army.

Sic Subscribitur

Edw. Mountague.

Vera Copia Ex^r.
William Rowe,
 Secr.

W. Pierrepont. J. Armyne.
Edw. Ayscoghe, Tho. Hacher.

Indorsed, The *English Commissioner's* Protestation
 agaynst the Proceedings of the *Scottish Counsellors* of
 Warre. At *Laughton*.

Read XXX^o *Maij* 1646.

Number XXXIII.

* *The Names of such in Major Generall Van-
 drusche his Regiment as are found Faulty
 by Proof, whose Names or Offices are known.*

Corporall Hall in Cap^{nc}. *Johnson's Troope.*

Fran. Wise

Qu^r. Mr. Kennedy, } in Cap^{nc}. *Johnson's Troope.*

John Griffing,

Jo. Foster,

Leiat^r. *Smith,*

Cornet *Johnson,* } in Cap^{nc}. *Pott's Troope.*

One *Patrick,*

Cornet *Haworth,*

Cornet *Shaw,*

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIX. No. 158.*

Jo. Stables, Qu^r. Mr. to Cap^{nc}. ———
 Rich. Owyn, Qu^r. Mr. to Cap^{nc}. Potts.
 George Adamston,
 William Wilkinson, Qu^r. Mr. to Cap^{nc}. Paton.
 Edward, and Christopher Kettlewell.
 Cap^{nc}. Alexander, a Reformado.
 Nicho. Lawrammy, in Lieut. Coll. Vrryes Troope.
 Lieut. Shepheard, a Reformado.
 James Black, in Lieuten^t. Col. Vrrrey's Troope.
 Andrew Keene, in the same Troope.
 Couell David Day, in Hurriges Troope.
 Tho. Crauen, by a By-name, Young Lord.
 Rubert Wilson.
 Tho. Moore, in the Major's own Troope.
 Major Elvis his Servants.
 Garret Armesstrong, in the Major General's own
 Troope.
 Corporall Hanse Price.
 Qu^r. Mr. Cullen.
 Qu^r. Mr. Scott.
 Corporal Sympfon.

Jo. Sanderfon, } in Cap^{nc}. Smith's Troope.
 One Deane, }

Joseph Smith.
 William Walker, }
 Lieut. Piery, }
 Henry Lacy, } in Cap^{nc}. Smith's Troope.
 One Gray, }

Lieut. Baynbridge, }
 Fran. Godard, }
 John Milner, }
 Edw. Lowson, }
 Lieut. Stringar, } in Cap^{nc}. Paton's Troope.
 Cap^{nc}. Wilson, &c. }

Cap^{nc}. Grimsditch, }
 Wm. Brodrick, }
 One Alsop a Derbyshire Man, and the Elder Bro-
 ther of that Name. Derby

Darby Dunn.

George Vermias.

Richard Scarborough.

Charles, by a By-name called My-Lord.

John Cambell.

Thomas Moore.

James Reave,

Richard Overton.

George Carrit; Carrit is a By-Name.

A tall big Man, by a Name called *My-Lord.*

- This List was received by Mr. *Stephenson* and
- other Complainers of the Wapontake of *Osgod-*
- *croffe* in the County of *Yorke* on the 21st of *April,*
- 1646. and sent the same Day by an *Expreffe* unto
- the *Scotts Commissioners of Southwell.*

Vera Copia Examr. William Rowe, Secr.

- These Names following were delivered in by
- the *English Comers.* unto the *Scottish Committee* at
- their Meeting at *Collingham* 27th of *April* 1646.
- additional to their former List sent to the *Scots*
- *Commissioners* 21st *April,* 1646. viz.

- A List of such Persons in the *Scottish Army* as
- have committed divers *Misdemeanors,* and are
- complayned of by the *Inhabitants* within the
- *Wapontake of Osgodcroffe* in the County of *Yorke.*

Lieut. Micard, in Captaine Johnson's Troope.

Wm. Nixon.

Wm. Plaister.

One Holmes.

One Cornelius.

One Miles.

Alexander Iwafer.

Corporall Sympson, and three with him.

Monfieur Varammy a Frenshman, and a Frensh-
woman with him.

Major Johnson, and four of his Men.

Richard

Rich
One
Robe
Cap
Lieu
Rich
Owe
Leiu
Ever
Jam
Alex
Wm
The
One
Rob
Lieu
Gar
Tho
Sixe
Tho
One
Corp
One
Rob
Tho
Leiu
One
Wil
Cap
Jon
Rich
Tho
Cap
One

Vera
Will

APPENDIX

29

Richard Popbam.

One Fulke.

Robert Alexander.

Cap^{nc}. Owen Monroe, a Reformado.

Lieut. Ramsay,

Richard Jones, alias Carre,

Owen Monroe,

Lieut. Keire,

Everill Reynerd,

James Loggen,

Alex. Frizell,

Wm. Browne,

The Lieut. of Captain Paton's Troope.

One called Prince,

Rob. Henderson,

Lieut. Bushman,

Garret Tayler,

Tho. Hunter,

Sixe of Major Elvis's Servants.

Tho. Moore,

One called Michaell,

Corporall Young,

One James,

Robert Wilson, in Cap^{nc}. Sutton's Troope.

Tho. Kidde,

Lieut. More,

One called Greatheart,

William Awby.

Captaine Tayler.

Jonathan. The Quartermaster.

Richard O Cane.

Tho. Atkinson.

Cap^{nc}. Nicholson.

One Mathewes.

in Lieut. Col. Vrrye's Troope.

in Major Elvis's Troope.

in Major Elvis's Troope.

in Cap^{nc} Smith's Troope.

Vera Copia Ex^r.

William Rowe, Secr.

Numb.

Number XXXIV.

* *A List of the Country Gentlemen (called the Leaders of the Clubmen for Wilts, Dorset, and Somerset) brought Prisoners to Sherborne on the Lord's Day, Aug. 3. 1645. taken att Shaftesbury.*

M. John Saintlo.
 Mr. Rich. Buckridg.
 Mr. Wm. Smith.
 Mr. Tho. Jeruis.
 Mr. Jo. Louell.
 Mr. Jo. Eastmond.
 Mr. Fra. Cradock.
 Mr. Edw. Davis.
 Mr. Hen. Haynard.
 Mr. Law. Hide.
 Mr. Tho. Bennett.
 Mr. Jo. Pope.
 Mr. Tho. Rose.
 Mr. Hen. Gouge.
 Mr. Jo. Euery.
 Mr. Jo. Bennett.
 Mr. Jo. Cary.
 Mr. Edw. Boone.
 Mr. Nich. Bingham.
 Mr. Tho. Rolt.
 Mr. Rob. Squire.
 Mr. Ric. Alborne.
 Mr. Charles Symmes.
 Mr. Fra. Abbott.
 Mr. Rob. Gapitt.
 Mr. Tho. Maruell

Many of these are Ministers.

Mr. Robert Hollis.
 Mr. Samuel Forward.
 Mr. Wm. Fineall.
 Mr. Charles Studley.
 Mr. Tho. Brooke.
 Mr. Jo. King.
 Mr. Edm. Clerk.
 Mr. Martin Marble.
 Mr. Tho. Bunn.
 Mr. William Sandes.
 Mr. William Blunt.
 Mr. John May.
 Mr. Jo. Corbett.
 Mr. Rich. Cradock.
 Mr. Jo. Pill.
 Mr. Rob. Frye.
 Mr. Wm. Forde.
 Mr. Math. Marvyn.
 Mr. Wm. Laining.
 Mr. Hen. Goodwyn.
 Mr. Rocke.
 Mr. Williams.
 { Mr. Holles.
 { Mr. Young.
 { Mr. Jolliffe.

Number XXXV.

Die Martis 27^o. Nov. 1645.

* *At the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequestrations.*

“ I N the Case of *William Waters* referred to this
 “ Committee by order of both Howses vowch-
 “ ing a Debt of 500*l.* due by *John Waters* deceas’d
 “ unto one *George Lowe* a *Delinquent*, late Member
 “ of the House of Commons, which said *Waters*
 “ deceased for his good Affections to the Parl. was
 “ by the Enemie carried Prisoner to *Banbury-Castle*,
 “ and there with miserable Usage died, and his Bro-
 “ ther the Petitioner being his Executor, a Man
 “ very faithful to the Parliament, and both his Bro-
 “ ther and he having byn utterly undone by
 “ the Cruelty of the Enemie, whereby he is not
 “ able to pay the Debts of his said Brother: This
 “ Committee thinks fitte, that the said Debt, ow-
 “ ing by the said *Waters* deceased unto the said
 “ *George Lowe*, and subject to Sequestration, bee
 “ allowed to the said Petitioner, towards the Re-
 “ paration of his owne and his said Brother’s Losses,
 “ paying the Summe of one hundred Pounds there-
 “ of to the Use of the Parliament, and that up-
 “ on Payment thereof, hee shall bee discharged of
 “ the said Debt, as against the said *George Lowe*,
 “ and all others clayming under him, and this to
 “ bee reported to the Howse.

John Wilde.

Int. R. *Vaughan.*

* Dr. *Philip Williams*’s Manuscript Collections. Vol. XIV.
 No. 87. An Original.

Numb.

Number XXXV.

* *Die Martis 9^o Decem. 1645.*

“ UPON Mr. Serjeant *Wilde*'s Report that
 “ five hundred Pounds is owing by Mr.
 “ *Waters* to one Mr. *Lowe* a *Delinquent*, it is ordered,
 “ That Mr. *Waters* towards the Repayment of his
 “ Losses, shall retaine *four hundred Pounds* of the
 “ said Debt in his own Hands to his own use, and that
 “ he doe forthwith pay the Residue of the said
 “ Debt unto the Treasurer of the Garrison of *Abing-*
 “ *don* for the Use of the *Sussex* Forces in the said
 “ Garrison, and that the Receipt of the said Trea-
 “ surer for the Residue shall be a good Discharge
 “ to the said Mr. *Waters* for the said entire Debt.

H. Elfyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

Number XXXVII.

† *Die Martis 24^{to}. Nov. 1645.*

“ UPON reading of the humble Petition of
 “ *William Waters* this Day in the House, it
 “ is ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled,
 “ That the Petition and Contents thereof are here-
 “ by specially recommended to the Committee of
 “ Lords and Commons for Sequestrations for the
 “ Relieve of the Petitioner.

Jo. Browne, Cler. Parliamentor.

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. XIV. N^o. 88.† *Id. Ib.* N^o. 89.

Numb.

Number XXXVIII.

*Honourable Sir,

“ **W**EE are sorrie there is Cause to confesse the
 “ Plundering, Swearing, and Drunkenness
 “ our Army is guilty of, but most glad wee are Eye-
 “ Witnesses of the Care and Vigilance of his Ex-
 “ cellency in the Reformation; who cudgell’d those
 “ he found in the Manner; my Lo. Marshall, and
 “ Major General Skippon likewise active to that
 “ Purpose.—— Peradventure you may hear of
 “ some Abuses offer’d by our Soldiers, and espe-
 “ cially of a Plunder, and Murder committed near
 “ Wickham, which the Diurnall, called, The Par-
 “ liament Scout, putting upon some Walloones,
 “ much troubleth some Persons of Quality in the
 “ Army of that Nation; who esteeming it a Na-
 “ tional Scandal have requested us to certify the
 “ Truth thereof: It being done by some of this
 “ Nation, of whom some are escaped, and the
 “ rest are in hold, and will in due Time receive
 “ Punishment according to their Demerits. A
 “ Captain Lieutenant, a German of Collonel Bebr’s
 “ Regiment of Horse, the other Day run from us
 “ to the King’s Party, while they were in Abington,
 “ and took with him about 20 Horse, who came
 “ at Midnight from his Quarters, and went away
 “ with them the next Morning much to the Dis-
 “ content of the Collonell.——

Your very Humble Servants,

Abington 22. May Martyn Pyndar. Tho. Herbert.
 1644. Harry Leighton. Jo Potter.

To our Honourable Freind William Lenthall, Esq;
 Speaker to the Hon^{ble}. the House of Commons,
 humbly present these.

* Dr. Philip Williams’s MS. Collections. Vol III. No. 119.
 An Original.

Numb.

Number XXXVIII.

S I R,*

“ W E E cannot but with much Sorrow of Hart
 “ bee forced soe often to trouble you with the
 “ fadd Condition of our Country, still groaning
 “ under the Oppressions of those of our own Forces
 “ designed for *Ireland*, whose outrages pressu-
 “ and plunders are numberlesse, of which wee
 “ might suspect the common Soldier only culpable,
 “ had wee not receiv’d these Informations here in-
 “ closed by which the honour of both Houses came
 “ to bee wounded through our sides, wee presume
 “ you have ’ere this received our last Represen-
 “ tation of the great Outrages committed on a
 “ Messenger, going to General *Fairfax* and others,
 “ which wee desire you together with these may
 “ speedily bee presented to the House, that a sud-
 “ den Order may be taken for the Delivery of this
 “ (even almost devoured) Country from these bar-
 “ barous Oppressions, for which you shall infinite-
 “ ly oblige,

Winton, 5. Decem.
 1645.

Your humble Servants,

Tho. Jervoise.

Hen. Mildmay.

Ro. Wallop.

Rich. Whitbed.

Edw. Hooper.

John Eisle.

Moore Fawlbroy.

Hen. Bromfield.

Ric. Moores.

J. Bettefworth.

Ric. Mayor.

To the hon^{ble}. William Lenthall, Esq; Speaker
 of the Howse of Commons.

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. V. N^o. 49.
 An Original.

Numb.

Number XXXIX.

**Right Honourable,*

“ **W**EE have receiv’d your Letter by the Agent
 “ employ’d in this County for bringing in
 “ the Weekly Assesment for *Ireland*, according to
 “ the Ordinance of the 18th of *October*, 1644.
 “ and 15th of *August*, and 9th of *March*, 1645.
 “ Wherein formerly, we took our utmost Care to
 “ gain in Money for that Kingdome’s Service, un-
 “ till it pleased the Committee of *Irish* Affairs to
 “ take it out of our Hands, whereof wee had just
 “ Cause to rejoyce, for our Care to gett it in was
 “ so far obstructed, that a *Malignant* Officer being
 “ slaine by a *Trooper*, he was brought to his Triall
 “ and condemned by a Jury †, that wee have cause
 “ to believe would have condemned all those that
 “ act for the Parliament. Soe the Trooper was
 “ hanged, to the great Discouragement of those
 “ employed to doe the *Parliament* Service.

Your Honours most Humble Servants,

*Imister this 9th
 of June, 1648.*

*Tho. English.
 Alexander Popkam.
 John Pyne.
 Edw. Ceely.
 Ri. Trevillian.
 Chr. Pittwell.
 Fr. Minterne.
 Robt. Morgan.*

* See Dr. *Williams’s MS. Collections.* Vol. VII. N^o. 19.
 An Original.

† No doubt is to be made, but these rebel Officers took it to
 be as small a Crime to murder a *Cavalier*, or *Malignant* (as they
 term’d them) as to kill a *Mad-Dog*.

E

To

To the Right Hon^{ble}. the Earle of *Manchester*,
Speaker of the House of Peeres, and *William Lentball*, Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons,
These humbly present.

Number XL.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

“ A F T E R the Rendition of *Thornbill*, I marcht
“ with those two Regiments to *Wakefield*, to
“ attend the Enemies Motion, and to furnish our
“ Garrisons at *Walton-Hall*, which was reduced to
“ 18 Men, and would speedily have been lost, if
“ not supplied. At my being at *Wakefield*, two
“ Troopers most barbarously kill’d twoe honest
“ Countrymen without any Provocation given,
“ the twoe that were killed were Father and Sonne,
“ this put the rest of the Souldiers into such a Rage,
“ that they would have torne them in pieces. And
“ boath they and the Countrey were very earnest
“ with me to have hung them up presently, but
“ not having power of *Martial Law*, I durst not
“ attempt it, and without it I shall not be able to
“ keepe the Soldiers in that order that both the
“ Committee (now they have entrusted me with
“ the Forces of this County) and all the Kingdome
“ will expect: I therefore humbly desire, that you
“ would move the Howse, that I may have such
“ Power, as I may be able to do them Service,
“ which shall be the constant Endeavour of, Sir,

July 18, 1648.

Your humble Servant,

Henry Cholmeley.

To the Hon^{ble}. *Will. Lentball* Esq; Speaker of
the Commons Howse. This present *London*.

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections.* Vol. VII. No. 93.
Numb.

Number XLI.

“ *Joseph Jackman* * of *London* Esq; affirmeth,
 “ that on *Wednesday*, being the sixteenth of this
 “ Instant *August*, he being near *Newberry* in *Bark-*
 “ *shire*, in the Company of *George Starkey* Esq;
 “ Councillour at Law, as an Assistant in some
 “ Business which concerned one Mrs. *Winchcomb*’s
 “ Sonne his Majesties Ward, heard that some
 “ Troopers belonging to *Collonell Ayres*, under
 “ the Command of *Collonell Marten* newly risen in
 “ the County of *Berks*, did intend to fall upon this
 “ Affirmant and others of his Company, and take
 “ away their Horses; whereupon this Affirmant
 “ with the rest of his Company, except Mr. *Starkey*,
 “ on purpose to avoid them, rid towards *King’s-*
 “ *Cleare* in *Hampshire*, and on the way was over-
 “ taken by a Partie of the said Troope, who most
 “ barbarously and inhumanely fell upon this Affir-
 “ mant (he being by a mischance fallen from his
 “ Horse) swearing *God damn me you Rogue*, say
 “ your Praiers (holding a Pistoll to his Breast) you
 “ shall dye presently. Whereupon this Affirmant
 “ desired to speak with their Commander in Chiefe,
 “ but could not, the said Trooper alsoe swearing,
 “ that if they gave this Affirmant his Life, he was
 “ used as a Gentleman; and after much Intreaty he
 “ had his Life given him, but was stript naked with-
 “ out any Shirt, and the worth of neere fifty Pounds
 “ in Money, a Watch, a Gelding, and other
 “ things, taken from him. And they also told
 “ this Affirmant, that they had Order from their
 “ Colonel to give no Man Quarter that they tooke;

* Dr. *Philip Williams*’s MS. Collections. Vol. XV. No. 103.
 Indorfed, The Information against Coll. *Marten*, Coll. *Eyre*, and
 the Forces under them. Aug. 19. 1648.

“ and after they had stript this Affirmant, they en-
 “ forced him to march bare foot neere a Mile,
 “ until some Countrey People did rescue him ; all
 “ which this Affirmant is ready to averr upon Oath
 “ at all times when required, Dated at *Reading*
 “ this 19th of *August*, 1648.

Joseph Jackman.

Subscribed in the Presence of

C. Paman.

Moses Collins.

Number XLII.

**My Lord,*

“ OUR fadd Newes is, that the Horfe have
 “ within this Week joyntly *Mutined*, that I
 “ protest I think myself in more danger by them,
 “ then by the Enemy. For Collonell *Alured's* Men
 “ at *Sandal* closed their Rankes upon me, using
 “ many threatning Words against me and the
 “ Committee ; so did Collonell *Lambert's* Men
 “ heere. The Enemy sallying out upon us, I
 “ ridd to them with Cap in hand, desyryng their
 “ Assistance, which they refused, threatning to
 “ pull my Coat from my Back, calling me a *Lyer*
 “ in promissing them Pay, and the Committees
 “ *Rogues* and *Thieves*, and when I thought to get
 “ away to my Men, that were like to be engaged,
 “ they pursued me with like Violence, demand-
 “ ing my Person for Security, which I freely offer-
 “ ed to them, and with such Compliance pacified
 “ them ; soe that I am to send a special Messenger
 “ to the Committee with their Petition. Your
 “ Lordship will soone apprehend what Discourage-
 “ ments confront me. I desire your Honour to
 “ make it knowne where we may find Redresse,
 “ for the Enemy being so potent, and ours so dis-

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. IV. No. 21.*
 An Original.

“ contented,

" contented, 'tis sufficient to nihilate our former
 " Blessing, without God's great Providence.
 " When your Lordshipp writes to your Noble
 " Sonne, be pleased to present my Service. This
 " is all I shall trouble your Lordshipp with only as
 " an acknowledgement of my Duty, I remayn, my
 " Lord,

Skipton, 8^o. August,
 1645.

Your Honour's faithfull Servant,

Sednam Poynts.

For his ever Honoured Lord *Ferdinando Lord Fairfax.*

Number XLIII.

* *Right Honourable.*

" I Am soe full of Griefe, that I cannot well
 " find you Lynes to expresse my Minde, much
 " lesse my Respectes. You may perceive by my
 " other Letter herewith sent, that I intended the
 " Pursuit of the Kinge, but rydeing before the
 " Army to *Nottingham*, to make my Resolucions
 " knowne to you according to duty; Newes was
 " brought me that the whole Army was all in a
 " *Mutiny*, and would not stirre without *Money*,
 " and had it not been in a Time of soe much
 " Concernment, *it being a Carriage so frequently*
 " *practized*, I should not so heynously entertayne it;
 " I shall not tell you where the Fault lyes, but
 " shall referre the declarative Part to this Honour-
 " able and faithfull Gentleman, Colonel *Thornbogh*,
 " whoe has beene an Eye Witness to a great Part
 " of my Misery. *Want of Paye* is the common
 " Saye amongst them; I have discharged both
 " Duty and Conscience to engage their Service.

* Dr. P. Williams's Manuscript Collections. Vol. IV. No. 63.
 An Original, without Date.

“ I shall not accuse any other for the contrary, but
 “ could heartily wish wee were all free from Am-
 “ bition and selfe Ends. What I can say for my
 “ self (besides my Cordial Affections to the Pub-
 “ lique) is only that I am your most faithfull Sol-
 “ dier and Servant

* *Sedenham Poynts.*

To the Right Honourable the Committee of both Kingdomes.

Number XLIV.

* *Honourable S I R,*

“ **T**HE great Extremity the Soldiers of this
 “ Castle are in for want of Monies, and the la-
 “ mentable Complaints and Cries continually made
 “ to us, by the poorer Inhabitants of the Towne
 “ for Monies due to them for Quarters, move us
 “ to become humble Suitors to you in their be-
 “ halves; the Truth is, the Soldier is likely to
 “ starve, the Inhabitants disinabled to relieve them,
 “ for they are undone by the Burthen of quar-
 “ ter yet unpaid: A Castle there is, very consider-
 “ able in Strength; allarms come hott of the Ene-
 “ my's Strength, not farre from us, but what ac-
 “ compt is likely to be given or can be expected
 “ of a place where the Soldier is not inabled for
 “ Service, but discontented with Apprehensions of
 “ Neglect, and being among a People prepared

* This *Sedenham Poynts*, and Colonel *Massej* drew up a Decla-
 ration (*Aug. 6. 1647.*) of the Grounds and Reasons that induced
 them to depart from the City, and for a while from the King-
 dom, with their Resolutions what they intend for their own
 Safety, and the Preservation of Religion and Covenant, and the
 King and Kingdome. *Rushworth's Collections.* Vol. VII.
 p. 765, &c.

† *Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections.* Vol. IV. No. 38.

“ by Poverty for any Mischiefe, wee humbly leave
 “ to your Honorable Howse to confider. Sir,
 “ The Officers and Soldiers are forty Weeks pay
 “ in Arreares, above 3000*l.* is due for Quarter to
 “ the Towne for the Soldiers of the Earle of *Man-*
 “ *chester's* Army, and the Castle. Wee beseeche
 “ you, Sir, acquaint your Honourable Howse
 “ with it, and our humble Desires, that they please
 “ to order some reasonable Pay for the Officers,
 “ and Soldiers, to relieve their Necessitys, and
 “ that they please to order out of what Monies they
 “ think fitt, for the present Payment of the Quar-
 “ ters, all which is of much Concernment to the
 “ Safety and Quiet of this place, presented, Sir,
 “ from

Your must humble Servants,

Trinity Colledge
 15th. Aug. 1645.

<i>Hen. Mildmay.</i>	<i>John Brewster.</i>
<i>S. Barnardiston.</i>	<i>Isaac Puller.</i>
<i>Robt. Clerke.</i>	<i>Robert Vinten.</i>
<i>Hum. Walcott.</i>	

To the Honourable *William Lentball* Esq; Spea-
 ker of the House of Commons.

Number XLV.

* S I R,

“ **W**EE are at this time involved in many
 “ Difficulties, and such as doe exceed all our
 “ uttermost Endeavours, that we are forced to make
 “ our Addresse to the Honourable House for their
 “ speedie Direction. Our Army is in high and
 “ daily *Mutinies*, begun by the Horse, but pur-
 “ sued by the Foot, insomuch that tho' the Castles

† *Dr. Phil. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. IV. N^o. 52.*
 An Original.

“ of *Sandall, Skipton, and Bolton* are now at liber-
 “ tie, by occasion whereof the Countrie there-
 “ abouts are exposed to miserable Spoile and Vio-
 “ lence by the Enemie; yet wee cannot by any
 “ meanes command our Foot Soldiers to march.
 “ The Original of this Mutinie is pretended to be
 “ from a Promise of a Moneth's Pay which the
 “ Horse doe claime from Colonell *Poynts*. Wee
 “ have endeavoured to make Payment to the
 “ Troopers, but cannot find any possible means
 “ to pay the Officers. Wee therefore humbly
 “ intreate the Honourable House, that they will
 “ speedily order some Money to us, whereby we
 “ may be discharged of this Engagement, which
 “ (by reason of our Disabilitie) is so heavy upon
 “ us; as also that they would be pleased to take
 “ the Reducement of this Armie into their owne
 “ Hands; wee having just cause to feare, that it
 “ will never be effected (without great Difficultie
 “ and much Dainger) by the Committees of the
 “ severall Rydeings, or els that they would please
 “ to direct some other Course therein most agre-
 “ able to their own Wisdomes.

S I R,

Your Humble Servants,

<i>Yorke</i> the 26th of	<i>Math. Boynton.</i>	<i>Wm. Allanson.</i>
<i>August, 1645.</i>	<i>George Trötter.</i>	<i>J. Alured.</i>
	<i>Jo. Wastell.</i>	<i>Henry Cholmley.</i>
	<i>Fran. Pierrepont.</i>	

To the Honourable *William Lentball* Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons at *Westminster*.

Numb.

Number XLVI.

* S I R,

“ I N, our great Necessity when our Souldiers
 “ I were in a *Mutiny*, wee borrowed of the Ex-
 “ cise-Men here six hundred Pounds, to be
 “ paid in *London* by Collonell *White* ten Days
 “ after our Bills were presented to him ; but in-
 “ stead of Currant Payment he hath protested our
 “ Bills (by reason he hath no Moneys in his Hands
 “ to satisfy the same) whiche is not only Disparage-
 “ ment to us, and those that was engaged with
 “ us ; but will be verie prejudiciall hereafter to
 “ our State ; for wee shall not have soe good Cre-
 “ dit againe if this Somme be not speedily paid.
 “ Therefore we earnestly desire you will be pleased
 “ as soone as possibly you can, after the Receipt
 “ hereof, to move the House for their Order
 “ for the Allowance of the Somme to us who
 “ stand in need of a greater Somme, as was made
 “ knowne to you by our last Lettre, Wee remain,

S I R,

Your Affectionate Friends, and

Humble Servants,

Yorke the 10th	<i>Fran. Pierrepont.</i>	<i>Tho. Mauleuerer.</i>
of October, 1645.	<i>William Lister.</i>	<i>William Allanson.</i>
	<i>Ja. Bellingham.</i>	<i>J. Wastell.</i>

For the Honourable *William Lentball* Esq; Spea-
 ker of the House of Commons at *Westminster*.

* Dr. *Philip Williams's* MS. Collections. Vol. IV. No. 117.
 An Original.

Number XLVII.

* S I R,

“ **A**S it would be lesse troublesome to you, so
 “ it would be much more acceptable to us,
 “ to be less frequent in Complaints, if Necessitie
 “ which finds no Resistance in Businessses of this Im-
 “ portance did not constrain us. It is not longe since
 “ we informed you of a dangerous and gene-
 “ ral *Mutiny* throughout our whole Army, the
 “ Dreggs whereoff are not yet settled, and therefore
 “ how apt to be stirred up againe to be more sa-
 “ culent when they shall be excited by want of Pay,
 “ may easily be supposed. We evidently discern-
 “ ing this so neare approacheing and inevitable
 “ Ruine, which tho’ hitherto wee have underpropt,
 “ and sustained by all our best Endeavours, and
 “ with so much the more Cherefulness as wee ex-
 “ pected a more speedie Reliefe from the Honour-
 “ able House, yet now feeling the Burden of it
 “ too ponderous, doe most humbly beseeche them
 “ for their speedy Support, which if not present-
 “ ly administred we shall be incapable of future
 “ Remedy; for besides that wee are already run
 “ into a great Arreare both to our Horse and Foot,
 “ by reason of this Counties sore Impoverishment,
 “ occasioned by the *Scottish* Army quartering in
 “ it the last Winter, and a good Part of the Spring
 “ following, it is now againe utterly exhausted
 “ by such their extreame and continual Assesse-
 “ ments, as alsoe by the spoyleing of the two Castles
 “ of *Skipton* and *Bolton* yet unreduced. And the
 “ *Plague* overspreading the *West*, and *North Riding*,
 “ that nothing considerable remaynes for the Pay-

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. IV. No. 136.
 An Original.

“ ment

“ ment of our own necessitous Forces. If there-
 “ fore it please not the Honourable House to send
 “ speedy and expresse Orders to removing them
 “ out of this Countie, or Moneys for the Main-
 “ tenance of our Army, there is nothing appears
 “ to us, but the suddayne and utter Dissipation of
 “ our whole Army, and the irrecoverable Losse of
 “ this County. An Object for much the more sadd
 “ and discomfortable to us, by how much our
 “ hopes of Freedome and Inlargement were clearer
 “ until they were darkened by this Interposition.
 “ The speedilier you present this Letter to the
 “ Honourable House, the more you will answere
 “ our Necessities, and likewise engage,

S I R,

Your Humble Servants,

York, the xxiiith
 of October, 1645.

Wm. Allenfon.

George Trotter.

Math. Boynton.

J. Alured.

Fran. Pierrepont.

Tho. Mauleuerer.

Jo. Wastell.

William Lister.

To the Honourable *William Lentball* Esq; Spea-
 ker of the House of Commons.

Number XLVIII.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

“ **H**AVING receiv'd certain Advertisements
 “ from my Servants imployed at the Generall
 “ Treaty at *Munster*, and *Osnabrug*, of great Im-
 “ portance to the Publicke Interest of the Reformed
 “ *Protestant Religion*, and to that Cause which the
 “ Parliament hath ever been so much concern'd in,
 “ I earnestly desire the Houwse would please to

* *Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. I. N^o. 52.*
 An Original.

“ appoynt

“ appoynt a Committee, whom I may acquaint
 “ with the Particulars of that Business, and who
 “ may advise upon it, to the end, that upon their
 “ Report the House may take the same into
 “ their Consideration, as in their Wisdoimes they
 “ shall think fitte. Which I beseeche you to re-
 “ present unto them upon the first fitting Oppor-
 “ tunity, and foe I rest

Your most Affectionate Friend,

Whitehall this 24th
 of March, 1647.

Charles Lodovic.

For Mr. *William Lentball* Esq; Speaker of the
 Honourable House of Commons.

Number XLIX.

* *Mr. Speaker,*

“ I Could not but think it very seasonable upon
 “ this late Newes from *Walles*, once more to
 “ sollicite the Howse for their Permission to tran-
 “ sporte some of those Prisoners there taken, for
 “ the Service of the State of *Venice*, under the Com-
 “ mand of my Brother Prince *Philip*. And there-
 “ fore shall desire you to move the Howse, that
 “ they would please to give leave unto my said
 “ Brother, or the Officers appointed by him for
 “ the leavying and transporting of a Thousand of
 “ these Prisoners; my Brother ingageing his Word,
 “ and the said Officers giving sufficient Security,
 “ that these Soldiers shall not be imployed to the
 “ Prejudice of the Parliament Affaires. The Grant
 “ of which Desire, as it will disburthen the King-

* *Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. I. No. 53.*
 An Original.

“ dome

APPENDIX. 77.

“dome of many disaffected Persons, so will it
 “make a further Addition to their former Favours
 “unto

Your most Affectionate Friend,

*Somerſett Houſe, this
 12th of May, 1648.*

Charles Lodovic;

To *William Lentball* Eſq; Speaker of the Ho:
 nourable Houſe of Commons.

Number L.

* *The Caſe of the Prince his Arrears.*

“**I**N *April* 1643, the Profit of the *Alnage* was
 “ordered his Highneſs, but nothing at all
 “thereof was at any time paid him.

“In *Febr.* 1644. The Houſe ordered 2000*l.* to
 “be forthwith paid his Highneſs upon the Com-
 “mittee of Accounts towards Payment of his
 “Debts, of which there was never a Penny paid.

“In *October* 1645. the Houſe ordered his
 “Highneſs a Revenue of 8000*l.* per Ann. 2000*l.*
 “thereof out of the Revenue, the other 6000*l.*
 “out of the ſeverall Delinquents Eſtates, but by
 “reaſon of ſeverall Compoſitions ſuddenly after
 “made for many of the ſaid Eſtates, and the
 “Charge upon the Revenue, there was upon the
 “ſaid Ordinance, an Arreare of 5000*l.* to his
 “ſaid Highneſs.

“In *March* 1647. the Houſe graunts an Ad-
 “ditionall Ordinance for the Payment of the ſaid

* *Dr. Pb. Williams's MS. Collections Vol. XV. No. 161.*
 Indorſed Report of Mr. *Trenchard*, touching the Arrears of the
 Prince Elector. Read 19. *Feb.* 1648.

“ 5000*l.*

“ 5000 *l.* and for better Payment of the said Pension of 8000 *l.* out of two third Parts of severall Recusants Estates, many of those being since dead, and some other of their Estates sold, compounded for and discharged, the 5000 *l.* Arreare could not be satisfied thereby.

“ In September 1648. The Howse graunts another Additional Ordinance, to the intent aforesaid of two third Parts of other Recusants Estates to supply the former. Most of which Additional Estates lying in *Worcestershire*, the Committee of that County do positively refuse to permitt the Officers of the Committee for his said Highness to receive the Proffits and Rents thereof, to yield Obedience to the said Ordinance by reason whereof there is 4500 *l.* still Arreare of the said Pension of 8000 *l.* to his said Highness.

“ For his Highness present Voyage, &c. for Satisfaction of his Debts formerly contracted here, desire the present Payment of the said 6500 *l.* Arreares, as also the Continuance of his Revenue, with Power for his Committee to lett for a Tearme not exceeding three Yeares, and in the meane time the said Revenue not to be otherwise disposed of.

Number LI.

“ BY * Ordinance of Parliament vij^o. Octobr. 1645. the Revenues under mentioned were (among others) appoynted to be within the Government of the Committee of Parliament for raising 6000 *l.* per Ann. for the Use of his Highness Lodowick the Prince Elector, and are *Sithence* disposed of, as followeth, viz.

* Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIV. N^o. 192.
An Original.

Compounded

l. s. d.

Compounded for the Estates of } Sir Henry Spiller, Knight, in Middlesex, per An. 441 l. 8 s. 10½. } 0791 08 10½

Sould to several Persons by Content of Parliament Part of the Estate of the Lord Roper, in Kent, per Ann. } Sir Humphrey Tracey, of Middlesex per An. 350 l. 0 s. 0 d. } 0220 13 04

Ordered for the Increase of Maintenance of preaching Ministers in the Counties of Midd. and Essex, per Ann. } 0445 00 00

Voted to be sold the Estate of the Lord Cottington, in Midd. Surry, Berks, Wilteshire, and others per Ann. } 1849 12 08

Admitted to make Composition for Delinquencie, viz. at Goldsmith's-Hall. } The Earl of Northampton, in Midd. per Ann. 495 l. 11 s. 08 d. } The Earl of Southbampton in Midd. per Ann. 665 l. 06 s. 08 d. } Sir Roger Palmer, Knt. for Knoyle in Com. Wilteshire charged as part of the Lord Cottington's Estate per Ann. 324 l. 12 s. 02. } 1485 10 06

Sum Total soe taken off, and desired to be supplied, is per Ann. } 4792 05 04½

Besides 1958 l. 14 s. 3 d. per Ann. for Rents, Annuities and yearly Stipends issuing out of the Residue of the Revenues assigned to his Highness in all } 6750 19 07

2°. November 1646. Ex^r. Will. Collins, Auditor.

Besides 200 l. per Ann. issuing out of Percy Herbert's Estate to Mrs. Habinton

And 1500 l. due to the Prince Elector out of the King's Revenue, which is deny'd to be paid now or hereafter.

Mr. Henry Bishop's Estate since discharged of the Sequestration, by Ordinance of both Howses, which doth amount to 200 l. per Ann.

The

The third Part of the Lord Peter's Estate discharged of the Sequestr. by Order of the Lords and Commons, 616 l. 13 s. 4 d.

Number LII.

* *Die Jovis 16^{to}. April, 1646.*

Sir Henry Vane, Jun.	Mr. Asburst.
Mr. Selden.	Sir Wm. Lewes.
Sir John Evelyn, of	Mr. Marten.
<i>Wilsb.</i>	Sir Peter Wentworth.
Mr. Solicitor.	Sir John Coke.
Mr. Holles.	Sir William Masham.
Sir Arthur Heslridge.	Mr. Tate.
Mr. Maynard.	Mr. Recorder.
Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes.	Sir Henry Vane.
Mr. Whitelock.	Mr. Rous.
Mr. Hodges.	Mr. Prideaux.
Mr. Serjeant Wilde.	Mr. Lisle.
Sir Thomas Widdrington.	Mr. Ellis.
Mr. Samuel Browne.	Mr. Knightley.
Mr. John Stephens.	Sir Gilbert Gerard.

" This Committee, or any five of them, is appointed to state the Breach of Privilege in the
 " Petition from the Assembly of Divines upon the
 " Debate had in the House, and are to present
 " them to the House, that upon their Approbation, they may be represented to the Assembly of
 " Divines, and the Care of this Businesse is more
 " particularly referred to Sir Arthur Heslridge, and
 " Mr. Marten, and are to meet upon it, this
 " Afternoone at two of the Clocke in the Exchequer-
 " Chamber.

* Manuscript Collection of Dr. Ph. Williams. Vol. XXII.
 N^o. 44. An Original.

" To

“ Resolved, &c. That further Power shall be
 “ given to the Committee abovenamed to pre-
 “ pare Questions to be propounded to the Divines
 “ upon the Matter of Divine Right ; for them to
 “ returne their Answer in Writing. They are
 “ likewise to consider the former Questions con-
 “ sidered of by the Grand Committee, and what
 “ Alterations and Additions are fitt to be made to
 “ those Questions, and what other Things are fitt
 “ to be propounded, and are to present all to the
 “ House to morrow Morning.

H. Elfyng, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

Number LIII.

* April 18th. 1646. *A Narrative of the Mat-
 ‘ ter of Fact, concerning the Breach of the
 ‘ Privilege of Parliament, by the Petition of
 ‘ the Assembly of Divines.*

“ THE Parliament by the Fundamental Lawes
 “ and Constitutions of this Kingdome, hath
 “ this great Privilege, to be the *Supreme Judicature*
 “ *in all Causes Spiritual and Temporal*, and to de-
 “ legate so much of this Power, as they think fitte:
 “ And when they have declared their Judgments,
 “ and given their Directions in a Law, the same is
 “ binding to *all Persons* in this Kingdome of what
 “ *Quality* soever.

“ The Assembly of Divines called by Ordinance
 “ of Parliament, are authoris’d by the said Ordi-
 “ nance to treat of such Matters therein mentioned,
 “ as shall be propos’d unto them from time to time
 “ by both, or either of the Houses of Parliament,

* Dr. Williams’s MS. Collections, Vol. XXII. N^o. 45.

“ and no other, with a Prohibition, that they do
 “ not assume to exercise any Jurisdiction, Power
 “ or Authority Ecclesiasticall whatsoever, or any
 “ other Power then what in the said Ordinance is
 “ particularly expressed.

“ *Aprill xxi^o*. The Assembly are farther autho-
 “ rised by Ordinance of Parliament 12 of *October*,
 “ 1643, to treat among themselves, and to deli-
 “ ver their opinions, and advise therein with all
 “ convenient Speed unto the Howses; whereupon
 “ they gave their Advice before the Howses de-
 “ clared their Judgment in the Ordinance for Com-
 “ missioners. The Parliament having received the
 “ Advice of the Assembly concerning Presbiterial
 “ Government, and particularly that the Power of
 “ judging who are scandalous Persons in Cases not
 “ enumerated, did *Jure Divino* belong to the severall
 “ *Elderships*. Both Howses after mature Delibera-
 “ tion had thereupon, did notwithstanding ordaine,
 “ that in Cases not enumerated, the Commissioners
 “ by them to be appointed, according to the said
 “ Lawe, should exercise so much of the said Power,
 “ as in that Law is provided.

“ The Assembly are not authorised (as an Assem-
 “ bly) by any Ordinance or Order of Parliament
 “ to interpret the Cov^t. especially in relation
 “ to any Law made or to be made. Nor since
 “ the Law passed both Houses concerning the
 “ Commissioners, have been required by both or
 “ either of the Houses of Parliament, or had any
 “ Authority before by Parliament to deliver their
 “ Opinions to the Houses in Matters already judg-
 “ ed and determined by them. Neither have they
 “ Power either to debate or vote, whether what
 “ is past as a Law by both Houses be agree-
 “ ing or disagreeing to the Word of God, till
 “ they be thereunto required.

Matter of Fact arising from the Petition itself.

“ The Assembly of Divines under the Name
“ of a Petition dated *March 23. 1645.* attested by
“ the *Prolocutor*, and the two *Scribes*.

“ First doe oppose their Judgment as an Assem-
“ bly, in relation to a Lawe passed both Houses,
“ unto the Judgment of Parliament, beeing not
“ thereto authorized, nor required. Affirming,
“ that the Provision of Commissioners to judge of
“ Scandals not enumerated, appeares to their Con-
“ sciences so contrary to that way of Government
“ which Christ hath appointed in his Church, in
“ that, it giveth a Power to judge of Persons to
“ come to the Sacraments, unto such as Christ hath
“ not given that Power, and to be in many Re-
“ spects in the said Petition so disagreeable to the
“ Cov^t. that they dare not practice according to
“ that Provision.

“ Secondly, The Assembly in their Petition doe
“ declare, that the Power of judging in Causes
“ not enumerated (placed in part by the said Law
“ in Commissioners) and to keep back from the
“ Sacrament all such as are notoriously scandalous,
“ doth belong to the severall *Elderships* by Divine
“ Right, and by the Will and Appointment of
“ Christ, and excluding thereby the said Com-
“ missioners, and in them the Parliament from the
“ Power and Right to judge in Cases of Scandal not
“ enumerated.

“ This being being taken into Consideration by
“ the House of Commons, after a long and serious
“ Debate had thereupon, they have resolved, and
“ declared, that this Petition thus presented by
“ the Assembly of Divines, is a *Breach of the Pri-
“ viledge of Parliament.*

Number LIV.

The Assembly's Petition as follows.

* *To the Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament. The Humble Petition of the Assembly of Divines, now sitting by Ordinance of Parliament, at Westminster.*

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Pititioners cannot but with joy remember the marveilous Goodness of God in calling and continuing this Parliament, in the time of this Nation's greatest Trouble and Danger, and in making it singularly useful towards the saving of these three Nations from the Bondage of Tyranny and Idolatry, by taking off many Yoakes and Burdens both in Matters of Religion, and of Civil Concernment, by laying the Foundations and Beginnings of a positive Reformation, and by ingaging this Kingdom in that solemn and sacred League and Covenant, which with our hands lifted up to the most High God, wee have sworn; and as we esteem ourselves always bound to acknowledge these and many other Blessings, which the God of Heaven hath made this Honourable Parliament his Instruments to convey unto these poor Kingdomes, with all affectionate Thankfulness to God and the Honourable Houses; so wee profess ourselves more obliged hereby to shew all active Readiness, to promote all the Commands of Parliament, tending to Réformation of Religion;

* Dr. P. Williams's Manuscript Collections. Vol. XXII. No. 39. An Original.

“ and that nothing but Conscience of our Duty to
 “ God, to your selves, and the Soules of the rest
 “ of our Brethren the People of the Lord, could
 “ excuse in us any seeming Backwardness to act ac-
 “ cording to the Votes and Ordinances leading
 “ thereunto.

“ Yet are wee to our Grief constrain’d at this
 “ time in all Humility and Faithfulness to repre-
 “ sent to the Honourable Houses, That there is
 “ still a great Defect in the Enumeration of scanda-
 “ lous Sinnes, very many scandalous Sinnes ordi-
 “ narily committed in all Places, and formerly pre-
 “ sented by your Petitioners, being still omitted ; and
 “ that the Provision of Commissioners to judge of
 “ Scandals not enumerated, appeares to our Consci-
 “ ences to be so contrary to that way of Government
 “ which Christ hath appointed in his Church ; in that
 “ it giveth Power to judge of the Fitness of Persons
 “ to come to the Sacrament, unto such as our Lord
 “ Christ hath not given that Power unto ; and al-
 “ so layeth upon us a Necessity of admitting some
 “ scandalous Persons to the Sacrament even after
 “ Conviction before the *Eldership* ; and to be so
 “ differing from all Example of the best reformed
 “ Churches, and such a real Hinderance to the
 “ bringing of the Churches of God in the three
 “ Kingdomes to the nearest Conjunction and Uni-
 “ formity ; and in all these Respects so disa-
 “ greeable to the Covenant ; *That wee dare not*
 “ *practice according to that Provision.* And wee doe
 “ evidently foresee, that such Commissioners will
 “ not only be offensive to the reformed Churches
 “ abroad ; but a Discouragement to those amongst
 “ our selves who are, or shall be chosen Elders,
 “ and a stumbling Block to very many of our best,
 “ and most conscientious People, who have long
 “ waited for Reformation, and are in danger to
 “ be cast upon the Snare of Separation, and no

“ way left to reduce them, or others who are al-
 “ ready fallen into it. Infomuch, as wee cannot
 “ forbear to professe our feares of God’s sadd Dis-
 “ pleasure, if this should be continued ; and the
 “ just Imputation of Sinne unto us, if wee who
 “ have been held worthy by the Hon. Houses to be
 “ called to give them advise in Matters of Religion,
 “ should altogether hold our Peace at this time.

“ Wherefore, your Petitioners in discharge of
 “ their Fidelity to God, to his Church, and to
 “ your Honours, doe humbly pray, that the se-
 “ verall *Elderships* may be sufficiently enabled to
 “ keep back all such as are notoriously scandalous
 “ from the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, of
 “ which wee must, as formerly in our Petition wee
 “ have done, say expressely it belongs unto them by
 “ *Divine Right*, and by the Will and Appoint-
 “ ment of Jesus Christ, which with the help of the
 “ superiour Assemblies in Cases of Appeal, or Mal-
 “ Administration therein, will prevent (through
 “ the Blessing of God) all the feared Inconveni-
 “ encies. And the Magistrate (to whom wee pro-
 “ fess the Church to be accountable for their Pro-
 “ ceedings in all their Elderships, and Church
 “ Assemblies, and punishable by him with civil
 “ Censure for their Miscarriages) may be so abun-
 “ dantly satisfied of the Righteousness and Equity
 “ thereof, as we shall hope God will inspire the
 “ Honourable Houses with such Wisdom and
 “ Zeal, as by their Authority to strengthen the
 “ Hands of his Officers in their Duties herein, and
 “ even to command them to act zealously and faith-
 “ fully in them. And

Your Petitioners shall pray, &c.

Cornelius Burges, Prolocutor pro tempore.

John White, Assessor.

Henry Robrough, Scriba.

Adoniram Byfield, Scriba.

“ Indorsed,

Indorsed, Petition from the Assembly of Divines presented *March 23. 1645.* By Mr. Marshall read.

Number LV.

* *To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of Parliament in England.*

The Humble Petition of the Ministers of the Gospel in the Province of London.

Humbly sheweth,

“ **T**HAT your Petitioners and daily Orators
 “ at the Throne of Grace, doe unfeignedly
 “ blesse our God, and the Lorde Jesus Christ our
 “ Saviour the Head over all Things to the Church,
 “ that in the midst of those many insufferable
 “ Miseries overflowing and almost overwhelming
 “ both this Church and Kingdome, he hath graciously
 “ opened for us a Door of Hope, in raising
 “ up, continuing together, and assisting of this
 “ renowned Parliament above our Expectations,
 “ and against all Oppositions for the rescuing both
 “ of Church and State from their deep Calamitys,
 “ having to these ends engaged your Hearts, and
 “ with you the three Kingdomes unto himself, in
 “ soe Religious a Covenant. And wee humbly
 “ present our hartly Thanks unto the Right Honourable
 “ the Howses for all their indefatigable
 “ Indeavours theis five Years togeather for the
 “ Kingdomes Happines and the Churches Reformation;
 “ and in particular for the Hopes of a
 “ speedy Establishment of Church Government,
 “ intimated unto us in your Directions of *August*

* Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XXII. No. 42.
 An Original. Indorsed, The Ministers Petition, 1645.

“ 19. 1645. Order of *September 23.* and Ordinance
 “ of *October 20.* 1645. In which Directions and
 “ Ordinance, notwithstanding diverse difficultys
 “ appeare both to us, and to our People, hitherto
 “ obstructing our putting the *Presbyterial* Govern-
 “ ment (therein mentioned) into actual Execution
 “ according to our earnest Desires, by reason of
 “ Divine Things (as we humbly conceive) partly
 “ doubtful, partly defective therein.

“ Wherefore your Petitioners in pursuance of
 “ our Solemne Covenant, in Zeale to the Glory of
 “ God, the Kingdome of Jesus Christe, and to
 “ the compleate Establishment of Purity and Unity
 “ in the Church of God, for the Satisfaction
 “ both of our owne, and our Peoples Consciences
 “ in this weighty Matter of Church Government,
 “ and for the general Benefit not only of the Pro-
 “ vince of *London*, but of all the Provinces of
 “ *England*, both for the present and succeeding
 “ Ages; doe most humbly and earnestly beseech
 “ the Right Honourable Houses,

“ That the *Presbyterial* Government in *Congre-*
 “ *gational, Classica, and National* Assemblies (agreed
 “ upon already by the Right Honourable Houses)
 “ may be speedily established, with such Fulness
 “ and Sufficiency of Power upon all the said Elder-
 “ ships, that they may fully, faithfully, and cheer-
 “ fully, with well satisfied Consciences, submit
 “ unto, and put in Execution the said Government;
 “ and that there may be to that End by your Au-
 “ thority superadded, a cleere Explanation of things
 “ Doubtfull, and full supply of things Defective,
 “ in the said Directions and Ordinance of the Right
 “ Honourable Houses, according to the Schedule
 “ annexed, and herewith humbly presented to your
 “ Wisdomes and Piety.

George

George Walker.
 Daniel Cawdrey.
 Arthur Jackson.
 Richard Howle.
 William Thomas.
 Robert Ladbroke.
 Tho. Byrdall.
 W. Wilkins.
 Jo. Belchamber.
 Fran. Roberts.
 Sa. Fisher.
 Stanley Gower.
 John Ley.
 John Comat.
 Ephraim Pagett.
 Tho. Cawton.
 Immanuel Bourne.
 John Strickland.
 Andrew Janeway.
 Henry Robrough.
 Ric. Lee.
 Henry Vertue.
 James Nalton.
 Tho. Ford.
 Jos. Browne.
 Hen. Pierce.
 Thomas Gouge.
 Thomas Manton.
 Daniel Dyke.
 Sa. Clarke.
 Ra. Robinson.
 Tho. Horton.
 Sa. Bolton.
 H. Butler.
 John Fathers.
 Richard Gibson.
 Nath. Hardy.
 Leonard Cooke.

John Downame.
 Th. Froyfell.
 John Crosse.
 Anthony Harford.
 John Garrett.
 Timothie Dodd.
 John Hopkins.
 Christopher Love.
 Samuel Fawcett.
 John Storer.
 Will. Tutty.
 Edw. Dunsterville.
 John Maidwell.
 John Rawling son.
 Will. Jenkyn.
 Hen. Hurst.
 Jo. Pitts.
 Fulk Bellers.
 Simeon Ashe.
 Tho. Case.
 Walter Taylor.
 Paul Russell.
 Ithiel Smart.
 John Cardell.
 Vere Harcourt.
 Anthony Downe.
 Elidad Blackwell.
 Sam. Willes.
 William Barton.
 Henry Wilkinson.
 Tho. Clendon.
 John Wallis.
 Ja. Cranford.
 Tho. Porter.
 Thomas Edwards.
 Thomas Rutton.
 Nath. Stanyforth.

Number LVI.

* *My Lords and Gent.*

“ I N my last I did shoue yow that at my Con-
 “ junction with the *Yorkshire* Forces, his Ma-
 “ jestie retreated from *Doncaster* with more then
 “ ordinarie heast towards *Newark*, and wee with
 “ as much Deligence as might be did followe, but
 “ receavyng Intelligence from our Friends in the
 “ Garrisons adjacent, that the King had marcht
 “ from *Newark* to *Louborough* did occasion us to
 “ thinke, that he either intendit for *Lancashire*, or
 “ *Hereford*: to prevent both I marcht toward *Not-*
 “ *tinghame*, and sent a Peartie drectlie to the Place
 “ where I was informed the Enemie quartered, but
 “ my Peartye returned with shure Intelligence
 “ that his Majestie was marched towards *Rocking-*
 “ *hame*, upon which it was resolved that Coll.
 “ Generall *Poyntes* with the *Yorkshire* Forces should
 “ returne to *Bedford* for the Defence of the *Nor-*
 “ *thern* Pearties from the IncurSIONS of *Newarke*,
 “ wher ther is at least a thousand Horse, and that
 “ Coll. *Rossiter* should returne to *Lincolnshire*, to
 “ keepe in these of *Newarke* on that syde, and that
 “ my self with thos of *Cheshire* and *Derbie* should
 “ followe the Kinge, which shall be performed with
 “ as much heast as can be, for our Horses are much
 “ wearied with long Marches. We have marcht 15
 “ Dayes, and have had but one Dayes rest. So
 “ expecting your forther Orders I rest, My Lords
 “ and Gent.

Your most humble and
 most obedient Servant,
David Leslie.

Stapleford, Aug. 25.
 1645.

* Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. IV. No. 51.
 An Original.

To

APPENDIX.

91

To the Right Honourable the Committee of both Kingdomes, humbly present.

Number LVII.

* *My Lords and Gent.*

" I N my last I did acquaint you, with my Resolutions to followe the King, but this Morning, when I was on my March I did receave Advertisement from *Scotland* of their bledinge, and sad Conditione there, and of the Increase of the Rebels Strenth, therefore I have chang'd my former Resolutions, and am this Dey with my Partie of Horss and Dragons goeing towards *Scotland*, for both Kingdomes in my Judgement are equally concerned in this. For if *Montross* gett Tyme, without peradventure he wold be so considerable, that he would truble *England*; so for Reliefe of *Scotland*, and preventing his coming to *England*, I have tacken this Course; I hope, with God's Blessing upon our Endevors, I shall give you a good Account of this Expeditione, having nothing to adde, I am,

My Lords and Gent.

Nottingham, Aug. 16.
1645.

Your to most humble and

most obedient Servant,

David Leslie.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of both Kingdomes, humbly present.

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. IV. No. 53.*
An Original.

Numb.

Number LVIII.

* *Right Honourable,*

“ According to the Letter sent you the last
 “ Day, the Pursuite after the King was in-
 “ tended by the *Scots*, and some of our *English*,
 “ but Lieutenant General *Lesley* receiving a Letter
 “ from the Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*, changed
 “ his Resolution, and is advanced towards *Scotland*.
 “ Notwithstanding, upon Consultation with the *En-*
 “ *glish* Officers, I thought fit, with what Party I
 “ could make, to pursue the Enemies, lest they
 “ fall into the eastern Association——

Your most Faithful

and obedient Servant,

Nottingham 27^o
August, 1645.

Sednbam Poynts.

To the Right Honourable the Committee of both
 Kingdomes at *Derby-House*, Haste, Haste, Post
 Haste.

Number LIX.

† vij^o May. 1646.

“ MAJOR *Edward Smith* saith, That he be-
 “ ing in the Company of one Mr. *Barry* of
 “ the Parish of *Lan-Rutball*, near *Mounmouth*, he

* Dr *P. Williams's* MSS Collections, Vol. 4. No. 55.

† Dr. *Phil. Williams's* Manuscript Collections, Vol. 19. No.
 163. An Original.

“ did

“ did of his own accord as News inform this Ex-
“ aminant, and others, in, or about the Month of
“ *November* last past ; That when the *Scotch* Ar-
“ my was marching towards *Hereford* in *July* last,
“ the said *Barry* was taken Prisoner near his owne
“ House by some of the *Scotch* Army, as one that
“ might probably afford them some News: And
“ was carried by them to my Lord *Calender*’s
“ Quarters at *Rosse*, and that *Barry* having been
“ there some Time with them, was well used, and
“ was moved by some of the *Scotch* Lords, to carry
“ a Letter and Message unto the King’s Quarters
“ at *Ragland*, unto Sir *William Flemming*: And
“ one of the *Scotch* Lords gave him Money (though
“ he was unwilling to take it) for his present Sup-
“ ply. The Substance of the Letter and Message
“ was to this Purpose, as *Barry* related, (*viz.*)
“ That Sir *William Flemming* would give a Meeting
“ unto some of the *Scotch* Lords of that Army,
“ whose Names were, (as he remembers) the Lords
“ *Saint-Clere*, *Mountgomery*, *Calender*, and *Lotbian*:
“ That accordingly he went to Sir *William Flem-*
“ *minge* then with the King at *Ragland*, and deli-
“ vered the Letter and Message ; That being there,
“ *Barry* had Speech with the King, and that *Barry*
“ told the King how tender the *Scotch* Lords were
“ of the King’s Honour, and how they prayed for
“ him : And that some of the *English* Lords about
“ the King were displeased that he spake so well to
“ the King of the *Scotts* ; That afterwards upon his
“ Message, Sir *William Flemming* came to some of
“ those Lords at his, the said *Barrie*’s House, and
“ another Time in a Wood, and further saith,
“ That *Barry* told this Examinant, That he went
“ on this Occasion several Times unto the King’s
“ Quarters, by the Direction of those Lords. That
“ *Barry* told the Examinant, That the Substance
“ of the Conference betwixt those Lords and Sir
“ *William*

“ *William Flemming*, was to persuade the King to
 “ come unto their Army: And that the said *Barry*
 “ heard some of those Lords say, That *Leven* was
 “ not Right to this Buisness.

Edw. Smithe.

[See the Examination of Mr. William Barry to
 the same purpose. Dr. Williams's Collections Vol. 19.
 No. 187, an Original.]

Number LX.

* S I R,

“ **T**HE Lords and Commons assembled in the
 “ Parliament of *England*, being informed
 “ That your Highness is lately removed into the
 “ Isle of *Sillye*, have commanded Us in Their
 “ Names to invite you to come forthwith into their
 “ Quarters. And to reside in such Place, and with
 “ such Councel and Attendants about you, as the
 “ Two Houses shall think fit to appoint. This
 “ being all wee have in charge, wee take leave to
 “ rest, Sir,

Your Higbness humble Servants,

Manchester, *Speaker*, &c.
 William Lenthall, *Speaker*, &c.

Westminst. the 30th of
 March. 1646.

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XII. No. 185.
 It was attempted afterwards in the House by Colonel *Harvey*, Sir
Peter Wentworth, Mr. *Knightly*, Mr. *Blackstone*, Sir *John Evelyn*,
Scot, *Weaver*, *Holland*, *Boys*, and almost all the Godly Gang,
 That the Prince should be declared a Rebel and a Traytor, but the
 Debate was soon laid by. [See Walker's Hist. of Independency,
 p. 124.]

S I R,

S I R,

“ WE are commanded by the Two Howses of
 “ Parliament to desire you to send this in-
 “ closed Letter to his Highness the Prince of
 “ Wales, wheresoever he is within his Majesty’s
 “ Dominions, with what convenient Speed you
 “ can : This is all wee have at present to offer un-
 “ to you, from

Your very loving Friends,

*Manchester, &c.**Wm. Lentball, &c.*Ex^r.

Indorfed, The Copie of the Letter to the Prince.

Number LXI.

“ WE * have received your Message of the
 “ 30th of *March*, the 11th of this Instant,
 “ by which (being informed of our late Remove
 “ into this Island of *Silly*) you invite us to come
 “ forthwith into your Quarters, and to reside in such
 “ Place, and with such Councill, and Attendants
 “ about us, as yow the two Howses shall thinke
 “ fitt to appoint ; wee have a great and earnest Desire
 “ to be amongst yow, if we might have any Assu-
 “ rance that it would proove an Expedient toward
 “ a Blessed Peace, and the Composure of these
 “ miserable Distractions. And therefore when wee
 “ were compelled to departe from *Cornwall*, wee
 “ chose this poore Island to reside in, where wee
 “ hoped wee might have securely attended God’s
 “ Pleasure, till we might have been made an Instru-
 “ ment towards a happy Peace ; but the Scarcity of

* Dr. Ph. Williams’s MS. Collections. Vol. XII. N°. 188.
 An Original.

“ Provisions

“ Provisions being such in this Place, wee having not
 “ since our coming hither (which is now above six
 “ Weeks) received one Day’s Victuall (tho’ we
 “ left Servants of our own in our Dutchy of *Corn-*
 “ *wall*, to take care for our necessary Supplie) wee
 “ are again compelled to remove to the Island of
 “ *Jersey* whither wee hope Almighty God will con-
 “ duct us; which Place we propose rather, as well
 “ being Parte of the Dominions of our Royal Fa-
 “ ther, which it is evident to yow wee have no
 “ purpose to quitt, as being much nearer to yow,
 “ and so fitter for Correspondence, and therefore
 “ that wee may the better receive Advice from yow,
 “ with whiche wee shall always comply, as farr as
 “ with our Duety and Piety wee may. Wee de-
 “ fire yow to send us a safe Conduct for the Lord
 “ *Capell* to come to yow, and to receive from yow
 “ such particuler Propositions for our Welfare and
 “ Subsistence as yow thinke fitte to make, and
 “ that he may then attend our Royall Father, and
 “ returne to us to *Jersey*; and thereupon we hope
 “ by the Blessing of God you will receive such
 “ Satisfaction as shall testify the great Desire wee
 “ have, and shall alwaies have, to follow the Coun-
 “ cell and Advice yow shall give, whiche will be an
 “ unspeakable Comfort to us. Given at our Court
 “ in the Island of *Silly* the 15th of *Aprill* 1646.

Charles P.

To the Lords and Commons assembled in the
Parliament of *England*.

Numb.

Ave
 Bat
 Cau
 Car
 Fled

Gray
 Hock
 Hall
 Knee
 Kirt
 Mor
 Map
 Mar
 Nor
 Nor
 Norm

* I
 † T

Number LXII.

* *An Abstract of the Total Summe, which everie of the Townes hereafter mentioned have severally and respectively paid, or suffered in Damage by Sessements, Free Quarter, and otherwise by the Scots Army, since their coming into this Part of the † County being about the 28th of November last, till this third Day of January, 1645, as it was given up and delivered in Bills from the severall Townes, unto Acton Burnell Esq; Robert Butler, and Harbert Leek Gent.*

		l.	s.	d.
Averham	_____	516	14	04
Battley	_____	305	07	04
Caup-ton, cum Membris	_____	902	19	02
Carlton, Super Trent	_____	240	13	06
Fledborow, Woodcoats, and Part of Nor-				
manton	_____	305	13	11
Graftborp, and Part of Normanton		413	13	06
Hockerton	_____	493	07	08
Halloughton	_____	206	12	00
Kneefall	_____	169	12	00
Kirtlington	_____	310	12	08
Morton	_____	035	19	10
Maplebeck, cum Kirfall	_____	220	15	00
Marnbam	_____	215	06	00
Norwell	_____	818	13	08
Norwell-Woodbouse	_____	214	07	07
Normanton, juxta Southwell	_____	078	07	08

* Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIV. No. 96.

† The County of Nottingham.

			<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
North-Muskam	—	—	394	14	07
More there for building, burnt, and pull'd down	—	—	410	00	00
Offington	—	—	611	07	04
Roleston	—	—	369	06	02
Southwell	—	—	641	10	08
Statborp	—	—	081	03	02
Sutton, cum Mearing	—	—	653	03	04
Upton	—	—	565	05	04
Winckburne	—	—	188	05	00
Westborp	—	—	415	09	04
Theis three, the Bills are not yet come in, but their Sufferings are as great as any.			<i>Kelham,</i> <i>South Muskham,</i> <i>Crumwell,</i>		
			Total	10100	19 05

*Losses sustained in Part of Thurgarton, and
Leigh Hundreds, as followeth.*

Gedling	—	—	020	03	00
Colwick	—	—	051	01	02
Snenton	—	—	020	00	00
Bleasbie	—	—	133	06	08
Gonalston	—	—	111	00	00
Fiskerton	—	—	112	00	00
Edenlow	—	—	195	03	06
Hoveringham	—	—	098	10	00
Bulcote	—	—	039	18	06
Oxton	—	—	139	03	03
Thurgarton	—	—	137	13	04
Hallam	—	—	237	19	06
Farnfield	—	—	133	18	01
Bloodworth	—	—	065	06	00
Lambley	—	—	071	08	00
Everstan	—	—	143	19	00
Londham	—	—	304	03	10
Calverton	—	—	083	04	00
			2097	17	10
			Numb.		

APPENDIX.

99

Number LXIII.

Lincolne 4th of Aprill 1646.

“ I N answere to your Lordship’s Paper of this
 “ Instant, at our first being in these Partes, and
 “ ever since, we have used our utmost Endeavours
 “ for Pay and Provisions for your Army. Ac-
 “ cording as we were authorized by both Howses
 “ of Parliament, and wee shall not omitt any thing,
 “ wee possibly can doe, that your Soldiers may
 “ be duly paid and provided for according to the
 “ Treaty: Wee paid fifteen thousand Pounds Ster-
 “ ling to your Commissary Mr. *Drummond* at our
 “ first comeing downe ; and great Quantities of
 “ Cloaths and Armes were delivered to him. Wee
 “ have since paid to him eight thousand three hun-
 “ dred and thirty and three Pounds sixe Shillings
 “ and eight Pence, and doe finde by severall Ac-
 “ quittances and credible Informations, that with
 “ the Money and Provisions delivered in to the
 “ *Commissary*, and the Money and Provisions taken
 “ by some Officers, and Souldiers of your Army,
 “ there hath been much more received then pro-
 “ portionably to 30000*l. per Menssem* for 21000
 “ Men according to the Treaty ; wee have here very
 “ great Quantities of Corne and Cheefe for your
 “ Army, whiche wee have long desired, and doe
 “ now intreate, that it may with all speed be re-
 “ ceived by your Forces.

Signed by Command, and in the Name of the
 Committee of both Howses of the Parliament
 of *England*.

William Rowe, Secr.

Vera Copia Ex^r.

William Rowe.

§ Dr. *Williams’s MS. Collections.* Vol. XIX. N^o. 144.
 Indorted, *English Commissioners Answer to the Paper of the 4th,*
 concerning the Entertainment of the *Scotts Army*, at *Collingham*
 7th April, read 29^o. Maij, 1646.

Number LXIV.

* *The State of the Account of the Scotts Army
by way of Estimate.*

The Kingdom of England is Debitor.

l. s. d.

FOR the Entertainment of the
Scots Army, and the Garrison
of *Barwicke*, from the 18th of *Ja-*
nuary 1643, to the 18th of *Sep-*
tember 1646, being thirty two
Months, after the Rate of thirty
one thousand Pounds *per mensem*,
in case they did come in, and con-
tinue in *England*, the numbers of
eighteen thousand Foote, two
thousand Horse, and one thousand
Dragoones effective, according
to the Treaty of Assistance, and
and the Treaty of *Barwicke*, the
Sum of

992000 00 00

The Kingdom of England is Creditor.

FOR Moneys paid towards the
Entertainment of the *Scotts*
Army by the Committee of *Gold-*
smiths Hall, from the sixth of *Octo-*
ber 1643, to the first of *November*
1645.

220629 00 00

For Money and Lead deliver'd
to them by the Commissioners of
both Kingdomes at *Torke*, after
Rendition of that Place,

009000 00 00

* *Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIX. N^o. 192.*
An Original.

For

l. s. d.

For Provisions and Moneys affeſſed upon the County of *Yorke*, by order of the Committees of both Kingdomes, and Committee of that County, within the ſpace of four Months during the Siege of *Yorke*, and afterwards, until they marched away to the Siege of *Newcaſtle*, after the Rate of 22000 *l.* per *menſem.*

088000 00 00

For Cloth delivered to them by the Inhabitants in and about *Leeds*, preſently after the Siege of *Yorke*, by order of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdomes.

010000 00 00

For Moneys ariſing by the proſite of Coales in *Newcaſtle* and *Sunderland*, received by the *Scotts* Army, within the ſpace of one Yeare after the taking of that Towne, which was in *October* 1644.

053000 00 00

For Moneys, Clothes, Armes and Proviſions furniſhed to them, during the Siege of *Newwarke*, by the Committee of Lords and Commons reſiding with the Army, the Committee at *Nottingham*, and the Committees of *Goldſmith's Hall*, and *Turner's Hall*.

099054 12 11

For Moneys paid to them by the Lord Mayor of *York*, in *June*, *July*, and *October* 1645.

001700 00 00

For Moneys paid to them out of the Excife (beſides 629 *l.* included in the 1700 *l.* paid by the Lord Mayor of *York*) certified from the Excife.

016385 12 04

l. s. d

For Moneys arising out of the Profits of the Coals at *Newcastle*, and other Northern Partes, from *October* 1645, to the 18th of *September* 1646, which is all paid, and to be paid to the *Scotts* Army, and by Estimate made upon former Receipts are proportioned to be

050000 00 00

For Moneys received by them by way of Composition for Coales, and other Goods belonging to *Delinquents* and other Persons within and about the Towne of *Newcastle*, since they entred, and placed their Garrison there by Estimate,

020000 00 00

For free Quarter and Billet taken by them in the Kingdome of *England*, from the 18th of *January* 1643, to the 18th of *September* 1646, admitting it noe more then half their Pay, which is the least Proportion usually in Armies, and then in case they were, and always continued the Numbers contracted for by the Treaty, and the same Proportion of Pay arising to them, as by the Treaty is appointed, their free Quarters and Billet, besides the four Months above charged with the Summe of 88000, whilest they lay at the Siege of *Yorke*, will by Estimate amount unto

452000 00 00

For

A P P E N D I X.

103

l. s. d.

For several great Sums of Money assessed and leavied upon particular Persons for the fifth and twentieth Part and otherwise, and also assessed upon Towneships, Constableries and Parishes within the Kingdome of *England*, and leavied by them, by their own Power, without Consent of Parliament, besides the free Quarters and Billet before mentioned, which though some Persons doe estimate at much more, yet here are valued no higher than

403000 00 00

For several great Proportions of Armes, Ammunition, and Provisions of Warre delivered to the *Scotts Army* and estimated at

040000 00 00

* Summ Total of the Particulers
aforesaid.

1462769 05 03

Besides what the *Scotts Army* hath taken from the People of *England* by Plunder, of Merchandize, Household Stuffle, Horses, Sheepe, and other Cattle and Goods, which in Value doth amount to, if not exceed any twoe of the Summes above mentioned.

Indorsed, The State of the Accompt by way of Estimate with the *Scotts Army*. Reported 27^o *Augusti* 1647.

To these Accounts the *Scots* made the following Exceptions.

* Dr. *Williams's MS. Collections*. Vol. XIX. No. 192. An Original. Printed in *Rusworth's Collections*, Vol. VI. P. 323, 324.

Number LXV.

* *Exceptions made against the Estimate made by the Honourable House of Commons.*

“ **T**O the Articles set down in the Debtors Side,
 “ it is answered, as that there is no such Clause
 “ in the Treaty, as that the *Scottish Army* should
 “ continue in *England* the Numbers of 18000 Foot,
 “ 2000 Horse, and 1000 Dragoons. But on the
 “ contraire the Kingdom of *England*, by the ex-
 “ press Words of the Treatie, is obliged to pay to-
 “ wards their Pay 30000 *l.* monethly, so long as it
 “ doeth not amount to the full Moneth's Pay.

“ There is omitted here about ten hundred thou-
 “ sand Pounds, which the Committee residing
 “ with the *Scottish Army*, is able to make suffici-
 “ ently appeare to be due by the Kingdome of
 “ *England*.

“ Against the first Article of the Creditors side,
 “ it is excepted, that several Provisions, charged
 “ upon the Account of the *Scottish Army*, were ne-
 “ ver delivered: Some were taken by the Enemy
 “ at Sea; and other Provisions were spoiled and
 “ of no use to the Soldier. Besides, no Fraught;
 “ Demurrage, Carriage, or other Charges of that
 kind are to be paid by the Army.

“ Concerning the thirde Article, wee are informed,
 “ that the Somme received by the *Scottish Army*
 “ upon these Assessments will fall very farr short of
 “ the Somme here mentioned.

“ As to the fourth Article, concerning the Cloth
 “ delivered to them in *Yorkshire*, we find the same
 “ included in the Account of *Goldsmiths Hall*.

“ The Monies received by the Profits of the Coal
 “ and Excise estimated in the fifth, eight and ninth
 “ Articles too, neere a hundred and twenty thou-
 “ sand Pounds, doe only amount to about fourscore
 “ thousand Pounds. So there will remain to be de-
 “ ducted from this Article about thertty or forty
 “ thousand Pounds.

“ The Moneys and Provisions furnished by the
 “ Committee of *Nottingham*, and the adjacent Coun-
 “ ties, dureing the Siege of *Newark*, cannot be
 “ charged in this Article. And also their Quarters
 “ during that Time reckoned in the eleventh Ar-
 “ ticle, because with the Moneys they discharged
 “ their Quarters; so that there will be about fifty
 “ thousand Pounds to be deducted from this Ar-
 “ ticle.

“ Wee don't understand what is meant by the
 “ Moneys said to be received by way of Composi-
 “ tion for Coals and other Goods of Delinquents
 “ in and about *Newcastle*, mentioned in the tenth
 “ Article, unless it be the Composition made by
 “ Delinquents to save their Houses from Plunder,
 “ when the Towne was stormed; which as the same
 “ can be no ways so great; so by the custome of Wars
 “ either in this Kingdome or elsewhere, it cannot
 “ be accounted as part of the Pay of the Army;
 “ especially seeing they stood out with so much Ob-
 “ stinacy; and there were at least 5 or 6 hundred
 “ Officers and Soldiers killed in the Storme. Where-
 “ fore we conceive nothing to be due upon this
 “ Article.

“ Against the eleventh Article it is excepted, that
 “ though half of the Pay of the Army were allowed
 “ for Quarters; yet the total Summ for twenty
 “ eight Months (four being charged) in the third
 “ Article will not amount to more than four hun-
 “ dred thirty two thousand Pounds; wherefore there
 “ is to be deducted for wrong Calculation twenty
 “ thousand

“ thousand Pounds. 2. The usual Proportion in
 “ estimating the Quarters of Soldiers is the half of
 “ their Pay, but the third part only of the Officers,
 “ which will make a considerable Deduction in this
 “ Article. 3. The first seven or eight Months
 “ after the Entrance of the *Scottish* Army into this
 “ Kingdome, they received but a very small Quan-
 “ tity of Provisions in proportion from the Coun-
 “ ty’s being then in the Enemy’s Power, and not-
 “ withstanding the Addition of the Provisions sent
 “ from *London*, * the half of their Maintenance
 “ monthly in Provisions was sent from *Scotland*:
 “ All which considered, the Quarters cannot be
 “ set down at more then in our Estimate.

“ To the twelfth Article, it is answered, that
 “ when any Assessments were made, (which was
 “ only in the Winter Season) the Quarters were
 “ always deducted out of the Assessments, which
 “ being truly computed, there will be found no con-
 “ siderable Proportion received over and above the
 “ Quarters and Billetting of the Army. So that this
 “ and the preceding Article about Quarters cannot
 “ consist together.

“ To the thirteenth we answered, that Armes and
 “ Ammunition are not to be allowed as part of the
 “ Pay of the Army: For by the Treaty the King-
 “ dome of *Scotland* is only obliged, when the Army
 “ is raised, to fitt the same with a Train of Artil-
 “ lery, and Necessaries ready to march. All which
 “ the Kingdom of *England* by the fourth Article
 “ of the Treaty is obliged to repay to the King-

* Upon what easy Terms they could live, when in their own
 Keeping, that remarkable Accident mentioned by *Whitlocke*
 (Memorials, p. 459, or p. 460.) proves, “ That the *Scots* Prisoners
 “ taken at the Battle of *Dunbar*, at their first coming to *Newcastle*,
 “ got into the Gardens, and fed so greedily upon the raw Cabbages,
 “ that they poisoned their Bodies, that 1600 of them died, 500
 “ more of them were sick, and nine hundred of them in Health
 “ were set to work there.

“ dome

“ dome of *Scotland*. Neither is it possible that the
 “ Armes and Ammunition delivered to that Army
 “ can come neere that *Somme*.

“ And as to that which is said to be taken by
 “ Plunder, it is knowne that many of the *English*
 “ pretending themselves to be *Scotts*, have been
 “ active in plundering the Countrey. And we doe
 “ confidently say, that far greater care ha h been
 “ taken for restrayning such Disorders in the *Scottish*
 “ Army within this Kingdome, then has been in
 “ the Armyes with *Scotland*. And stricter Justice
 “ has been used, when any Complaints have been
 “ made and proved to the Committee or General
 “ Officers of the Army. In particular we know,
 “ that some have been put to Death for plunder-
 “ ing not above the Value of two Shillings Sterling,
 “ whereof few or no Instances can be given in this
 “ or any other Army, since the beginning of these
 “ Troubles. Nor have there been in any King-
 “ dome a better regulated Army, when they have
 “ been so badly paid.

“ These few Exceptions we have made against
 “ the Estimate delivered to in those Particulars
 “ which we know ; and we are confident many more
 “ Exceptions can be made by the Committee at
 “ the Army: To whom the whole State of the Ac-
 “ compts is particularly known ; and whensoever
 “ the Accompts shall be taken, it will sufficiently
 “ appeare, that most of the Articles of this Esti-
 “ mate have been grounded upon Conjecture, and
 “ Misinformation.

By Command of the Commissioners for the Par-
 liament of *Scotland*,

1 September 1646.

J. Cheisslie.

Number LXVI.

“ **K** NOW * all Men by these Presents, that
 “ upon the one and twentieth Day of *Janu-*
 “ *ary*, one thousand six hundred and forty six,
 “ I *John Drummond*, Deputie to Sir *Adam Hepburn*
 “ *Kt. Treasurer* to the *Scott's Armie* in *England*,
 “ have (accordinge to certain Articles of Agree-
 “ ment, agreed upon between the Committees of
 “ Lords and Commons of the Parliament of *Eng-*
 “ *land*, and Commissioners of the Parliament
 “ of *Scotland*, authorized thereunto by the Par-
 “ liaments of each Kingdome respectively, bear-
 “ ing Date † 23. *December* 1646, and in pursuance
 “ of the same, and in the Time, Place, and Man-
 “ ner therein prescribed and appointed) received of
 “ *William Gibbs* Esq, Alderman of the Citty of
 “ *London*, and *Thomas Noell*, and *Francis Ashe*
 “ Esqs; (appointed by an Ordinance of both
 “ Houses of the sixteenth of *November* last, to be
 “ Treasurers for the Money arising upon the sale
 “ of Bishops Lands) the Somme of eighty eight
 “ thousand Pounds Sterling. Which together with
 “ twelve thousand Pounds received at *London* by
 “ the Commissioners of *Scotland* (for which the said
 “ Commissioners have given an Acquittance) is in
 “ full Payment for the first hundred thousand

* See *Dr. Phil. Williams's MS. Collections*. Vol. XXIII. No. 36. An Original. Lately printed by Mr. *Peck*. *Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol. 2. B. 9. p. 34.

† The celebrated Mr. *Oldmixon*, who seldom has the Luck to stumble upon the Truth, and if he does will seldom follow it, contrary to Fact (as appears from this, and the following original Acquittances, which fixes the Date of the Articles between the Commissioners of the two Kingdoms upon *December* 23d, 1646) dates the Agreement upon the Eighth of *December* [Hist. of the Royal Houle of *Stuart*, Vol. 1. p. 313.] I need not inform the Reader how worthy of Credit this Historian is.

“ Pounds

“ Pounds appointed and agreed to be paid by the
 “ Kingdome of *England*, to the Kingdome of *Scot-*
 “ *land* by the said Articles of Agreement: In Wit-
 “ nesse whereof I have hereunto put my Hand and
 “ Seale the Day and Yeare first above written,

J. Drummond, Commissar. Deput.

Sealed, and subscribed, and delivered in the Pre-
 sence of

* <i>Pembroke</i> and <i>Mont.</i>	<i>Richard Browne.</i>
<i>B. Denbigh.</i>	<i>Thomas Richardson.</i>
<i>Edw. Montague.</i>	<i>Nathaniel Stirropp.</i>
<i>Ph. Skippon.</i>	<i>Richard Minors.</i>
<i>J. Holland.</i>	<i>Robert Hilliard.</i>
<i>John Coke.</i>	<i>William Humbarstone.</i>
<i>Jo. Mytton.</i>	<i>Will. Everard.</i>

Number LXVII.

“ **K** NOWE † all Men by these Presents, that
 “ upon the third Day of *Februarie*, one thou-
 “ sand six hundred and forty fixe, I *John Drum-*
 “ *mond*, Deputie to Sir *Adam Hepburne* Kt. Trea-
 “ surer to the *Scots* Armie in *England*, have (ac-
 “ cordinge to certaine Articles of Agreement, a-
 “ greed uppon between the Committees of Lords
 “ and Commons of the Parliament of *England*, and
 “ the Commissioners in the Parliament of *Scotland*,
 “ authorized thereunto by the Parliament of each
 “ Kingdome respectively) bearing Date the 23d

* Into the Hand of these Lords, and some of the Commoners
 who witnessed this Acquittance, the poor King was delivered, and
 carried by them to *Holmby*, in *Northamptonshire*.

† Dr. *Ph. Williams's MS. Collections* Vol. XXIII. No. 37.
 An Original. Printed in Mr. *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol.
 2. B. 9. p. 35.

“ Day

“ Day of *December* 1646, and in pursuance of the
 “ same, and at the Time, Place, and Manner
 “ therein prescribed and appointed, received of
 “ *William Gibbs* Esq; Alderman of the City of
 “ *London*, and *Thomas Noell*, and *Francis Ashe* Esqs;
 “ (appointed by an Ordinance of both Houses of
 “ the sixteenth of *November* last, to be Treasurers
 “ of the Moneys arising upon the Sale of Bishoppes
 “ Lands) the Somme of one hundred thousand
 “ Pounds, appointed, and agreed to be paid by the
 “ Kingdome of *England*, to the Kingdome of *Scot-*
 “ *land* by the said Articles.

“ In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my
 “ Hand and Seale the Day and Yere first written.

J. Drummond, Commissar Deput.

Sealed, signed, and delivered in the Presence of

Pb. Skippon.

John Ward.

J. Vincent.

Tho. Richardson.

Ro. Woolsey.

Wm. Everard.

Will. Humberstone.

J. Potter.

Jo. Mylles.

Rich Deane.

Wm. Skippon.

Jo. Jenkins.

Number LXVIII.

* A List of the Scots *pro*, & *contra* Regem.

Pro Rege.

DUKE of *Lenox*.
 Marquis of *Hambleton*.
 Marquis of *Huntley*.

EARLES.

* *Dr. Phil. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XIX. No. 4.*
 This List was taken about the Time of their first Rebellion, se-
 veral of them I take it for granted, found Reason afterwards to alter
 their

APPENDIX.

III

EARLES.

<i>Duglass.</i>	<i>Dunferlerne.</i>	<i>Lambardale.</i>
<i>Arn.</i>	<i>Abbercorne.</i>	<i>Carwick.</i>
<i>Buquan.</i>	<i>Tilliborne.</i>	<i>Lauther.</i>
<i>Morton.</i>	<i>Roxborrow.</i>	<i>Renith.</i>
<i>Catness.</i>	<i>Haddington.</i>	<i>Elgin.</i>
<i>Nethesdale.</i>	<i>Galloway.</i>	<i>Ancram.</i>
<i>Lithgo.</i>	<i>Seaford.</i>	<i>Dalbousy.</i>
<i>Pearth.</i>	<i>Anandale.</i>	

VISCOUNTS.

<i>Falkland.</i>	<i>Aboyne.</i>	<i>Belhaven.</i>
<i>Dunbar.</i>	<i>Kenmure.</i>	

BARONS.

<i>Salton.</i>	<i>Elphinston.</i>	<i>Burleigh.</i>
<i>Gray.</i>	<i>Olephant.</i>	<i>Cooper.</i>
<i>Okelesley.</i>	<i>Spume.</i>	<i>Marchinston.</i>
<i>Yester.</i>	<i>Blantire.</i>	<i>N^o. 54.</i>

Number LXIX.

Contra Regem.

EARLES.

<i>A Rgyle.</i>	<i>Southerland.</i>	<i>Castilles,</i>
<i>Craford.</i>	<i>Marr.</i>	<i>Glenterne.</i>
<i>Arroll.</i>	<i>Montross.</i>	<i>Murray.</i>
<i>Marshall.</i>	<i>Ellington.</i>	<i>Archall.</i>

their Opinions ; as the Marquiss of *Montross* did, who acted gloriously in his Majesty's Service, and afterwards was cut off by mercilefs Rebels. What the Fate of one of the principal Persons (concern'd in the Murder of the Marquiss) and of his Son, was in the two subsequent Reigns, few Readers want to be informed.——

Nec Lex est justior ulla.

<i>Winton.</i>	<i>Burley.</i>	<i>Snorebesk.</i>
<i>Hume.</i>	<i>Dumfreze.</i>	<i>Hinton.</i>
<i>Weigton.</i>	<i>Quinborrow.</i>	<i>Weems.</i>
<i>Kergrene.</i>		

Viscount *Stormard.*

BARONS.

<i>Lindsey.</i>	<i>Harrett.</i>	<i>Tborpebicken.</i>
<i>Fortell.</i>	<i>Ogeltree.</i>	<i>Londore.</i>
<i>Sempell.</i>	<i>Northeck.</i>	<i>Louden.</i>
<i>Sinclere.</i>	<i>Roofe.</i>	<i>Clemerine.</i>
<i>Herris.</i>	<i>Boyde.</i>	<i>Collacell.</i>
		<i>Holly rude House.</i>

Endorfed, A List of Scots &c.

Nº. 38.

Number LXX.

“ **B**ESIDE * the Particular Charges and
 “ Losses which all sortes of Persons have suf-
 “ tained this time past, and beside other extra-
 “ ordinary Charges which are heirafter mentioned.
 “ Wee doe according to our own Knowledge, and
 “ as wee have received Information from such as
 “ had publick Trust, represent to your Lordships
 “ Viewe and Consideration the publick Charges
 “ and Burthens under which the whole Countrey
 “ doth lye, as followeth in the *Schedule* annexed of
 “ the Compt.

l. s. d.

The Comptes of the severall
 Regiments that were employed in
Anno 1639, doe extend to the
 Somme of threescore twelve thou-
 sand two hundreth nynty three
 Pounds, fifteen Shillings *English*
 Money, I say

72293 15 00

* *Dr. Williams's MS. Collections.* Vol. XIX. Nº. 10.

l. s. d.

The Artillerie and Ammunition
in *An.* 1639, the thretteen thou-
sand three hundreth eightie seven
Pounds ind. } 013387 16 08

The fortifying of the Castle of
Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Stir-
ling, some Fortifications made in
Bruntlyland, Inchgarne, Kyntrye,
and *Airane*, the Works and For-
tificacyons made at *Leith*, so much
of the Comptes thereof as come in
preceding *Whitsontday* 1639, ex-
tends to the Somme of five thou-
sand three hundreth, and nynety
nine Pounds three Shillings and
four Pence. Ind. } 05399 03 04

Summa 91080 15 00

Wee doe pay for thrie Ternes
annuell thereof betwixt *Witson-*
day 1639, and *Maritimes* 1640,
at eight *per Cent.* extends to the
Somme of ten thousand eight hun-
dred nine Punds fourteen Shil-
lings. Indeb. } 10809 14 00

Item, to the Sojourns of Fortoun
being compleatly paid to the
first of *September* in the Regiment
Comptes above written. To them
from the first of *September*, to the
last of *December* 1640, extends
to eight thousand three hundreth
thirty three Pounds six Shillings
8d. Ind. } 08333 06 08

Item, to the Sojourns of Fortoune } l. d. s.
 the Number of them being aug-
 mented by their cumming home,
 from the last of *December* 1639,
 to the 14th of *May* 1640, extends } 010833 06 08
 to the Somme of ten thousand
 eight hundreth thirty three Pounds
 six Shillings eight Pence. Inde.

Item, for Batteries made to de-
 fend the Castle of *Edinburgh*, run-
 ning Trenches made for carrying
 Ammunition, and conveying Men
 about a great Part of the Towne
 in View of the Castle, for mak-
 ing Blinds of Earth, Deals and
 Dung for saving People through
 all the Town for making up the
 Fortifications of *Leith*, (that come
 not into the last Yeares Compres) } 007166 13 04
 and for Reperation of the Workes
 made the preceeding Yeare, and
 for Satisfaction to the Parties whose
 Grounds, Gardens, and Howses
 were demolished for making the
 Fortifications and Trenches about
 the Castle extends to the Somme
 of seven thousand one hundreth
 threescore and six Pounds 13 s. 4d.
 Inde.

Item, for Generall Major *Monro*
 his Regiment from the first of
Marche 1640, to the last of *Novem-* } 015000 00 00
ber 1640 extends to the Somme of
 fifteen thousand Pounds. Inde.

Summa lateris ane hundreth
 fourtie thrie thousand two hun-
 dreth twentie thrie Pounds fifteen } 143223 15 08
 Shilling and 8 d. Inde.

Item, for two small Regiments kept in *Edinburgb* for guarding the Towne, and keeping wach about the Castle, they consisting of twelve hundred Men, being listed at the End of *March*, and were kept till the beginning of *October* is six Moneths, and third part of ane Month, extends to the Some of ten thousand five hundreth Pund. Inde.

010500 00 00

Item, for the Pay of four hundreth Foot, that lay at *Munrofs* from the Beginning of *May*, to the last of *August*, and for leavy Money of 4 s. 6 d. per peice, extending in all to the Somme of ane thousand nine hundreth twentie one Pund thretteen Shillings fower Pence. Inde.

01921 13 04

Item, for threefcore Horses that lay there in Troopes fower Moneths extends to the Some of eight hundreth sixteen Pounds 6 s. 8 d. Inde.

00816 06 08

Item, for Lieutenant Colonell *Homes* Regiment, from the first of *April* to the last of *November* 1640, extends to seven thousand five hundred Punds. Inde.

07500 00 00

Item, the Earl of *Argyle's* Expedition in this Yeare extends to thrie thousand thrie hundreth thirtie three Pund six Shilling eight Pence. Inde.

03333 06 08

l. s. d.

Item, the Factors Comptes of Ammunition and Armes this Yeare extends to the Summe of twenty five thousand Pounds. Inde. } 025000 00 00

Item, the Foot Army consisting betwixt 22000 and 24000 Men, with 2500 Horfe, was from the fourteenth of *May* till the last of *August* being three Monthes and a half, at fourtie thousand Pounds a Month, doe extend to the Somme of ane hundreth and fourty thousand Pounds. Inde. } 140000 00 00

Item, to the Army from the last of *August* to the 16th of *October*, being ane Month and a halfe extends to the Somme of three-score thousand Pund. Inde. } 060000 00 00

Item, leavye Moneyes advanced to the Footmen to bring them to the Randevous, to some 2 s. 6 d. to some 3 s. to some 5 s. as they lay in distance from the Randevous, which was at least to every Footman over head 3 s. 4 d. Inde. thrie thousand fixe hundreth sixtie six Pounds thirteen Shillings fower Pence. } 03666 13 04

Item. leavye Money to 2500 Horsemen at 6 s. 8 d. a-piece extends to the Somme of eight hundreth thirtie thrie Pund, six Shillings eight Pence. Inde. } 00833 c6 08

Item.

l. s. d.

Item, for interteyning of Sojourns
at the Castle of *Dumbarton*, and
upon *Clyde*, and making For-
tifications at both these Places, } 03333 06 08
doe extend to the Somme of thrie
thousand thrie hundreth thirty
thrie Pounds six Shillings 8 *d.* Inde.

Item, the Earl of *Mairshell* his
Regiment, extends to the Somme
of five thousand Pounds. Inde. } 05000 00 00

Item, the Maister of *Forbes* Re-
giment extends to the Somme of
thrie thousand thrie hundreth
thirtie thrie Pounds six Shillings
8 *d.* Inde. } 03333 06 08

Item, my Lord *Sinckler*'s Regi-
ment being late leavyed to the
Somme of ane thousand fixe hun-
dreth sixtie six Pund 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Inde. } 01666 13 04

Summa Lateris, two hundreth
threescore six thousand nyne hun-
dreth four Pund 13 *s.* 4 *d.* Inde. } 266904 13 04

Item, the Value of 65 Shipps
given up in the List, besides many
others not yet cum to our Know-
ledge, which with the Loading
and Loffe they had by want of
Trade by nyne Months Arrears
extends to the Somme of fifty two
thousand seven hundreth Punds.
Inde. } 52700 30 00

The Re-delivery of the Shipps will abate so much
of this as the Shipps are presently worth.

l. s. d.

Item, about 500 *Scottish* Shipps were stopped from trading by the *English* Shipps for the Space of 6 or 7 Monthes, many of the native Commodities that useth ordinarily to be exported, were sold the third Penny downe of their Values, the Prejudice hereof shall be instructed much to exceed that which we desire, but doe onely here rate the same in, to extend to the Somme of fifty thousand Pund. Inde.

50000 00 00

Item, for some Fortifications made at *Tantallon*, and a Watch kept there, and at the *Basse*, and *Linton Briges* the Somme of seven hundreth Punds. Inde.

00700 00 00

Item, for two Shipps sunke in *Clyde* to stopp the Passage of the *English* (some having come in before) and were valued to six hundreth Punds. Inde.

00600 00 00

Summa Lateris ane hundreth and fower thousand Pund. Inde.

104000 00 00

Summa Totalis five hundreth fourteen thousand one hundreth twentie eight Pund nine Shillings. Inde.

514128 09 00

The Kingdome of *Scotland* have susteined divers others great Burthens of this Nature, which we willingly undergoe by our selves, and doe represent the same to Consideration, that your Lordships may conceive how much we are thereby disabled to beare any so great Parte of this Burthen as we would utherwayes have willingly undergone.

As

As first the perticular Charges
sustained by the Nobility, Gentry,
and Burroughs of the Kingdome
be reason of the late Troubles,
and Armeis, which shall be made
appeare to be above ane hun-
dredth thousand Pund. } 100000 00 00

Item, the Neglect and Over-
sight of their particuler Fortouns
can be no lesse then the foresaid
Somme of one hundredth thousand
Punds. Inde. } 100000 00 00

Besides Expeditions in the North
cost above ten thousand Punds.
Inde. } 010000 00 00

The stop of Trade A°. 1639.
was of prejudice to *Scotland* above
fifty thousand Punds. Inde. } 050000 00 00

Eighteen thousand Punds *per* Month will not de-
fray the Charges of our Armies at *Newcastle*, and
in *Scotland*, besides the 850 *l. per Diem*, which wee
receive from the *Northern Counties*.

There was furnished by the fe-
veral Schyres of the Kingdome
above 2000 *l.* Baggade Horses for
carrying Victualls to the Sojourns
they sent out, and above 1000
were bought for carrying the
Commanders Baggach, of which
above a thousand Pounds have
been lost in *England*, and have
perished in the Journey, and of
500 Horse, and 100 Oxen for
the Canon the half is also lost,
whiche Losse will amount to six
thousand five hundredth Pund. Inde. } 06500 00 00

Many of the 2500 Troope Hors
 ses were cost at severall Pryces be
 the Scherifes, and will lose on
 them, partlie by Death, partly by
 Decay above five thousand Pound, is } 05000 00 00

Summe of their last Articles is }
 two hundreth threescore elleven } 271500 00 00
 thousand five hundreth Pund Inde.

7^o Jan. 1640.

Ad. Blair.

Number LXXI.

* *To the honourable House of Commons in Parlia-
 ment assembled.*

“ THE Assembly of Divines having received a
 “ an Order from this House, bearing Date
 “ *October 9th 1646*, That *five hundred Copies of the*
 “ *Advice of the Assembly of Divines* concerning part
 “ of a Confession of Faith brought into this House,
 “ and *no more*, be forthwith printed for the use of
 “ the Members of both Houses only, and that the
 “ Divines be desired to put in the Margent the
 “ Proofes out of Scripture to confirm what they
 “ have offered to the House, in such Places as they
 “ shall think most necessary; doe humbly repre-
 “ sent, that they are willing and ready to obey that
 “ Order. Neverthelesse, they humbly desire this
 “ honourable House to consider, that the Reasons
 “ why the Assembly have not annexed any Texts
 “ of Scripture to the severall Branches of the Con-
 “ fession which are sent up, were, not only because
 “ the former Articles of the Church of *England*
 “ have not any, but principally, because the Con-
 “ fession of Faith being large, and as wee conceive
 “ requisite so to bee, to settle the Orthodox Doc-

* Dr. *Phil. Williams's* Manuscript Collections. Vol XXII.
 No. 41. An Original.

“ trine according to the Word of God, and the
 “ Confessions of the best reformed Churches, so as
 “ to meet with common Errors, if the Scriptures
 “ should have beene alledged with any clearnesse,
 “ to shewe where the strength of the Proof lyeth;
 “ it would have required a Volume, as also because
 “ the most of the Perticulars being received Truths
 “ among all Churches, there was seldome any De-
 “ bate about the Truth or Falsehood of any Ar-
 “ ticle, or Clause,, but rather about the manner of
 “ Expression, or the fitnesse to have it put into the
 “ Confession: Whereupon where there were any
 “ Texts debated in the Assembly, they were never
 “ put to the Vote. And therefore every Text now
 “ to be annexed, must be not onely debated, but also
 “ voted in the Assembly: And it is free for every one
 “ to offer what Texts he thinks fitt to be debated;
 “ and to urge the annexing of Scriptures to such or
 “ such a Branch as he thinks necessary, which is like
 “ to be a Work of very great length. Soe that
 “ wee humbly conceive, if it be the pleasure of this
 “ honourable House, that wee should annex Scrip-
 “ tures, it is not possible that wee should forthwith
 “ proceed to the printing of the Confession. And
 “ if it shall seeme good unto this honourable House
 “ to have it instantly printed, without annexing any
 “ Texts of Scripture, the Assembly will be ready
 “ always to tender the best Satisfaction by Scrip-
 “ ture, they are able, in any Point which may ap-
 “ peare to be doubtful. All which the Assembly
 “ humbly submits to your Wisdom, and waits the
 “ further Pleasure of this honourable House.

Charles Herle, Prolocutor.
Cor. Burges, Assessor.
Herbet Palmer, Assessor.
Henry Robrough, Scriba.
Andoniram Byfield Scriba.
 Indorsed.

Indorsed. The answer of the Assembly to the Order of this House, of 9^o October 1646, touching the printing the Confession of Faith brought up by them, and annexing the Texts of Scripture in the Margin. Presented by Mr. Marshall and others, and read 13^o October 1646.

Number LXXII.

* *Die Mercurii 4^o Augusti 1647.*

“ WE the Members of both Houses of Par-
 “ liament, who doe absent our selves from
 “ the Service of the Parliament, by reason of the
 “ Force and Violence offered thereunto by a tu-
 “ multuous Multitude; having received a Decla-
 “ ration, intituled, A Declaration of his Excellency
 “ Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his Councell of War,
 “ on behalfe of themselves and the whole Ar-
 “ my, shewing the Grounds of their present Ad-
 “ vance towards the City of *London*, and having
 “ perused the same, wee looked upon it as a De-
 “ claration full of Trueth, the Matter of Fact be-
 “ ing well known to most of us, who have been
 “ Eye and Eare Witnesse thereof, full of *Christian*,
 “ Noble and Publique Affection to the good Peace
 “ and Prosperity of this Kingdome, and full of
 “ Integrity and Faithfulness to the true Interest of
 “ the *English* Nation, and full of undaunted and
 “ generous Resolutions to assert the Honour and
 “ Freedome of the Parliament; and effectually to
 “ vindicate it from the Violence, whereby it hath
 “ been of late trampled under the foot of a † *Rabble*
 of

* Dr. *Philip Williams's MS. Collections.* Vol. XV. N^o. 22.
 An Original.

† These very Men encouraged Mobs to scare away their lawful Sovereign from his Palace at *Whitehall*, and his loyal Subjects from the two Houses at *Westminster*. With what Justice then could they

“ of *People*, unto which Force it is still exposed, soe
 “ as it may be exercised upon them at Pleasure, and
 “ whilst the Parliament remaineth in such a Condi-
 “ tion, although it be not dissolvable but by Act
 “ of Parliament, yet it is suspended from acting as
 “ a Parliament. In all these things, and generally
 “ throughout, our Sense so fully agreeth with
 “ what is so expressed in the Declaration of the
 “ Army, that wee cannot but receive it with much
 “ Approbation, and also with great Thankfulness to
 “ God in the first place, and next under him, to
 “ this ever faithful Army, for the tender Sense ex-
 “ pressed therein of our Honour and Security, who
 “ absent our selves from the Parliament in regard
 “ of that Force; and for the high Engagement of
 “ the Army to live and die with us in this Cause:
 “ Whereupon we cannot but mutually engage our
 “ selves as hereby wee doe, to live and dye with
 “ Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and this Army, in the Vindi-
 “ cation of the Honour and Freedome of the Par-
 “ liament. And wee cannot but observe the spe-
 “ cial Providence of God in holding up so extraor-
 “ dinaryly this Army, and reserving it to take off
 “ the Reproach and Scorne of this Nation, and to
 “ raise up againe from the depth of Contempt that
 “ once so much honoured, and high esteemed Name
 “ of Parliament. And whereas in the sayd Decla-
 “ ration, it is desired, that wee as Persons upon
 “ whome their publique Sense still remayneth, tho’
 “ for the present wee cannot exercise the same in a
 “ Parliamentary Way, would advise his Excellency
 “ and his Councill of Warre in such things as may
 “ be for the Good of the Kingdome, and for the at-
 “ taining the Endes aforesaid; wee doe declare that
 “ wee shall be most ready to doe it upon all Occa-

they complain of *Mobs* encouraged against themselves. *Nec lex
 est justior ulla.*

“ fions,

“ sions, in suche a Capacity as wee may, till wee shall
 “ bee enabled agayne to discharge our Trust in a
 “ free Parliament, while wee conceive wee can never
 “ doe, untill the Howses of Parliament may be ab-
 “ solute Judges and Masters of their own Security,
 “ and that such *traitorous*, and *audacious Offenders*
 “ as have endeavoured with so high a Hand to di-
 “ stroy *the highest Authority*; (as by the Particulars
 “ so fully and clearly expressed in the Declaration
 “ of the Army may appeare) shall receive condigne
 “ Punishment, or at least, the Parliament put in
 “ such a Condition, as that they may be able to
 “ bringe them thereunto. And wee trust in God
 “ through his accustomed Blessing upon this Army,
 “ and their Assistance in their honest and just Un-
 “ dertakings, the Parliament shall speedily be put
 “ again into a Condition to sit like a Parliament of
 “ *England*. And wee hope, that every true hear-
 “ ted *Englishman* will be ready to set his helping
 “ Hand to so necessary, so publique, and so honour-
 “ able a Worke, as is the vindicating of the Freedome
 “ and Honour of the Parliament: Wherein the
 “ Freedome and Honour of all free borne People
 “ of this Nation are concerned and involved.

<i>Manchester</i> Speaker of the	<i>Salisbury,</i>
House of Peers.	<i>B. Denbigh,</i>
<i>Northumberland,</i>	<i>Mulgrave,</i>
<i>Grey of Werke,</i>	<i>W. Say and Seale,</i>
<i>H. Kent,</i>	<i>Ed. Howard.</i>

<i>W. Lentball</i> Speaker of	<i>Fran. Pierrepont,</i>
the House of Commons.	<i>Hen. Mildmay,</i>
<i>William Monson,</i>	<i>John Fiennes,</i>
<i>Tbo. Grey,</i>	<i>Nath. Fiennes,</i>
<i>P. Lisle,</i>	<i>Art. Hesilrige,</i>
<i>W. Pierrepont,</i>	<i>W. Armyne,</i>

James Temple,
St. Livesey,
J. Davers,
H. Hayman,
J. Evelyn,
Greg. Norton,
Henry Marten,
Tho. Fervise,
Edmd. Prideaux,
Fran. Alleyn,
Wm. Constable,
Roger Hill,
Tho. Scot,
Wm. Leman,
Humfrey Edwards,
William Say,
Ed. Ludlowe,
He. Lawrence,
Tho. Lister,
Nic. Love,
Pe. Temple,
E. Dunster,
Tho. Wogan,
Jo. Bingham,

Augustin Rymur,
Cor. Holland.
Miles Corbett,
Tho. Scot,
John Trenchard,
Simon Mayre,
G. Fleetwood,
H. St. John,
Henry Smyth,
Benjamin Weston,
Fran. Thornbagh,
Tho. Boone,
John Corbett,
G. Fenwick,
Rowland Wilson jun.
Ger. Pigott.
John Bampfylde,
Henry Durlay,
William Purefoy,
John Hutchinson,
Laur. Whitaker,
John Blackiston,
Phi. Smythe,
John Weaver.

Indorsed, A Declaration of 4th August, signed by diverse Members of both Howses. Sent from the Lords 13^o Augusti 1647.

Number LXXIII.

* *A List of those Gent. that presented there Services as a Guard to the Parliament with Collonel Rosfiter.*

Colonels of Horse and Foot.

Coll. Stevens,	Coll. Alured,
Coll. Fortescue,	Coll. Butler,

* Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XV. N^o. 80.
See Neal 403.

Coll.

Coll. Foxe,
Coll. Needham,
Major Tincher,

Quarter Master General
of Horse Coll. Stubbard.

Lieutenant Colonels of Foote.

Leivt. Coll. Crispe

Leivt. Coll. Throgmorton,

Majors of Horse and Foot.

Major Alfoord,
Major Bland,
Major Hardstufte,
Major Moore,

Major Warren.
Major Gray,
Major Elsinge,
Major Sanky,

Captains of Horse and Foot.

Capt. Griffin,
Capt. Holcroft,
Capt. Waliers,
Capt. Markbam,
Capt. Martin,
Capt. Taylor,
Capt. Young,
Capt. Bragg.
Capt. Farr,
Capt. Jennings,
Capt. Evans,
Capt. Poe,
Capt. Norwood,
Capt. Blake,
Capt. Loftus,
Capt. Waylett,
Capt. Nicolson,
Capt. Dancklyn,
Capt. Mallory,
Capt. Briggs,
Capt. Chapman,
Capt. Warner,
Capt. Wagstaffe,
Capt. Helbie,
Capt. Tenant,
Capt. Prescott,

Capt. Ridgley,
Capt. Harbottle,
Capt. Harich,
Capt. Nelson,
Capt. Scott,
Capt. Chandler,
Capt. Marston,
Capt. Pickeryn,
Capt. Slaughter,
Capt. Thomson,
Capt. Turberfeild,
Capt. Boynton,
Capt. Cooper,
Capt. Stevenson,
Capt. Flower,
Capt. Parrott,
Capt. Arnold,
Capt. Sburt,
Capt. Greathead,
Capt. Watts,
Capt. Hart,
Capt. Keridge,
Capt. Anderson,
Capt. Playford,
Capt. Burgesse,
Capt. Clifford,

Capt.

Capt. Copley
Capt. Pese,
Capt. Hurd,

Capt. Wenman,
Capt. Hardinge.
Capt. Webbe.

Leivtenants of Horse and Foote, and Cornetts.

Leivtenant Bartlet,
Leivtenant Bateman,
Leivtenant Royther,
Leivt. Fits,
Leivt. Tracy,
Cornet Williams,
Leivt. Hale,
Leivt. Kingwell,
Cornet Marten,

Leivt. Scolseild,
Leivt. Hewson,
Leivt. Langborne,
Leivt. Pepper,
Cornett Martin,
Leivt. Bennyworth,
Dr. Ally Chir.
Mr. Martin Gent. of the
Lifeguard.

Ensignes and Quarter Masters.

Quartermaster Tusye,
Quartermaster Holdway,
Ensign Goddard,

Ensign Kent,
Ensign Mathewes,
Robert Yorke.

Die Martis 6 June 1648.

By the Committee of Lords and Commons at Darby House. Ordered,

“ **T**HAT it be reported to the House, that in
“ pursuance of their Order Collonel *Roffetter*
“ did engage the Gentlemen contained in this List,
“ to doe Service in the time of Necessity; and that
“ they did it with great Readiness, and Chearful-
“ nesse, and there was very good use of their Ser-
“ vice. Therefore to desire the House, that the
“ Establishment of the Troope of Horse intended
“ for the Guard of the Houses may be expedited.
“ and that the said Gentlemen may be noe longer
“ attendant upon this Service: But may with some
“ Marks of the Houses Acceptance of their good
“ Service be dismissed.

Exr. *Gualter Frost* Secr.
Numb.

Number LXXIV.

* *To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.*

“ THE Assembly of Divines being by their Pro-
 “ fession Ministers of the Gospel of Peace,
 “ under Christ the Prince of Peace, hearing of Pre-
 “ parations tending to a suddain Warre between the
 “ Army and the City, doe in the Name of Jesus
 “ Christ humbly crave leave in these few words to
 “ mediate for Peace at the hands of all, that have
 “ any Interest in the managing thereof, as that
 “ wherein are most deeply concerned, the Glory of
 “ God, whiche all Parties profess to regard and ad-
 “ vance the Safety of the King, Parliament and
 “ Kingdom, which being lately in a hopefull way
 “ to be established in a happy Peace, is now in
 “ Danger to be overwhelmed with a Sea of Blood,
 “ the End and sad Consequences whereof no Man is
 “ able to foresee; and the Welfare of all the Peo-
 “ ple of God in the Land, who are likely to be
 “ engaged one against another. Wherefore we
 “ humbly pray in the Bowels of Jesus Christ, that
 “ all possible Means may be used, by Treaty or
 “ otherwise, that the Effusion of *Christian* Blood
 “ may be prevented, *Ireland* relieved, and all God’s
 “ People enjoy the Fruit of their Prayers, in the
 “ flourishing of true Religion, and Settlement of
 “ the Peace and Prosperity of the three Kingdoms.

Charles Herle, Prolocutor.

Herbert Palmer, Assessor.

Henry Robrough, Scriba.

Adoniram Byfield, Scriba.

Printed by the Assembly of Divines 2^{do} Augusti
 1647. for Peace.

* *Dr. Phil. Williams’s Manuscript Collections.* Vol. XXII.
 No. 47. An Original.

Number

Number LXXV.

* S I R,

“ THE Towne and Castle of *Pembroke* were sur-
 “ rendred to me this Day, being the eleaventh
 “ of *July*, upon the Propositions which I send you
 “ here enclosed. What Armes, Ammunition, Vic-
 “ tuall, Ordinance or other Necessaries of Warre
 “ are in Towne, I have not to certifie you, the
 “ Commissioners I sent in to receive the same not
 “ being yet returned, nor like suddainly to be, and
 “ I was unwilling to defer the giving you an Ac-
 “ compt of this Mercy for a Day. The Persons
 “ excepted are such as have formerly served you in a
 “ very good Cause, but being now apostatized, I did
 “ rather make Election of them, then of those who
 “ had always been for the King, judging their Ini-
 “ quity double, because they have sinned against
 “ so much Light, and against soe many Evidences
 “ of Divine Presence going along with, and pro-
 “ pering a righteous Cause, in the Management of
 “ which they themselves had a Share. I rest,

Your humble Servant

July 11, 1648.

O. Cromwell.

To the Honourable *Wm. Lenthall* Speaker of the
 House of Commons, These

Number LXXVI.

† *Touching the Meeting at the Mouth at Ald-
 dergate* 13 November 1647.

“ THEISE Persons next specified were at this
 “ Meeting, and can discover the Passages of

* *Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections, Vol. 7. No. 65.*

† *Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XV. No. 37.*

“ that Night’s Work ; for it seems many Speeches
 “ were made by some Persons of Quallity to the
 “ Multitude, there being about 150 ; but some were
 “ upon such Strains and Terms, that in the Con-
 “ clusion theis ensuing Persons deserted the Mul-
 “ titude, and the Business they were upon, viz.
 “ *Robert Roe* in *Morter Alley* in *Shoreditch*, Weaver,
 “ *Randal Poole* near *Roe’s House*, Weaver, *Edward*
 “ *Cole* in *Gravell Lane* near *Houndsditch*, Weaver,
 “ *Richard Robinson* in *Crown Yard* without *Bishop-*
 “ *sgate*, *Leivt. Harrison* of the Parish of *Buttolphs Bi-*
 “ *shopsgate*, *Thomas Tulley* in *Little Moor-Fields*, Wea-
 “ ver, and *Edward French* in *Lamb Alley* without
 “ *Bishopsgate* Weaver. This Mr. *French* told *Wil-*
 “ *liam Haslope*, that one was at that Meeting, that in a
 “ Speech to the People there mett, he spake theis
 “ ensuing Words, viz. Gentlemen, The same Bu-
 “ siness wee are upon is perfected in *Naples* ; for if
 “ any Person stand up for *Monarchie* there, he is
 “ immediately hanged at his Doore, (or to that
 “ Purpose) and he the said *French* further said,
 “ That Mr. *Cole* in *Gravell Lane* can declare very
 “ much concerning this and other Meetings touch-
 “ ing this Business.

“ *Tho. Tullie* saith, he heard some of the Wea-
 “ vers at that Meeting saie, That if the Army
 “ should have occasion, they could furnish them
 “ with ten thousand Men on a suddaine.

2^o Decemter 1647.

William Haslope.

“ *Wm. Haslope* informeth, that *Moses James* of
 “ *Shoreditch* near *Hog-Lane*, Weaver, knows of the
 “ drawing up of the Petition, and who drew it.

Number LXXVII.

* S I R,

“ I N my last I intimated to you, we hoped to gain
 “ the Gatehouse, the Workes about it, and
 “ Church ; all which the Enemie had fortessed very
 “ strongly.

“ And it *pleased God* this Afternoon at five of the
 “ Clock to deliver all these Places into our Hands.
 “ The manner was thus, Wee discharged four
 “ peece of Canon all together, which much ama-
 “ zed the Enemy in the Works, and then dis-
 “ charged four more ; and immediately our *Mus-*
 “ *queteers* fell on, and stormed the Gatehouse with
 “ Ladders, and threw in Hand-Granadoes: The
 “ Enemy opposed very stoutly for a while, and
 “ threw down several of the Ladders, but at last
 “ gave back ; some held out their Handkerchiefs,
 “ others fired very fiercely ; yet notwithstanding
 “ our Men gained the Work, and parte of the
 “ Gatehouse, and throwing in a hand Granadoe,
 “ where there was some of the Enemy stood to
 “ their Armes, it happened to light amongst their
 “ Magazine, consisting of about four Barrels of
 “ Powder, and blew up about forty of their Men.
 “ It pleased God, that we had but one Man hurt
 “ with that Blowe. All this Evening our Men have
 “ been digging and pulling out the dead Bodies of
 “ the Enemy ; finding here and there a Leg and an
 “ Arme by itself. There were in the whole Number,
 “ as some of the Prisoners who had Quarter confesse,
 “ seven score, and wee have but about fixty Pri-
 “ soners, not any could escape (wee getting be-
 “ tweene them and home) soe the rest were put to
 “ the Sworde and destroyed as afore said: I send you

* Dr. Philip Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. VII. No. 74.
 An Original.

" herewith, that you may see how they still persist in
 " their * venemous Disposition to shoote such things
 " as may be sure to ranker and poyson the Flesh.
 " The Enemye was so enraged at their Losse (having
 " totally by this Means) shut themselves upp with-
 " in the Walls, not having any Part of the Sub-
 " urbs, that they set the Suburbs round the Towne
 " on fire; and at this present there is the sad-
 " dest Spectacle to be seen that hath fallen out in
 " this Age, there being now burninge in a great
 " Flame, Houses above a Mile in length, and with
 " that Violence as it is a Wonder to behold it.
 " By this we conceive, that they are desperate-
 " ly bent, and will not only destroy the Suburbs,
 " but even burne the Towne alsoe, before they
 " yield. I hope in the Lorde, hee will enable us
 " very shortlye to gaine this Place, and to make
 " such Destroyers of the Nation Examples to Po-
 " steritie.

Leagare before *Cholchester*,
July 15th, 12 at Night.

To the Honourable *William Lentball* Esq; Spea-
 ker of the House of Commons.

* The shooting of poysoned Bullets, left out in that Part which
 is printed. I hope he was convinced of the Falsehood of his Af-
 fersion.

Numb.

Number LXXVIII.

" *The * Opinion of John Fry of the Trinity of the*
 " *Godhead humbly tendred to the Honourable*
 " *House of Commons, to take off, if it may*
 " *be, all prejudice of Error in that Poynt*
 " *that lyeth upon him, by reason of a Charge*
 " *untruely reported (whether upon Mistake or*
 " *other Grounds I know not) by Colo. John*
 " *Downes; together with his Answer to the*
 " *sayd Charge.*

" **B**FORE I speake to the abovesaid Particu-
 " lers, I shall take leave to make my Apology
 " for not delivering my Opinion at that Instant,
 " when I was charged, the Reasons, that prevayled
 " with me, which occurred then into my Memory
 " were these.

" First, I thought my denying the Charge was
 " enough to satisfy the House.

" Secondly, I thought it would much reflect up-
 " on me to be catechized after that manner.

" But consulting since with the Apost. *Peter* 1.
 " Ep. 3. Chap. 15. Verse, who adviseth to *be ready*
 " *to give an account to every Man that asketh you a*
 " *Reason of the Hope that is in you, &c.* I shall
 " faithfully deliver my Opinion in the Point.

" I doe, and ever did, since I knew any thinge
 " of Divinity really believe, *That the Father is God,*
 " *the Sonne is God, and the Holy Ghost is God,* and
 " that these three are *equally God.* That God the
 " Sonne tooke our Nature, and manifested himselfe

* Dr. Phil. Williams's MS. Collect'ons. Vol. XV. N°. 153.
 A1 Original.

“ gloriously in it, and in a Myſtery according to
 “ the Apoſtle, 1 Tim. 3. Chap. 16. Ver. And
 “ *without Controverſy greate is the Myſtery of Godli-*
 “ *neſs, whicbe is God manifested in the Fleſh, &c.*
 “ That the Sonne remains God for ever, and yet
 “ they are not *three Gods* but one God.

My Charge followeth,

“ Firſt, That I ſhoulde ſay I doe not beleieve
 “ Jeſus Chriſte to be God.

“ Secondly, That I ſhould ſay, he is no more
 “ God then I am, it is true, he hath more of God
 “ in him then I have, but ſoe farrē as God giveth
 “ forth himſelf to me, I am as much God as he
 “ is, thus farr my Charge.

“ To the firſt I answer, and this I doe as in
 “ the Preſence of God, that according to the beſt
 “ of my Remembrance, I did ſay, I did not be-
 “ lieve Jeſus Chriſte to be God in that manner
 “ that I conceived ſome did holde him forth; for ac-
 “ cording to my beſt underſtandinge of their Ex-
 “ preſſions, they make Jeſus Chriſt a diſtinct God
 “ from God the Father, and God the Holy Ghoſt,
 “ and the like they doe of the Father, and the
 “ Holy Ghoſt, and ſoe they holde forthe three
 “ Gods, and this is not my Opinion alone of them,
 “ for I meete with others of the ſame Judgement.

“ To the laſt, I answer in a worde, I deny it
 “ totally; for as it was never in my Thoughts to
 “ thinke that Jeſus Chriſt God, is not God, or
 “ that I ſhall ever partake of the Eſſence of God;
 “ ſo I doe abominate the Opinions charged upon
 “ me.

John Fry.

Indorſed. Mr. *John Fry's* Opinion touching the
Trinity delivered into the Houſe and read the 3. Febr.
 1648.

Number

Number LXXIX.

" *That * the Body of the King be buried at*
 " *Windsor, either in the Quire, or rather*
 " *H. 8's Chappell, if it may be, and to be*
 " *kept there in the mean while in some private*
 " *Room, and the Governour to be writ unto*
 " *for that Purpose.*

" **T**HAT it be removed to *Windsor* on —
 " Night, in a Coach covered with Black,
 " with six Horses, and two Troops of Horse for
 " a Guard, and the Servants of the Family last
 " allowed to goe thither with it, and keep there
 " untill it be buried. That the Servants attend-
 " ing him since he came to *Windsor*, be allowed
 " Mourning, for the furnishing themselves where-
 " with, tenn Pounds apeece be allowed them that
 " were in Office in Chief, and the Choachman 7 l.
 " and the Postilion 5 l. that Mr. *Harbert, Mild-*
 " *may, Preston, and Duckett*, have Money paid
 " into their Hands upon Account to be issued out
 " for the Charges of the Buryal, and maintaining
 " the Servants the mean while, and for their Horses;
 " that the Summe to be paid into their Hands at
 " present be 400 l. out of which the 20 l. apeece
 " for Mourning, and 5 l. a Day for the Mainte-

* Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XV. No. 156.
 Printed in Mr. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*. Vol. II. B. 10. p.
 31. See Lord Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion. Vol. III.
 p. 199. Tho' the Sum for the Funeral of this *Blessed Martyr*
 was limited to 500 l. by these *Exccrable Regicides*, yet we are
 informed, that the Expence of *Oliver Cromwell's* Funeral was
 computed by some at thirty thousand Pounds, by others at sixty,
 which Money was never half paid. *Echard's Hist. of England*.
 Vol. II. p. 832. Bp. Kenner's Complete Hist. Vol. III. p. 212.

“ nance of the Family be payd, and also the past
 “ Charges for embalming and enleading the Bodye,
 “ and the Blackes bought for the Scaffold and Coffin to be paid for, and the future Charges of
 “ furnishing out the Coach, and providing Torches,
 “ &c. for the Removeall and Buryall to be defrayed, as far as that the Coach be covered with
 “ Black-Bayes against *Monday Night*, if it may
 “ be.

“ That it be enquired where his Coach-Horses
 “ are kept, and order taken to have them in readiness, and the Coachman in Mourning.

“ That the Number allowed with the *D.* of
 “ *Richmond*, exceed not 20, with three Servants to
 “ each Nobleman, and not above two to others.

“ That the Duke be acquainted with the Number allowed, and desired to give in a List of their
 “ Names and Servants on *Wednesday Morning* next,
 “ and to have Notice now, that the Buryall will be
 “ on *Friday* next, and the just time, as alsoe the
 “ Place he shall knowe on *Wednesday Morning*.

Indorsed, Order about the King's Corps.

Report from the Committee touching the Funeral, reported by Collonell *Harrison*. Read 8. *Febr.* 1648.

Number LXXX.

* 7. Feb. 1648. *At the High Court of Justice sitting in the Painted Chamber.*

“ **I**T is this Day ordered by the said Court,
 “ That Mr. *Millington*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Liste*,
 “ and Mr. *Garland*, or some of them, be desired

* Dr. *P. Williams's MS. Collections*, Vol. XV. No. 154. An Original.

“ to

to move the House, that all such Papers, Examinations, Letters, and Writings, which concern the Process and Tryall before this Court, of James Earl of Cambridge, Earle of Holland, Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and Sir John Owen, or any of them be brought with all Speed into this Court, by those Persons in whose Custody the said Papers and Writings be now remaining.

Andrew Broughton, Cl. Cur. pred.

Number LXXXI.

* *An Act to prevent the printing of any of the Proceedings in the High Court of Justice erected for trying James Earl of Cambridge and others, without leave of the House of Commons, or the said Court.*

“ **B**EE it enacted by Authority of this present Parliament: That no Person or Persons shall presume to print the particular Proceedings of the said High Court of Justice, or any thing concerning the same without Leave or Direction of the said Court, or the House, upon paine of Fyne and Imprisonment, to be imposed by the Commissioners of the said Court, or any five of them upon Confession of the Party, or Conviction upon Oath, which the said Commissioners or any five of them have hereby Authority to give, provided that such Fine exceed not the Summ of ten Pounds, and that such Imprisonment be for one Month only for any Default. Pro-

§ Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XV. No. 155. Not printed in Scobel's Collections, onely the bare Title of it, Anno 1648. Cap. 6. p. 2.

“ vided alsoe, that that Act shall continue for three
 “ Months and no longer.

Die Veneris 9^o. Febr. 1648.

Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

Number LXXXII.

“ **J**OHⁿ Powle of *West-Wickham* in *Bucking-*
 “ *hamshaire* Clarke doth informe, that this
 “ Day hee was tould, that there is a Designe of
 “ *Independants* to make Head against the Parlia-
 “ ment, while the Army is in Discontent. That it
 “ hath been debated in their Meetings and resolved
 “ upon, and that it is now ripe, that some who
 “ within this Fortnight were in their Judgment a-
 “ gainst this way of proceedinge, are nowe for it;
 “ and that they have very strong Arguments to
 “ back this way of theirs, that God hath put an
 “ Opportunity into their Hands, and that they
 “ will not let it slip, that it is so carryed, that it is
 “ impossible that any that is not of their way, should
 “ come to the Knowledge of it. That Mr. *Tho.*
 “ *Arnold* (the Party that made this Discovery) ad-
 “ vised some or one of them to bee jealous of their
 “ owne Harts, and to take heed of such a way as
 “ this, for he knew they were of an another Minde
 “ but lately, and that hee conceived the Parlia-
 “ ment to bee the Magistrate, and ought not to be
 “ proceeded against in this way. This 22th of May
 “ 1647.

That this is for Substance what hee spake I will
 (if required) depose.

John Powle.

This Information was affirmed by the said *John*
Poule before me, the 22th of May 1647.

Jⁿ. Gayer, Maior.

* *Dr. Phil. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XV. N^o. 9.*
 An Original.

Mr.

Mr. Poule lodgeth at the *Three Golden Birds* in *Duck Lane*, Mr. *Arnold* lodges at the *Harts Hornes* in *Bedford Bury*, and at his Lodgeings the Words were spoken.

Indorfed, Report from, and concerning the Commissioners imployed first uppon the disbanding to *Chelmsford*, 1647.

Number LXXXIII.

* *Worthy S I R,*

“ THERE is twentie fower thousand Pounds
 “ yet unpaid of what was charged on the Moi-
 “ tie, not charged for Payment of Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Fairfax* his Army on severall Orders in course
 “ before the fiftie thousand Pounds Ordinance was
 “ passed on the Treasury at *Goldsmith's Hall*, to
 “ be paid to the Kingdome of *Scotland* at a Yeare
 “ from the 25th of *January* 1646, *ut Sup^a*. 24000 l.
l. s. d.

“ There is yet unpaid of the		
“ 200000 l. Loanes for Payment	}	09790 00 00
“ of the <i>Scott's</i> Army		
“ There is alsoe unpaid of the		
“ two fower Moneths Assessments		
“ for Payment of the <i>Scott's</i> Ar-		
“ my, as by a Lift herewith pre-	}	50396 00 00
“ sented, due from the Cittie and		
“ the severall Countiees the Sume		
“ of		

The whole Arreares are 60186 00 00

Goldsmith's Hall, this
 18th of *Jan.* 1647.

Your Servant,
Michael Herring.

Read 18°. *Januar.* 1647.

* *Dr. P. Williams's MS. Collections.* Vol. XV. No. 41.
 An Original.

Number LXXXIV.

* *Att the High Court of Justice the 8th of
March 1648.*

“ **T**HIS Court taking into Consideration the
 “ Great Meritt of Mr. *Steele* Attorney Ge-
 “ nerall, Mr. *Cooke* Solicitor Generall of this Court,
 “ and of Mr. *Aske*, and Dr. *Doriflaus* two other
 “ Councell attending this Court, and of their great
 “ Pains and Faithfullness in the Business of the
 “ Commonwealth, in which they were intrusted
 “ by this Court; and further taking into Confide-
 “ ration the like Pains and Faithfulness of Mr. *An-
 “ drew Broughton*, and Mr. *John Phelpes* the Clerkes
 “ of this Court, and of Lieut. Collonel *Beecher*
 “ to whose Custodie the severall Prisoners con-
 “ demned by this Court have been, and still stand
 “ committed, doth order, that the said Mr. *Steele*,
 “ Mr. *Cooke*, Mr. *Aske*, Dr. *Doriflaus*, Lieut. Col-
 “ lonel *Beecher*, Mr. *Broughton*, and Mr. *Phelpes*,
 “ be recommended by this Court unto the Parlia-
 “ ment, for such Character of favour as the Parlia-
 “ ment in their Wisdome shall be pleased to con-
 “ ferre upon them.

* Dr. *P. Williams's MS. Collections*. Vol. XV. No. 163. 2d.

Number LXXXV.

* *Die Martis* 7^{mo}, *Martij* 1647.

*By the Committee of the Lords and Commons
for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports.*

*The Names of such Persons as are presented to
the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament,
for Command of the Parlyament Ships and
Vessells hereunder named, being appointed to bee
set forth as part of the next Somer's Fleete.*

17^o. *Martij*, 1647.

	Tons.	Men.	Ordnance.	
R. <i>Reformation</i> ,	742	250	46	{ Col. Tho. Rainbo- row, Vice-Adm.
R. <i>Juarland</i> ,	567	170	40	{ Capt. Hen. Beibell, Rear-Adm.
R. <i>Couvertyne</i> ,	619	200	40	Capt. John Mann.
R. <i>Lyon</i> ,	600	170	45	{ Sir George Ayscus, Capt.
R. <i>Bonadventure</i> ,	557	170	36	{ Capt. Jon. Crow- ther, Vice-Ad. of Ireland.
R. <i>Swallowe</i> ,	478	150	36	Col. Edw. Popham.
R. <i>Antelopp</i> ,	512	160	36	Capt. Edw. Hall.
R. <i>Affurance</i> ,	350	110	30	{ Capt. Wm. Penn, Rear-Adm. of Ireland.
R. <i>Nonsuch</i> ,	400	120	32	{ Capt. Richard Willoughby.
R. <i>Elizabeth</i> ,	416	120	32	Capt. Jonas Reeve.
R. <i>Tygre</i> ,	402	115	32	Capt. James Peacock
R. <i>Dragon</i> ,	378	115	30	Capt. Anth. Young.
R. <i>Phenix</i> ,	378	115	30	Capt. Owen Cope.
R. <i>Adventure</i> .	370	110	30	Capt. Andrew Veal.

* Dr. Ph. Williams's MS. Collections. Vol. XV. N^o. 47.

R. *Provi-*

	Tuns.	Men.	Ordnance.	
R. <i>Providence</i> ,	260	100	22	C. <i>John Mildmay</i> .
R. <i>Expedition</i> ,	260	100	26	C. <i>Joseph Jorden</i> .
R. <i>Mary-Rose</i> ,	321	100	28	C. <i>Thomas Harrison</i> .
R. <i>John</i>	367	110	28	C. <i>Edward Elliot</i> .
R. <i>Fellowship</i> ,	366	100	28	C. <i>Henry Fervise</i> .
R. <i>President</i> ,	220	080	26	C. <i>John Pilgrim</i> .
R. <i>Hector</i> ,	266	080	22	C. <i>Francis Penrose</i> .
R. <i>Warwick</i> ,	300	090	20	C. <i>John Greene</i> .
R. <i>Criquett</i> ,	233	070	18	{ C. <i>Abraham</i> <i>Wheeler</i> .
R. <i>Hinde</i> ,	200	060	17	{ C. <i>Charles Salton-</i> <i>stall</i> .
R. <i>Starr</i> ,	200	060	16	C. <i>John Taylour</i> .
R. <i>X^{rs}. Helpe</i> ,	186	060	18	C. <i>Wm. Brandley</i> .
R. <i>Swann</i> ,	200	060	12	C. <i>Rob. Clarke</i> .
R. <i>Crescent</i> ,	167	050	14	C. <i>John Edwyn</i> .
R. <i>Greyhound</i> ,	120	050	12	<i>John Coppin</i> .
R. <i>Hart</i> ,	120	050	10	<i>John Bowen</i> .
R. <i>Weymouth</i> ,	120	050	12	<i>John Peirce</i> .
R. <i>Nicodemus</i> ,	110	045	10	<i>Thomas Pacy</i> .
R. <i>Roebuck</i> ,	110	045	14	<i>Robert Nixon</i> .
R. <i>Lilly</i> ,	110	045	08	<i>John Lambert</i> .
R. <i>Increase</i> ,	133	040	12	<i>William Ledyant</i> .
R. <i>Robbert</i> ,	133	040	12	<i>William Jennings</i> .
R. <i>Dove</i> ,	084	025	08	<i>Jacob Reynolds</i> .
R. <i>Hunter</i> ,	070	025	06	<i>Wm. Warren</i> .
R. <i>Trulove</i> ,	040	030		<i>John Sherwyn</i> .

Die Lunæ 13^{to}. Martij 1647.

<i>Satisfaction</i> ,	210	070	20	Col. <i>Lydcott</i> .
<i>Recovery</i> ,	300	090	20	Capt. <i>John Bowen</i> .

Ordred, that the Commanders of the Parlyament's Shippes and Vessells above named, for the next Somer's Fleete, bee presented to the Approbation of both Howses of Parlyament.

William Jessop, Sec^{ry}.
Indorsed,

A P P E N D I X.

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Indorsed, Report of Commanders for the Somer's
Fleete 1648.

17°. Martij 1647.

Mem^{dm}. The *Pelican* Frigott being a small and serviceable Vessell, was left out of the List of Ships, presented by the Commissioners of the Navy, for the Somer's Fleete; whose Addition to the List will draw on but a small Charge, and advance the Service, she having not been out of Employment for severall late Expeditions.

F I N I S.





